GUIDE TO THE SP23 TRUMAÍ FILE

In the 1880's, when visited by Von den Steinen, the Trumaí were located in two villages, one on the left bank of the Kuliseu River between the Auetõ and Yaulapiti, and the other on the right bank of the lower Kuluene River, north of the Mariape-Nahukwa (latitude 12° 30' S., longitude 54° W.), at the headwaters of the Upper Xingu River in Brazil. Evidently, the Trumaí were reduced to a single village by the time of Quain's fieldwork in the 1930's. The Trumaí language is of an isolated linguistic stock, incorporating within it a good many words from their neighbors the Kamayurá and Auetõ.

Subsistence was based primarily on slash-and-burn agriculture, supplemented by fishing, hunting, and the gathering of wild fruits and turtle eggs. The principal native crops grown included bitter manioc, maize, and sweet potatoes, with subsidiary crops of beans, peanuts, peppers, squash, sugarcane, a species of pineapple, and bananas. Many of these cultivated plants were borrowed from neighboring peoples. Men did the clearing of the land and planting of the crops, while the women did the rest of the agricultural work.

Although the Trumaí traded among themselves, the most important exchanges were made on the intertribal level, especially with the neighboring Kamayurá. The Trumaí exchanged stone axes, and in later days salt made from burning a species of water lily, for pottery and bows. Other items of Western and native manufacture that entered into active exchange were feathers, fishhooks, line, cotton yarn, cloth, paper, beads, and trinkets.

All land and productive resources were communal property and the right to exploit them resided with any individual willing to expend the labor. To the Trumaí the only important property was in the personal possession of transportable, material artifacts. Transmission of property was accomplished through trade and gift, for inheritance seems to have been related to the succession to the chieftaincy by a son and the possession of certain songs at the "ole" (manioc) ceremony. These songs were inherited through a mother's brother or a mother's father.

The village, which was the primary political unit among the Trumaí, consisted of several elliptically shaped houses with arched grass-thatched roofs extending to the ground. These houses were arranged roughly in a circle around a central plaza. Each dwelling was occupied by a number of families, each having its own section of the house and its own fireplace, and was governed by a household elder. In the center of the plaza was the men's gathering place, consisting of a log bench and a fireplace. This plaza served not only as the center of Trumaí social life, but also as the village burying ground.

The population of the village visited by Quain in 1938 was forty-three, including three foreign women in residence and excluding a few Trumaí living with other groups. Villages were politically autonomous units, each under the authority of a headman assisted by two vice chiefs who governed in his absence. The Trumaí chief, whose authority was rather limited, did no work and had no garden of his own, for his main function in the society was to make work assignments for the villagers and to organize groups for collective hunts, fishing expeditions, or for tilling the soil. Succession to the chieftainship was patrilineal.

Marriage was forbidden between first cousins, classificatory cousins and with the sister's daughter. Polygyny, commonly sororal, was practiced. Lévi-Strauss notes that the levirate and some form of fraternal polyandry were also practiced. (Handbook of South American Indians, Vol. 3, pp. 321-348).

The lapse of many religious practices and the loss of interest in religion in general was a striking feature of this dying society when observed by Quain; the Trumaí themselves showed little regret for this cultural loss. Since many of the religious practices were borrowed from their Upper Xingu neighbors in the not too distant past, this indifference is not too surprising. Despite this decline of interest, however, the main outline of Trumaí religion was still discernible by Quain when he studied them in 1938. Shamanism, used in curing and for sorcery, was still practiced extensively, but it was simpler in form and supporting ideologies than it had been formerly. Ceremonialism was related to subsistence (the "ole" or manioc ceremony) and to curing. The shaman's individualized power resulted in a specialization of religious functions as did the individual ownership of ceremonial songs and dances.

Only one source (1: Murphy and Quain) has been processed specifically for the SP23 Trumaí file. This English language monograph provides both excellent primary and secondary data on Trumaí ethnography. These data are supplemented by extensive, primary ethnographic material pertinent to this group derived from the account of Von den Steinen, which was processed mainly for the SP7 Bacairí file. It should be noted that the entire text pages --the 116 slips-- for sources 1 and 2: Steinen will be found only in category 116 of the SP7 Bacairí file. Similarly, the complete text of the Petrullo source (3: Petrullo), from which data pertinent to the Trumaí appears here, will

be found in category 116 of the SP8 Bororo file.

In 1: Murphy and Quain, Murphy makes a posthumous analysis and interpretation of Quain's field notes of 1938. These data contain keen analyses of the Trumaí personality, ethos, life cycle, and interpersonal attitudes and behavior, and adequate but less extensive accounts of their material culture and religion. This is one of the few sources available on the Trumaí and may be the best on the social structure. With the incorporation of Von den Steinen's data, two foci are apparent in this file, one being in 1884 when Steinen observed these people, and the second in the 1930's when Petrullo and Quain made their observations. The file was processed in 1965.]

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The rapid exhaustion of the soil forces them into a life which, although not nomadic, involves frequent moves. As the soil in old plots is exhausted, new ones have to be opened up. The area of exploitable land around the village is limited by the need to transport the produce and protect the villagers from their enemies. Thus, after the land available to the village has been used, the group moves.

The main subsistence of the nine village groups now living in the upper Xingú area is derived from this typically Amazonian shifting horticulture coupled with fishing in the extensive streams, lagoons, and estuaries. Apparently, the population of the region was never great enough to cause any pressure on land or other resources. Each village maintained exclusive rights of exploitation over certain waterways and areas of land within which the village always moved. There evidently were not, and still are not, any clearly defined territorial boundaries; but village rights are implicitly recognized.

The Neighbors of the Trumaí

Although there is considerable uniformity in the cultures of the upper Xingú tribes, their linguistic affiliations are diverse. The main language stocks of aboriginal Brazil are represented. On the Kuluene River are the linguistically independent Trumaí and the Cariban Kuikuru, Kalapalo, Tsuva, and Naravute. Near the waters of the Kuliseu River live the Tupian Kamayurá and Auetí, the Arawakan Mehinaku and Yaulapití, and the Cariban Nahukwa. The Batoví River is inhabited by the Arawakan Waurá and Kustenaú.[1] All these villages maintain a rather distrustful peace among themselves, but live in fear of their hostile Gê- and Tupian-speaking neighbors on the perimeters of the upper Xingú drainage area.

The upper Xingú "tribes" consist of one village each. It seems evident from the linguistic heterogeneity of the region that it is a *cul de sac* — one of the aboriginal refuge areas which characterize the cultural landscape of the headwaters of the Amazon and its tributaries.

The cultural uniformity of the above peoples has impressed all observers, as has the extensive contact that they maintain with each other. Descriptions of this homogeneity are to be found in von den Steinen[2] and, latterly, in Galvão[3] and Oberg.[4] Among the principal material traits which distinguish the area as opposed to neighboring, but outside, groups are: haystack-shaped houses arranged in a circle around a central plaza; bark canoes; dependence upon fish for protein;

[1] Oberg (1953, p. 4) states that the Yaulapití, Kustenaú, Tsuva, and Naravute no longer live in independent villages, but reside among other groups, usually of the same linguistic family.

[2] Von den Steinen 1886. [3] Galvão 1949. [4] Oberg 1953.

/191 cont./

484 In perfect order, as though this were a carefully rehearsed theatri-
501 cal performance /192/ supported by very successful scenery, the
609 long, narrow craft glided silently along, a considerable distance from our praia /sandy shore; see the glossary, p. 172/, closer to
[291] the opposite wooded shore; no command sounded. Almost all
[302] the naked occupants were painted black and bright red on faces
[287] and bodies, many simply blackened all over with soot; on their heads they wore white feather caps, the hair was cut short all
[141] around, as among the Bakaïrí; the standing ones were overtopped by the bows, almost two and a half meters long, and in the left hand held a thick bundle of colorfully feathered arrows.

609 Gradually they came to a stop and the stillness was followed
576 by a dreadful noise, a fanatical howling and bellowing. There
[101] could be no doubt but that they were Trumaí, for they shouted this word incessantly as though their lives depended on it, beat their fists against their chests, and at the same time made bows with their upper bodies all the more violently since their legs had little room for lively gesticulation. Nevertheless, if any of us had behaved half as excitedly in the canoe, we would surely have fallen hopelessly into the water at the very beginning of the imitation. But we were on firm ground, and the example is contagious. We, too, howled; we, too, bellowed; we, too, beat our chests. Everybody shouted whatever he happened to remember of an Indian language: "Katú, hekatú Trumaí, Bakaïrí, Kustenaú," interspersed with an occasional lusty "diavo," heiliges Donnerwetter /hang it all/ in German, "don't these fellows have any sense?"

[123] But far from it! No matter how invitingly we waved to them, how affably we clapped our hands, how graciously we pointed to our campsite, as though we were speaking to the Spaniard, "Sir, this house is your house," it did not help in the least. It was clear that this performance is official on the Schingú; we should be committing a breach of etiquette were we to speak of other things before we had thoroughly introduced ourselves to each other for half an hour.

/154 cont./

000 B W 101 361 103 harpy village. Then, on the right bank, comes the village of the Nahuquá. Again on the left, somewhat apart and not visited by us, there is a fourth village of the Bakaïrí. Farther downstream the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ are on the left bank in the two villages which the Bakaïrí designated as Paischuéti (dogfish village) and Kalûti. It seems, however, that there are three villages; the Paischuéti-Mehinakú also spoke of the Yutapühü -- this would be "Kaluti" -- whose harbor we passed on 15 October, of the Atapilú, and at the same time warning us against the Ualapihü, Ulavapitü, that is, our Yaulapiti. From the Mehinakú territory there begin numerous canals, which, along with several lagoons, are found throughout the region between the lower courses of the Kulisehu and Batovy. The village of the Auetö may be regarded as a sort of central point for the canal traffic.*

B W 487 A [36]

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* It is really strange that their name seems to have this meaning. They are called "Auitï" by their neighbors; now in Guaranï the unsoftened adjectival form apité means "what is at the center, in the middle."

B W 101 361 On two lagoons, in two villages, we find the Yaulapiti, on a third lagoon the Kamayurá /Camayura/, who had four villages close together and were on the point of uniting them into a single one. The Arauitï (see p. 94) are a mixture of Yaulapiti and Auetö.

T 101 361 167 The Kulisehu flows into the Kuluëne; a few hours of rowing led to the Trumaï settled in two villages on its right bank not far above Schingú-Koblenz. This tribe, driven away by the Suyá, had the intention of founding a new home near the Auetö.

Y 361 103 101 The Nahuquá live upstream on the Kuluëne, and also on small tributaries between it and the Kulisehu, in a series of villages that have separate names. We become acquainted with single individuals from the Guapirí, Yanumakapü, Guikurú /Kuikuru/, and Yaurikumá; the Yanumakapü, the Enomakabihü of the Bakaïrí, do not live on the main river, and of the Guapirí the Bakaïrí specifically pointed out that they are found overland between the Kulisehu and Kuluëne.

B /156 cont./
101 couple of foreign individuals enter one of these family communi-
128 ties, they will, it is readily admitted, bring about a crossbreeding
197 which is not disclosed by a study of the language. But inter-
619 mixtures on a greater scale also change the language tremendously.
The foreign women who become mothers exert an influence on
the language of the children, which, in the Island Karaiben, for
660 example, is plainly evident. The children of the Karaiben men
and Aruak women did not by any means speak Karaiben, as the
young mulattoes in Brazil speak Portuguese, but rather spoke a
new language which had important grammatical elements and
phonetic peculiarities from the mothers. This is not very sur-
prising, for the cultural differences between the two tribes were
not basic, the number of foreign women was large, and they
brought all their local traditions into the marriage, since the
conquering men came from the outside. The children were com-
pelled both to make a compromise with the language materials
on the father's and the mother's side, and to choose between the
prefixes and suffixes offered by the one and the other, which are
of decisive importance for the alteration of the word roots as a
result of the influence on the stem's initial or final sound, and
they experienced the reciprocal effect, uncurbed by any school-
master culture, but instead freely active, of the phonetic laws
B valid up to then in the two parental tribes. Among these primi-
101 tive peoples, the measure of linguistic differentiation will also
197 be roughly the measure of anthropological differentiation.

If we wish to cast about for linguistic relationship among the Kulisehu "tribes" and thus reduce the list, we must dwell for a moment on the linguistic groups occurring in the rest of Brazil.

T There are still many individual tribes who, either because
●101 their linguistic relatives are no longer living or because we do
197 not know them, speak isolated languages. We must first of all
put the Trumaí among them, in order to dispose of them im-
T mediately. I did not succeed in finding a place for them anywhere,
[192] near or far. They have borrowed a good many words from the
culture of their neighbors, the Kamayurá and Auetö, but the core
and essence of the idiom is peculiar and of a different origin.

T 101 197 /156 cont./ and essence of the idiom is peculiar and of a different origin, just as their physical type is different from all Kulisehu tribes.

B 197 From the Cordilleras to the Atlantic Ocean, from the La Plata to the Antilles, there are four large linguistic families: Tapuya, Tupí, Karaiben /Carib/, and Nu-Aruak /Arawak/.

B 197 101 131 /157/ The Tapuya are the east Brazilian aborigines, the forest dwellers of the coastal region and the occupants of the interior as far as a western boundary, of which the Schingú may be regarded as the main portion. They fall into two divisions, a western one, the Gēs according to Martius, and an eastern one, to which belong the primitive forest tribes of the east and the Botokuden /Botocudo/. The western outposts of the Gēs are the Kapayó and Suyá. With the latter we need not concern ourselves further, in view of the report about our second expedition, except that now there must be added the interesting fact that formerly the Suyá lived still much farther west. They were settled west of the Paranatinga, along its left tributary, the Rio Verde, in the neighborhood of the Kayabí /Cayabi/ and Bakairí, and from here they were not long ago driven back, one might say, to the Schingú. The entire mass of Gēs has lived east of the Schingú from time immemorial, and the nearest relatives of the Suyá, the Apinagēs /Apinaye/, live in the angle where the Araguay /Araguaia/ and Tokantins /Tocantins/ flow together.

The Tupí are dispersed over vast areas. By and large their northern boundary lies along the northern tributaries of the Amazon; they occupied the coast from the mouth of the Amazon to that of the La Plata; the Guaraní of Paraguay merely speak a dialect of Tupí. We encounter Tupí on the upper course of the Schingú, of the Tapajoz, of the Madeira, even of the Maranhão. Their language was elevated by the Jesuits to be the language for communication, the "lingoa geral." A great practical benefit, but unfortunate for the science of language. The interest in Tupí has caused scholarship in Brazil to treat all other languages in a most stepmotherly fashion; countless volumes from ancient and modern times are devoted to it; there is nothing more than meager vocabularies from any of the Tapuya tribes, either the Botokuden or a Gēs tribe, the linguistic study of which would be one of the

B 197 101 131 /158 cont./ The Nu-Aruak fall into the subdivisions of the Nu tribes and the Aruak. "Nu-" is the characteristic fossil of these tribes, the pronominal prefix of the first person, highly characteristic for most of them, which we come across from Bolivia and the Mato Grosso to the Lesser Antilles. In the Guianas we see the Nu-Aruak in intimate contact with the Karaiben; on the Lesser Antilles, where the Aruak were attacked and oppressed by the Karaiben, a true amalgamation would in all probability have come about without the arrival of the Europeans, bringing destruction. Father Raymond Breton in 1665 left us a dictionary of the Island Karaiben, whose Indian-French part, unfortunately only this, has become generally available in a facsimile edition, thanks to Julius Platzmann (Leipzig, 1892), and strove earnestly to separate the words of the Karaiben men and the Aruak women, where they differed, but proved by his compilation that two languages were no longer spoken independently of each other, as was mentioned above, but that the Karaiben men had allowed the substance and form of their old "mother tongue" to be tremendously changed by the new "language of their mothers."

B [191] On the distant Kulisehu we met the exact mirror image of the conditions in the Guianas. The Mehinakú, Kustenaú, Waurá, and Yaulapiti are Nu-Aruak; their influence was clearly asserted in language and culture traits among the Nahuquá who had taken several Mehinakú women.

B 101 171 197 361 Therefore, according to linguistic investigation, the tribes of the Schingú source region are to be classified as follows (the number of villages in parentheses):

Karaiben: Bakaïrí (8), Nahuquá (9);
Nu-Aruak: Mehinakú (3), Waurá (1), Kustenaú (1), Yaulapiti (2);
Tupí: Kamayurá (4), Auetö (1);
Isolated: Trumaí (2).

B 101 171 197 /159/ Just as the Nahuquá embrace nine different "tribes," which correspond merely to nine different independent villages, we could likewise put the Mehinakú, Waurá, and Kustenaú together as one tribe. These three tribes speak exactly the same idiom. They also, as we shall see, form an ethnological unit,

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/159 cont./
and, in order not to do violence to the perfectly justified tribal names, as actually happened in the case of the Nahuquá, we may call them, where we need a comprehensive term, the potter tribes, according to their most important ethnological characteristic. Beside them stand the Yaulapiti as a closely related Nu-Aruak tribe, but one already clearly different in dialect and revealing other influences.

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Thus the arithmetical problem has been simplified to the extent that we have before us Karaiben in the Bakaïrí and Nahuquá, Nu-Aruak in the potter tribes and the Yaulapiti, Tupí in the Auetö and the Kamayurá, and, as an indivisible remainder, the Trumaí.

II. Anthropological.

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In order to have a record of the physical appearance of the Kulisehu Indians, insofar as was possible during our brief acquaintance with the individual tribes, a series of measurements were taken, which did not turn out to be very numerous and are not evenly distributed according to the different tribes or the two sexes, yet nevertheless offer interesting material. Possible sources of error on the part of the observer may be put down as constant, since the measurements were all taken by Ehrenreich. He also took a far greater number of photographs than could be reproduced here; some of them, however, became very spotty and difficult to reproduce.* He expects to make further use of the illustrative

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* As is shown in detail in the list of illustrations, the following are reproduced here in photographs: both sexes of the Bakaïrí, Mehinakú and Kamayurá, as well as only men of the Nahuquá and Auetö, while Yaulapiti and Trumaí are missing altogether.

material and to deal with the collected material of the measurements in detail and according to its comparative value for the

SP8 Bororo
Trumai SP23
Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25

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The Trumai were met on the west bank of the Kuluseu, between the Anahukua and Mehinaku ports. They had no canoes. We learned that their village was close to the Batovy. It would seem that they also have shifted their village site since Von den Steinen's encounter with them.

All of these people live at peace with each other, though of course quarrels arose at times. Their common enemies are, however, the tribes living to the east and west, tribes that roam across the headwaters and depend on hunting rather than fishing for food.

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The Bakairi gave the following list of tribes that are supposed to live in the forests east of the Kuluene: Kuyahó (Kayapó); Kaviji; Turi; Maritsava; Phoi, who are pygmies, a little over a metre high; Penehoko, who are a very large people; Tsuyakadi, who also are very large; Yaruma; Suya; Tsuruna; and, on the Paranatinga, the Tonali, who are also known as Kayabi, Kajabi; Apiakala (Apiaka) and the Pana, who are a very tall people.

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The Kalapalu gave the names of the following tribes who are supposed to live to the east of the Kuluene and with whom they are permanently in a state of war: lower part of Kuluene, the Siuya (Suya) and Tsuruna (Juruna); directly to the east of their village, the Ahinkotl, Turi, Jaruma, Tumbilyaka, Kayapo (big feet) Alitsowa, Aiiva, Yahã, Ravine, Aruga (hide away to kill people), Yarpitsu (kill people), Tahulgi (pygmies). [See map, Plate XXV.]

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Our attempt to meet some of these tribes that are supposed to have their villages close to the banks of the Seventh of September river was not successful. In view of the above linguistic grouping of the tribes, it is interesting to note their attitude toward each other. The Bakairi, who are Caribs, distrust and fear the Anahukua, who are of the same linguistic stock, affirming to me again and again that they are a bad people. They were relieved when we left their neighborhood. On the other hand they praised the Mehinaku, and were not even afraid to leave their goods about. The Mehinaku are Arawaks. My canoemen were also at ease with the Aura and the Yawalapiti, and seemed to expect nothing from the Trumai, whom they considered an inferior and poor people. The Auiti were watched with suspicion, but the Kamayula were actually feared, as well as the Tsuva, Kuikutl and Kalapalu, the first being Tupi and the last three Caribs; but the Paravute were praised for their honesty and peaceful disposition, and seemed to recognize in the Bakairi,

Trumai SP23 ●
Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25
Waura SP18
Mato Grosso SP1

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/For a sketch map of the state of Mato Grosso showing the location of various ethnic groups, see 3:Petrullo, SP8 Bororo, category 116, map facing p. 180./

/For map showing a detailed itinerary of the von den Steinen expedition of 1887, specific tribal locations, distribution of settlements, and some topographic features, see 2: Steinen, SP7 Bacairi, category 116, pp. 664-684./

Aueto SP6
Waura SP18
Suya SP21
Trumai SP23
Yuruna SQ26

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/For map showing general tribal locations and linguistic affiliations, see 1: Steinen, SP7 Bacairi, category 116, pp. 154-59. For additional map showing a detailed itinerary of the von den Steinen expedition of 1884, specific tribal locations, distribution of settlements, and some topographic features, see same source, pp. 173-85./

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

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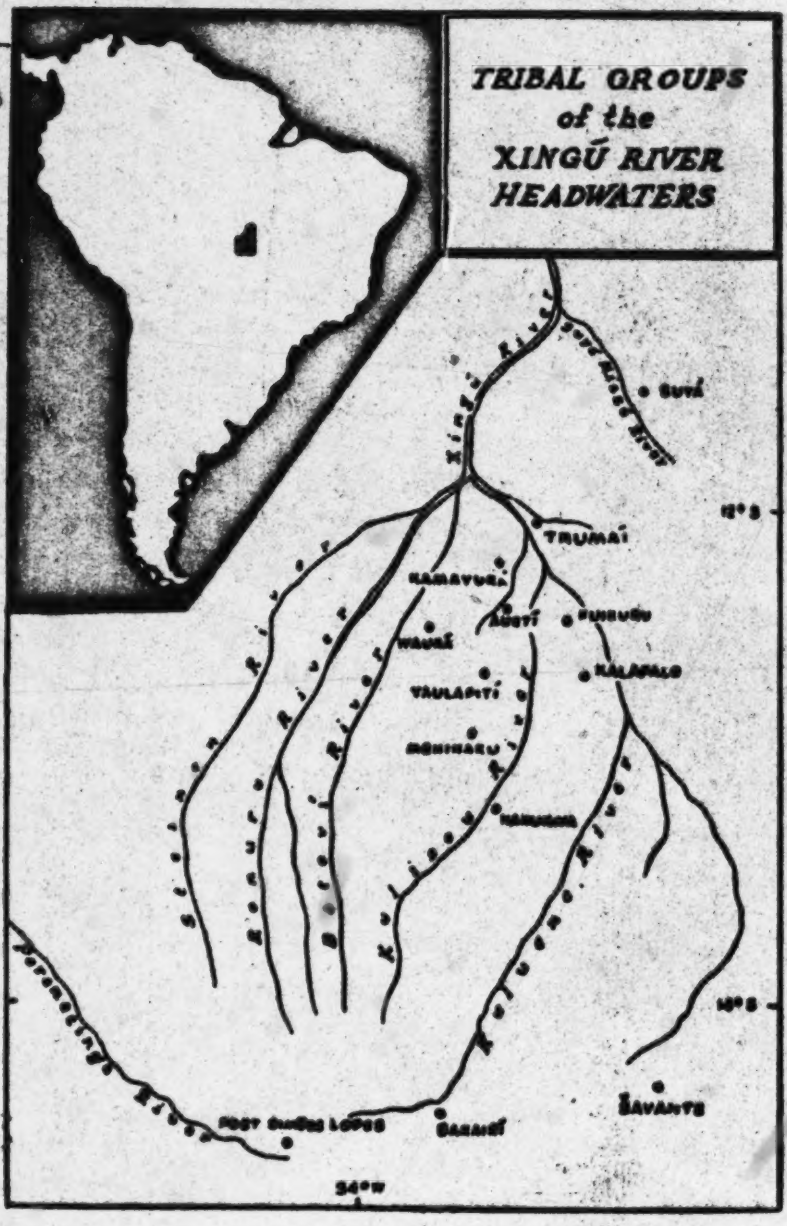

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

Recent ethnographic researches have for the most part concentrated upon the Kamayurá (Galvão 1949, 1950, and 1952; Oberg 1953), the Waurá (de Lima 1949, 1950), and the Kuikuru (Robert Carneiro and Gertrude E. Dole, unpublished). Only incidentally have these observers commented upon the Trumaí. Therefore, in 1953 when I had the opportunity to spend a little time in the upper Xingú area, I made a point of remaining a few days with the remants of the Trumaí. They were camped temporarily at Karajaja, the old village site, on a lake about half a mile away from the Kuluene River; their permanent houses were then at Anariatan, near the village site during Quain's visit. It was the dry season and the Trumaí were fishing. There were only 24 persons in the group — six adult males, ten adult females, four boys and four girls. Three of the women were unmarried widows, and there was one unmarried girl just past puberty. The chieftain whose current name was Ilitoari (no doubt the Aloari of Quain's notes), was married to two sisters, and there were four monogamous families. Two of the men were old and unmarried. Thus, the Trumaí were again united as a village (they had disbanded for a while). In 1953, however, there were not even enough men for the Trumaí to participate in the intertribal spear-throwing contests, a sport in which they had once been famous throughout the area.

The process of steady social and cultural disintegration and depopulation, which was already apparent among the Trumaí in 1938, has been a continuing one; and it is only a question of a very short time before these people cease to exist as a separate tribal group. Thus, the information and insights that Robert Murphy has brought together from Buell Quain's field work may be all that we shall ever have on Trumaí life and society.

Columbia University CHARLES WAGLEY
February 1955

[P. x contains no textual material]

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

ted plants as beans and gourds and for the flat manioc flour cake, the *beijú*, are almost identical with the corresponding Kamayurá words.

The pre-contact history of the Trumaí is largely inferential and their recent history is poorly documented. The white explorers and scientists who visited the upper Xingú frequently did not encounter the Trumaí, and almost never visited their villages. Historical data indicate that in von den Steinen's time and possibly as late as the 1931 trip of Petrullo the Trumaí lived in two villages. Von den Steinen showed an abandoned Trumaí village, in substantially its present location, and another on the lower end of the Tsahuku, a network of waterways and lagoons west of and parallel to the Kuliseu River.[6] Although Meyer's map did not show this southern village in 1896,[7] it appears in Schmidt's map for 1901.[8] Petrullo encountered Trumaí, most probably of the southern village, on the west bank of the Kuliseu, between the locales of the Nahukwa and Mehinaku villages.[9] M. Moennich, one of a party of American missionaries who descended the Kuliseu in 1937, did not, however, note a Trumaí village near this site.[10] When Quain arrived in 1938 there was only one Trumaí village, which was located at the northern site. This would suggest that the southern village was abandoned in 1937–38, but it is possible that those Trumaí seen by Petrullo and Moennich were the same ones whom Quain visited.

The northern and southern villages mentioned in the literature are the only ones recorded. It is certain that since 1884 there have only been two communities, although each has been located in many different places. Unfortunately, the exact locations of the abandoned sites and their periods of occupation are not well known. Each of the old village locales had a name, and these designations are still known. Among them are Morena, Waniwani, Karajaja, Iakare, Jawpew, and Wahldat. Some of the names, such as Iakare, are obviously of Tupian origin. Jawpew was the name of the northern Trumaí village at the time of von den Steinen's expeditions. Karajaja was the last location before the one in which Quain resided. This site was located near the Kamayurá village on the Tsahuku and appears on Petrullo's map. The Trumaí said that it was a good village, but that they had to move because the Kamayurá and Auetí were practicing sorcery against them. The village to which they moved, and where Quain visited them, was named Anariatan.

People were often referred to by other Trumaí according to the village in which they were born. Thus, a *Wahldat faxlo* was, literally, a son of Wahldat. Also, garden sites were most commonly named after an abandoned village. The old villages were looked on with reverence as the homes of the ancestors of the Trumaí. They were considered to be places of great interest, and Quain was repeatedly urged to visit them.

[6] *Ibid.*, 1897, p. 93.
[7] Meyer 1897, Plate I.
[8] Schmidt 1942.
[9] Petrullo 1932, p. 180.
[10] Moennich 1942.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

The path which led from the village to Nariatan, the northwestern garden clearing, passed through the previously mentioned ceremonial clearing north of the village. A short distance beyond this point, a branch took off to the east and led to Waniwanitan, the northeastern and second largest clearing, which contained nine garden plots totaling approximately five acres. Each garden was tilled by a different man, but two men had plots in both Nariatan and Waniwanitan. The size of the average garden was one-half acre. There was no newly cleared land, and, in contrast to Nariatan which was still yielding, nearly all of the crop (mostly manioc) had either died or been harvested. Quain noticed that the soil in Nariatan had a gray tone, whereas that of Waniwanitan was reddish in hue. This difference in color was due to the ashes deposited by the more recent burning over of the former site.

Nariatan was a newer garden than Waniwanitan, and the former was planted to a variety of crops while the latter was nearly all in manioc. This is indicative of the common tropical forest slash and burn system whereby second year gardens are used only for manioc growing, and new areas in which the soil is still comparatively rich are used for other vegetables in addition to manioc. The Trumaí are unique, however, in that the garden clearing was divided into individually owned plots. Smaller individual gardens or large gardens cleared and cultivated collectively are the general rule in the rain forests of South America.

The three other clearings were small, and each contained one garden plot. One was one-quarter acre in size, while the other two each comprised one-half acre. These small gardens were connected with the village by separate paths and were closer to it than the two larger clearings. Anariatan, Nariatan and Waniwanitan were named after old village sites, but Quain knew of no abandoned locations from which the names Tan Toreake and Tandatake could have been derived.

Horticultural Techniques

It is difficult to assess the relative importance of horticulture, fishing and gathering in the subsistence economy of the Trumaí. At different times of the year each made the major contribution to the diet. Most garden products became available at about the middle of the rainy season, but manioc was dug up when needed throughout the year. Fish and manioc were staples the year-round, although fishing was poorer during the rains. Each was more important in the total diet than were the products of gathering. However, the subsistence of the Trumaí at certain times of the year, especially in the early part of the rainy season, would have been seriously threatened without the wild foods.

The agricultural cycle started in the early part of the dry season when the clearings needed for the next rainy season's gardens were made.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Crow appeared as a trickster and, although not a creator deity, managed to bring forth new things in the process of his machinations. Waniwani, the name of an abandoned Trumaí village site, was also a village in the heavens — the home of a mythical person of the same name. Jemenary, Kelenewary, and Nane were three other mythological characters. The second was the sister's son (*deta*) of the first, and an inveterate trickster. Although they appear in a Trumaí tale of mythological times, they had no part in the creative process.

Rain (Ka'wixu) was apparently the only Trumaí deity capable of interfering with the world in its present form. Although he appeared as a character in the mythology, he was also believed to be the active agent behind rains and storms. The Trumaí were extremely frightened of thunder and lightning, and thought storms to be the result of someone's having antagonized Rain. During a violent equinoctial thunder storm, Aloari came rushing into Quain's house, imploring him to turn out his light and stop working as he was angering Rain. Despite their fear of displeasing Rain, the Trumaí on a few occasions tried to drive away the clouds. One man blew at the clouds to push them back, while Quain was told to fire his rifle to frighten Rain away.

There was also a class of malignant beings that were important as omens. The Trumaí could not look at a snake called *lesilesi*, seemingly the rattlesnake. Aloari said that shortly after he saw one, two of his brothers died. Jakwalu saw one while she was harvesting manioc in the garden, and it was generally believed that for this reason she would not live long. Quain was uncertain whether this was the immediate result of seeing the snake, or whether the snake was an omen that the Kamayurá were practicing witchcraft on her. Similarly, anyone seeing the *le*, a bird with a red forehead, would die. And finally there were sirens inhabiting the woods to the northeast of the Trumaí village. Their call exerted an attraction, and anyone seeing them or cohabiting with them would surely die. These women had long hair, wore bark cloth pubic coverings, and did not depilate. Significantly, the direction of their abode and their appearance correspond to those of Suyá women. Omens, such as cloud formations and canine howls, indicate the imminence of an enemy attack.

The Origin of Things

Most of the Trumaí mythology is devoted to explaining the origin of the natural world, people, and culture. The chief creator deities are Sun and Wamutsini.

In the beginning there was only Wamutsini. His origin is not explained, and he is probably thought to have always existed. He made daughters out of wood. One of them married Panther, who lived in the

/127 cont./

B T 103 133 T [361] luggage. They reached the place where the Kulisehu empties /128/ into the beautiful wide Kuluëne in seven hours, passed a tributary on the left, a canal of the Mariapé-Nahuquá on the right, found on the right bank the Trumaí villages in the condition described on page 114, and from here were able in all of four hours -- in eight hours from the emptying of the Kulisehu -- to reach Schingú-Koblenz at the junction of the Kuluëne and Ronuro, that large sandy beach where our meeting with the Trumaí was enacted in 1884.

At that time the Trumaí had thus come down on their Kuluëne, and this large river, of which we knew only the mouth, was designated for us as the "Kulisehu." A strange development! On our new expedition we had sought the "Kulisehu" and had found and traveled the Kulisehu as well, but we had meant the Kuluëne. Even the Trumaí live below the Kulisehu mouth; farther up on the Kuluëne lived the Nahuquá tribes, which fortunately, however, were also settled on the Kulisehu in the village visited by us.

Y T [131]

Vogel and Perrot had bad weather. On account of the cloud cover, the astronomical latitude could not be determined either at the mouth of the Kulisehu or in Koblenz. The Kuluëne was 241 meters wide below the Kulisehu mouth, 289 meters somewhat above it. From Koblenz they had gone up the Ronuro, had passed the Batovy mouth in a scant half hour -- where on 30 August 1884 we had emerged from the endlessly winding forest stream and for the first time were able to enjoy with some certainty the hope that we had actually found the Schingú -- and had finally continued the journey on the Ronuro for two kilometers farther upstream. The Ronuro had an average width of 250 meters and a depth of three to six meters; the Kuluëne, above Koblenz, measured only 187 meters and the main river at our sandy beach, 366 meters.

B 122 If we did not wish to jeopardize all of our success, the thought of traveling up the Kuluëne and visiting the other Nahuquá villages was completely out of the question. The rainy period had set in in earnest, the journey upstream was becoming

2: Steinen--653 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Trumai SP23
Paressi SP19
Bororo SP8

/523/

Appendix.

I. Word List of the

1. Nahuquá, 2. Yanumakapü-Nahuquá, 3. Mehinakú, 4. Kustenaú, 5. Waurá, 6. Yaulapiti, 7. Auetó, 8. Kamayurá, 9. Trumaí, 10. Paressí, 11. Bororó.

TB 192 171 The following lists, which I have arranged as uniformly as possible, are limited to substantives, personal pronouns of the first and second person, colors, numbers, negation. With anything else I should necessarily have to enter into grammatical discussions which would lead me too far afield. For this reason I have also been obliged to dispense with any kind of comparison.

TB 194 171 Anyone who studies the words a little more closely will easily recognize a number of regular forms of phonetic change and will be able to convince himself of the important fact that in the various groups -- especially in a comparison of the Auetó and Kamayurá /Camayura/ with the lingoa geral -- there takes place the same softening of the initial sound of the stem that I pointed out for Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ and the Karaiben /Carib/ idioms. Everywhere, it seems, with lawful certainty, we come across the three series of the p-, t-, and k- initial sounds as the oldest possession of the base-languages.

TB 104 The spelling has been kept as simple as possible. Note only:

a English a as in walk.
y as in York.
v German w.
ɣ guttural fricative, our German ch formed at the middle palate.
š French ch.
s French c.
ž French z.

/524/

ð English th.

/524 cont./

TPB 104

λ (Nahuquá) difficult sound, midway between gl and ri, is always syllable-forming and similar to r + reduced vowel.

t̰, p̰ means that these consonants are scarcely audible, as is occasionally also indicated by parentheses.

Tilde ~ means nasalization.

000 /The word lists, pp. 524-547, have been omitted in the translation. See the foreign text./

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The rapid exhaustion of the soil forces them into a life which, although not nomadic, involves frequent moves. As the soil in old plots is exhausted, new ones have to be opened up. The area of exploitable land around the village is limited by the need to transport the produce and protect the villagers from their enemies. Thus, after the land available to the village has been used, the group moves.

The main subsistence of the nine village groups now living in the upper Xingú area is derived from this typically Amazonian shifting horticulture coupled with fishing in the extensive streams, lagoons, and estuaries. Apparently, the population of the region was never great enough to cause any pressure on land or other resources. Each village maintained exclusive rights of exploitation over certain waterways and areas of land within which the village always moved. There evidently were not, and still are not, any clearly defined territorial boundaries; but village rights are implicitly recognized.

The Neighbors of the Trumai

Although there is considerable uniformity in the cultures of the upper Xingú tribes, their linguistic affiliations are diverse. The main language stocks of aboriginal Brazil are represented. On the Kuluene River are the linguistically independent Trumaí and the Cariban Kuikuru, Kalapalo, Tsuva, and Naravute. Near the waters of the Kuliseu River live the Tupian Kamayurá and Auetí, the Arawakan Mehinaku and Yaulapití, and the Cariban Nahukwa. The Batoví River is inhabited by the Arawakan Waurá and Kustenaú.[1] All these villages maintain a rather distrustful peace among themselves, but live in fear of their hostile Gê- and Tupian-speaking neighbors on the perimeters of the upper Xingú drainage area.

The upper Xingú "tribes" consist of one village each. It seems evident from the linguistic heterogeneity of the region that it is a *cul de sac* — one of the aboriginal refuge areas which characterize the cultural landscape of the headwaters of the Amazon and its tributaries.

The cultural uniformity of the above peoples has impressed all observers, as has the extensive contact that they maintain with each other. Descriptions of this homogeneity are to be found in von den Steinen[2] and, latterly, in Galvão[3] and Oberg.[4] Among the principal material traits which distinguish the area as opposed to neighboring, but outside, groups are: haystack-shaped houses arranged in a circle around a central plaza; bark canoes; dependence upon fish for protein;

[1] Oberg (1953, p. 4) states that the Yaulapití, Kustenaú, Tsuva, and Naravute no longer live in independent villages, but reside among other groups, usually of the same linguistic family.

[2] Von den Steinen 1886. [3] Galvão 1949. [4] Oberg 1953.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Agendas were ordinarily based on the immediate needs of the household or the desire for some variety in their diet. Food, however, was shared widely, and this probably robbed most work of any sense of urgency. Apparently, each man's plans for the day were determined in part by the season, in part by the household needs, and in part by what he felt like doing.

Some men stayed in the village all day, sleeping and working intermittently at small tasks. The women spent more time in the village than the men. Their work was done in the house or, if outside, in the shade of the house. Since male work was done largely in the morning, most of the men had ample time in the afternoon for trade, wrestling, and other diversions. The trade game was an especially popular indoor activity on rainy days.

Much less work was probably done during the rainy season, for planting would be finished, the *piqui* would be harvested, and the heavy rains would confine people to the village. However, there was much less seasonal variation for the women, as they had to continue to make *beijú*, weave, cook, and care for their households — the ordinary female chores, whatever the month.

Trumaí economic life was loosely organized. Few types of labor transcended the nuclear family, which was the basic unit of economic cooperation and interdependence. The inventory of material culture was sparse, and workmanship was not highly developed. What the Trumaí did not make, they could obtain by trade. From the standpoint of technology, the Trumaí were more backward than other tribes in the upper Xingú area, perhaps a reflection of their more recent settlement in the region.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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CHAPTER THREE

Trumaí Social Organization

Property Ownership

Trumaí society was relatively simple. There was no social stratification based on wealth, nor were the mechanisms of social control and cohesion highly developed. This was in accord with the individualization of productive effort and the low level of economic surplus. The political unit was a single community, the sole bearer of Trumaí culture.

All land and productive resources were considered the property of the community, and the right to their exploitation resided with any individual willing to expend the labor. Gardens were individual property, but only in the sense that the man who reclaimed the land from the jungle was entitled to its product. There was no concept of alienable property in land, entailing the right of disposition. The *piquí* trees were said to be owned individually, but the owner exercised exclusive rights only over the first fruits. Other wild food plants were community property and their fruits belonged to the gatherer.

The fishing rights to lagoons and backwaters of the rivers belonged to the tribes in whose territory they were located. There was no individual ownership of fishing sites.

There was property in foods, but as soon as they were cooked they were freely distributed. *Beijú* belonged to the women, but the manioc out of which it was prepared was said to be the property of the man who grew it. Such distinctions were largely academic. Actually, the men grew the vegetable and the women harvested it, prepared it, and cooked it, after which it was distributed and eaten. The same situation prevailed in regard to the products of fishing, hunting, and gathering. Salt was the only exception, as it was prepared and owned by individual men and women. The difference undoubtedly lies in the fact that salt was an important trade item, while the other commodities were not.

Very little property can be said to have belonged to the family. Baskets and gourd containers were made by the men for themselves and for the women, but they were often used by both a man and his wife. Nearly all material objects outside of natural resources were owned by the person who made them or the person to whom an object was given. House ownership was vague, since houses were built and occupied by more than one man, and abandoned when the village moved. The house, however, was often considered the property of the man who put

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Divorce and Adultery

595 The polygynous unions were extremely brittle. In two cases observed
586 by Quain, they lasted only a few days. In both instances the first wife
was responsible for the break-up. The bonds of the second marriage of a
[837] plural mating were loose, for Jakwanari's second wife had sexual relations with several Trumaí men with apparent impunity. Such behavior would have been dealt with severely by a husband had his first wife
586 been involved. Divorces also occurred in monogamous marriages; they entailed little more than telling the wife to leave. After the birth of their son, Oirupa sent his Mehinaku wife back to her village and kept the child. The right of the father's village over the children seems to have been general in the area, for Autu had a son by a Waurá husband, whom the Waurá refused to give to the Trumaí.

684 There is no recorded instance of adultery precipitating a divorce,
[586] although this probably occurred. However, the usual procedure was for the injured husband to beat his wife and make a lengthy and heated speech against the offending suitor. The wife of an adulterous husband
[578] showed anger toward his paramour and did not speak to her. Hair pulling resulted in some cases. The husband's behavior was viewed as reprehensible by the wife, but she took no action against him. One wife even chuckled a bit over her husband's adventures, although jealousy is the more usual response.

837 Due to the threat of punishment, the married women engaged far less in extra-marital relations than did their husbands. Both married and unmarried men sought out unattached women, but instances of married men in such liaisons were less numerous. The younger married men and Maibu, the chief, seemed to have been the chief offenders. The latter
[582] complained to Quain that all the women in the village were prohibited to him, as they were his wife's cross-cousins. Neither his genealogy nor his activities bore him out, and he often approached the single women and Jakwanari's second wife when the other men were out of the village. Everyone conceded that, although Maibu's wife had not reached menopause, she was "too old." Thus they rationalized his escapades.

105 The instability of the nuclear family and the vicissitudes to which it
571 was exposed were alleviated by household and kin distribution and by
594 the interdependence of co-resident relatives of the opposite sex for
591 sexually specialized goods and services. These arrangements made possible the economic workability of Trumaí culture. The conjugal family was basic to the culture, however, and marriage was highly
836 desirable to the Trumaí. Despite the shortage of available women and
[578] the conflicts which stemmed from it, sex relations between unmarried persons were free and easy and subject to little or no public censure,
000 except insofar as they encroached on the interests of others. Incest

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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CHAPTER FOUR

Religious Beliefs and Practices

182 771 829 The lapse of many religious practices and the lessening of interest in those aspects of culture that we classify as religion were striking features of this dying society. Older informants rememered the time when there were ceremonial masks, the flute house, and other traits that are still found among certain tribes of the upper Xingú. Indeed, if it were not for Matiwana's unusual age, the Trumaí would be even more lacking in ceremonial knowledge. Yet there seems to have been little regret on the part of either the older or younger generations for this culture loss. They shrugged it off, saying that their grandfathers had had such [177] practices, but that they did not. This indifference is not too surprising, since much of their religion was borrowed from their upper Xingú neighbors not too long ago.[1]

771 105 Despite the decline in interest in the ceremonial cycle and the disappearance of certain religious traits, the main outlines of Trumaí religion were still observable in Quain's time. Shamanism was still practiced extensively, but it was simple both in form and supporting ideology. Ceremonialism was related to subsistence and curing. The shaman's individualized power resulted in a specialization of religious functions as did the individual ownership of ceremonial songs and dances. Some Trumaí, like old Matiwana, were better versed in the [193] religious rites than others, but they did not constitute a priestly class. While no one person interceded with the supernatural on behalf of the [182] whole village, the group ceremonials provided a focal point for social participation and village cooperation, and many of them were undertaken by the community for the benefit of all.

Shamanism

756 [184] The shamanistic art of curing was known and employed by nearly all the adult males of the village, and in this sense parallels the practices recorded among the Kamayurá by Oberg.[2] There is, however, a type

[1] Kamayurá ceremonial and religious life, much of which was once shared by the Trumaí, is discussed by Oberg (1953) and Galvão (1949, 1950). The extent of Trumaí culture loss can be roughly inferred from these sources and from the work of the earlier ethnologists.

[2] Oberg 1953, p. 60.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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CHAPTER SIX

The Death of a Culture

Today there are but twenty-five remaining Trumaí. The fact that they disbanded once during the recent past shows that this small number approaches a critical point at which such a culture is no longer socially viable. If the present population trend continues, Trumaí society will definitely end, and, with the complete assimilation of the descendants of the Trumaí into other tribes, Trumaí culture, except for those elements of it that have been adopted by their neighbors, will belong to the past.

Primitive cultures and the populations that transmitted them are disappearing in many parts of the world today. In most instances, however, they are being destroyed by extended face-to-face contacts with Western society. This is not precisely the case with the Trumaí. Here, there was no large scale transmission of Western culture and no direct interaction with Brazilian society. But slight though the contact of the upper Xingú Indians with the whites was, it resulted in the introduction of respiratory infections that contributed greatly to their depopulation. In this sense, the white man is responsible for the impending death of the Trumaí.

Although the Trumaí were still carrying on their village life during Quain's residence and were to continue to do so, certain changes were taking place in their culture which were symptomatic of the fundamental instability induced by their low numbers.

It is immediately apparent that their weakness made the Trumaí vulnerable to other tribes, both the nominally friendly ones of the upper Xingú Basin, and the hostile ones of the surrounding country. In 1938 the Trumaí could not have successfully withstood a strong Suyá or Yuruna raid, nor could they have launched an attack upon the Suyá for women, as did the more vigorous Kamayurá. Indeed, the Trumaí had good reason to fear the least sound in the jungle at night.

Also, the Trumaí were held in low esteem by their immediate neighbors at the time of Quain's study. This was a severe blow to their *elan*, and it undoubtedly affected their self-image. It led, too, to more concrete results. As noted above, other tribes took Trumaí women during their most fertile years, and it is almost certain that the few "outside" women, who were brought into the Trumaí village through marriage, failed to restore the balance. Moreover, there were no "outside" men

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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105 182 648

in the Trumaí community, for, as Oberg notes, no adult male would choose to live with a people of such low status.[1]

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It might be expected that the Trumaí could have compensated for this drain by raising their birth rate. However, in this population of 43 persons, there were only ten children, an extremely small number when the low average life span is considered. Furthermore, only two of the children were females. Of the approximately twelve women who

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were capable of bearing children, only one was pregnant, and the others were urging her to abort her child. Thus, infanticide and abortion were taking a heavy toll in the Trumaí village.

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The custom of killing twins and of spacing births three or four years apart are reported by Oberg for the Kamayurá,[2] and these factors may well have been present in the Trumaí situation. The long post-natal taboo on sexual intercourse had the same effect. Wagley, who studied the dying but equally unacculturated Tapirapé, found that traditional practices were contributing to the complete depopulation of that group also.[3]

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But among the Trumaí there is still another and less tangible dimension. Abortion may have been urged on a pregnant woman because she had no husband, but how is one to explain the killing of two of Aloari's children without his consent, or the fact that there were eight male and only two female children in the community? The limited information available suggests that the Trumaí were purposely restricting their number and committing suicide, perhaps unintentionally, in the process. Two reasons for this extreme behavior may be hypothesized: first, the impasse in which the Trumaí found themselves because of the steady depopulation made them so personally insecure and apathetic regarding both the present and the future that they were no longer willing to rear sizable families, despite their evident devotion to children; and second, they may not have thought it possible to produce the surplus necessary to support such families. Actually, however, even with their diminished numbers the Trumaí could have increased their food supply.

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Their lowered standard of living was due to more than attitudes. Loss of population no doubt also decreased the yield of Trumaí fishing and therefore limited their chief source of protein. To be sure, bow and arrow fishing was little affected, but fish poisoning, the only communal subsistence technique practiced by them, was much less effective when employed by a small group, for a few people can adequately poison only smaller watercourses and branches of lagoons, while a greater number can cover larger streams and whole lagoons. In the latter circumstance, both the take would be larger and larger species would be available. Moreover, when the waters are heavily poisoned and enough people are present to reap the "harvest," there is less chance of fish escaping. Thus, up to

[1] Oberg 1953, p. 15. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 62. [3] Wagley 1940.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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a certain point at least, the take increases geometrically with the number of persons participating.

In gardening, also, which was not practiced collectively, their small number decreased Trumaí security. It was common for nearly all the village men to plant their gardens in clearings adjacent to those of their neighbors. Obviously, if one part of such a single, extended clearing was improperly fired, or if the crops were destroyed by armadillos or wild pigs, the whole village might be without food. Crop failure for a variety of causes is common in the tropical forests, but most aboriginal communities in South America have several separated garden clearings, each owned by an individual or extended family. If one garden fails, the family can, in a period of emergency, reap from others. Oberg relates that the Trumaí once had to turn for food to the Kamayura,[4] perhaps because of the failure of the village clearing.

It is, of course, possible that in the past the Trumaí organized their gardens along the more rational lines of the Kamayurá;[5] and it is also possible that they never made a proper ecological adaptation subsequent to their arrival in the upper Xingú region. But lacking information on their economy prior to their decimation, we cannot make any firm statement on these points. However, it is certain that, despite their small numbers, the individual Trumaí could have cleared and planted much more land. The average size of the gardens observed by Quain was one-half acre, and this area had to feed up to four people. Many men also had old gardens which were planted only to manioc. According to Quain's calculations, the total acreage of Trumaí gardens was only a little over thirteen. Since yields from forest soils are not high, it is evident that this very small area must have barely met the needs of a population of 43 persons. Manifestly, the Trumaí did not work hard enough; and it seems evident that their lack of application did more to impoverish them than any other single factor.

If the other upper Xingú tribes are used as criteria to establish what Trumaí society was like before its decline, some very serious dysfunctions within Trumaí social structure soon become apparent. To be sure, such a comparison is an arbitrary procedure; and it is only invoked here for its heuristic value. Since village and house patrilocality is the usual mode of residence among the Trumaí, a household similar to that of the Kamayurá, and with like functions, might be expected and might indeed have existed in the past. However, the Trumaí death rate in 1938 was so high that these units disintegrated before they had gone beyond the embryonic stage. House membership was shifting, the number of persons involved small, and leadership nebulous. And since kinship was the principal mechanism for structuring interpersonal relationships in Trumaí society, this lack of a stable, kin-structured unit probably did

[4] Oberg 1953, p. 42. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 45.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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105 174 571 602 serious damage to the individual personality. Also, many individuals could not enact whole sets of kin-determined roles because they had no relatives of the proper complementary status. For example, parents-in-law normally exerted considerable influence and control over younger married couples, but hardly anyone in the village had such relatives. Similarly, cross-cousin marriage was the preferred union, but cross-cousins were generally unavailable. Moreover, because of the shortage of women, marriage came to be more a cause of conflict than a consolidator of kinship bonds.

105 182 628 Not only was the family world of the Trumaí crumbling, but all lines of authority and social control were weak. The Trumaí seemed unable to unite for such culturally approved purposes as economic cooperation or hospitality. Trumaí leadership, like that of many primitive peoples, was predicated on the existence of strong bonds of kinship, economic interdependence, and a general agreement on goals and policies. These preconditions were no longer found among the Trumaí. In this structural vacuum, the Trumaí chief was less and less able to cope with the growing self-assertiveness of certain men, and was increasingly forced into a neutral role. As the community weakened, his position weakened.

105 182 578 A number of reasons account for the factionalism which developed within the Trumaí village. Some are a function of personality, others of the diminished population. Obviously women were at a premium and many men were compelled to do without mates. The resultant competition was, as we have seen, a festering sore in the body politic. Connected with it, but having further ramifications, the bonds of kinship and the expected behavior between kinsmen underwent attrition and upset what social balance could have been achieved under more normal conditions. Indeed fear of the outside world more than internal forces of cohesion held the Trumaí community together.

105 182 771 Other integrative mechanisms in Trumaí culture were also disappearing. Conspicuous among them was the gradual abandonment of many elements in the Trumaí ceremonial cycle. (Significantly this left the highly individual practice of shamanism as the most active religious expression in Trumaí culture). In part, this loss may have been due to the inability of the Trumaí to amass a sufficiently large food surplus for the feasting that was required when visitors from other tribes were present. Not enough is known about the ritual of the Trumaí to warrant any broad generalizations on the effects of depopulation on ceremonial participation, but their numbers may well have been approaching the minimum necessary to carry out the rites. Only a few men who had depended heavily on one old man for their instruction possessed the requisite ceremonial knowledge. When this old man died, Trumaí culture must have suffered a severe blow. Younger men were little interested in learning the ritual and lore. Moreover, the small number of bearers of

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Trumaí culture and the shortness of their average life span must have seriously interfered with the instruction of the young. In addition, the very eclecticism of Trumaí culture militated against conservatism and is indicative of the low value which they placed on their own culture. 105 182 171

In the chapter on religion, the disinterest of the people in their religious activities was often noted. Such behavior may appear paradoxical, but ethnographic literature provides many instances of the decline of traditional belief systems in the face of cultural crisis. In the case of the Trumaí, disinterest in the religious sphere was closely related to disinterest in other aspects of their culture. The Trumaí world view had become a philosophy of despair. While depopulation was causing social and cultural disintegration, cultural factors in their turn were furthering depopulation. The Trumaí were set in a steady downward spiral. [181]

In summary it can be said that, on the basis of Quain's notes, the Trumaí were an anxiety ridden people. They were extremely sensitive and their feelings were easily hurt. They demanded individual recognition and attention. They were disinclined to work in their own interest or to join with each other in community projects. Apathetic towards their own world, they were distrustful of the world outside. These observations find considerable confirmation in de Lima's comments on the Trumaí: 105 152 156 181

> The behavior of this tribe which lives today in a state of humiliation and withdrawal in the face of the other peoples, is quite different from that of the Tupians. They are extremely distrustful Indians; they do not have a frank and happy expression and no matter how long one lives with them they remain always shut off. They do not have the dynamism, nor the disposition to work of the Kamayurá.[6]

It seems certain that this personality structure was not a survival of their more prosperous pre-contact period, when the Trumaí enjoyed some renown as warriors, but was a product of the growing distress which emerged during the period when the their whole security system of the individual — kinship and community — was breaking down. Under the new circumstances the individual Trumaí was no longer lodged in the matrix of the extended family. No longer did the rules of kinship that had formerly guided interpersonal relations operate smoothly for him. No longer did a vigorous community intervene between him and the outside world. There was no strong family, community, or tradition with which he could identify himself. The weakening of the socio-cultural structure precipitated him into conflict with his fellows; and it caused him to transfer some of his dependence to other and stronger groups. And in this effort also, he was unsuccessful, for other tribes looked down upon him as a member of an irredeemably inferior group. 105 152 182

[6] De Lima 1949, p. 25.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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105 182 The dilemma of the individual, itself a function of the deterioration of the group, strengthened the centripetal forces within the society. Similarly, the apathy induced by the process of ego-destruction rendered the Trumaí economically incompetent, and reduced the village to a marginal level of subsistence. Under these conditions, his failure to procreate is understandable.

But no one factor explains the passing of the Trumaí. This was not the result of an acculturative process, since the Trumaí were not adapting to anything new. Their recent history, however, underlines a development in which depopulation, cultural disintegration and personality disorganization engendered further depopulation, cultural disintegration, and personality disorganization. That such a development is cataclysmic in a group as small as the Trumaí is shown by the marginality of the twenty-five survivors and the precarious position of their social identity only seventeen years after Quain left their midst.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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APPENDIX

Buell Quain, in a letter to the late Dr. Ruth Benedict written from Brazil on December 21, 1938, summarized several aspects of Trumaí culture which have a direct and immediate bearing on their decline. Following are excerpts of ethnological interest from this letter, which was discovered after this monograph was completed:

"They are a dying culture. Each generation improves its imitation of Kamayurá culture. Everyone in the village knows a few Kamayurá words. Almost all the songs in the manioc fertility ceremony are Kamayurá. Half the people in the village can carry on a conversation in Kamayurá with ease. One household (there are four) uses Kamayurá in preference to Trumaí. The mother of the house owner speaks no Trumaí; she is a Kamayurá woman who has lived with the Trumaí for about twenty-five years. The child of the household, a ten year old girl, confuses Kamayurá kinship terms with Trumaí in classifying the village. All Trumaí women between twenty and forty have been captive wives among the Kamayurá (which puts the Trumaí men in a peculiar position which they fully but fruitlessly resent) .... They have lots of disorganized leisure. They are sleepy (in part because of insects and fear throughout the night). They are ready to imitate not only the Kamayurá, but me, in petty daily habits. No outsider speaks Trumaí.

"There is nobody among them who volunteers information of ethnological value. For three months I dug for structure and got very little... Dullness cannot be attributed to the climate.

"The village is small .... Each of the four households — now five because of a recent split — are organized, or perhaps disorganized, according to different sociological principals. Three of the seventeen women are of foreign birth; one is Kamayurá, one is Mehinaku, and one is Suyá. The first two speak no Trumaí. A fourth woman with ringworm and two sick children is said to be Yaulapití, but she is well set in Trumaí culture. Nobody claims her as a relative (in part because of aversion toward her ringworm); hence she is used as a prostitute by every man in the village — she is the village joke. Among the men, I have found remarkably uniform responses to various 'tests'. (I said 'Draw a picture of a woman and a man.' Every man but one drew the woman first and oriented her in a distinctive way on the paper. The women showed no such regularity. One Kamayurá man tested also lacked this stereotyped response.)

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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"Tremendous interest in property, together with a simple and declining culture, results in my being a seriously disturbing element in their lives. Casual conversation always degenerates into a squabble about gift-giving .... There is intense pleasure in possession. Children get no sympathy when they are hurt, but objects are usually given to them. Every child has the right at least 'to see' anything he desires. In this respect children are pampered. Adults whine for things; withholding a desired object makes them intensely unhappy. Aggressive possession is admired.. Trade games make the exchange of property very fluid. Yet values in trade are well defined, and there is no prestige in giving more than one gets. Within the kinship circle, however, the old lavish property on the young. A father's garden is spoken of as that of his five year old son. There is a deliberate attempt to instill aggressive ownership attitudes in the young. A three year old girl is taught to claim objects in a loud voice. This is done by shouting the possessive pronoun....

"These are a settled people who live within the strict limits of their village. Their small number has advantage in the study of individuals. They have no knowledge of the world beyond the Kuluene-Kuliseu. It has no more real existence than the various inhabited regions of the heavens. The half dozen expeditions which have passed down the river have communicated with the natives only with signs. The one important result of such contact was division from peripheral tribes and the rise of metal tools. The disappearance of the stone industry, on which a defunct Trumaí moiety had a monopoly, has occurred within the last generation.[1] The increased leisure which probably resulted is not utilized economically.

"The complete lack of self-consciousness among these people makes behavior observation remarkably easy. Before I knew any of the language, I could sit by the hour in various households and time the actions of people while they paid no attention to me. For instance, one man during twenty minutes of leisure lay down to rest in his hammock fifteen different times, but each time disturbed himself with the remembrance of some petty chore undone....

"The only restriction of behavior that I have seen in casual intra-village personal relations is that the children are told not to litter the floor. The only positive rule is that the head of a household must sit with a guest and converse while the guest is inside his house .... Furthermore, extra-marital sexual intercourse has occurred in a shadowy corner of my house.. This lack of self-consciousness contrasts strongly with the Karajá, who are more prudish than the Fijians....

"Shortage of women, because of theft of young women, polygamy, lack of sexual interest in old wives (of which there are several), and

[1] Quain refers here to the moiety-like division of the Trumaí which has been discussed in Chapter Three. This appears to be rather a result of the merger of the northern and southern Trumaí villages. The latter specialised in axe-making.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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post-natal sexual taboos is a serious social problem. A large group of not very pretty bachelors must use the woman with ringworm or the Suyá captive, whose present marriage is considered dishonorable. These women have no brothers or fathers. In contrast with Karajá, there is no stylized homosexuality. Yet the complete freedom of sexual play results in activities which might be considered overt homosexuality. But to the Trumaí such activity has little emotional content. It does not seem to set up special personal relationships.

"Women are in constant fear of attack. Yet a wife tyrannizes her husband by withholding her favors and pulling the hair of anyone whom she suspects her husband has used sexually. Between married people, sex occurs at night — preferably when everyone else is asleep — or while going to the forest on various gathering tasks. A man and his wife engage in many things together, such as afternoon relaxation, fishing, and gardening. There is companionship even between those spouses among whom the wife is much older and no longer of interest to the man sexually.

"Between themselves, the men are extremely individualistic. Cooperation rarely exceeds kin limits even at the explicit order of the chief. Only when outsiders are present do men band together in a mock display of solid cooperation.... There is only one old man, who is about seventy — all others are under 45 ..... All death is murder. Nobody expects to live longer than the next rainy season. Men always carry bows and arrows for protection. Shamans keep the village in constant fear of attack from the Suyá or Kamayurá.... There are imaginary attacks quite often. Men gather in terror at the center of the village — the most exposed spot — and wait to be shot at from the dark bushes at the margin of the village....

"Authority is lax. The patrilineally hereditary chief does no work and is a parasite on his household. He is self-conscious of the rank of his wife whose marriage has elevated her. He lounges in his hammock, but it is his duty to orate from the center of the village at night and sometimes in the morning, urging the men to undertake group projects. He is the only man who has the courage to be an executive. This contrasts with the Kamayurá where there are several chiefs who, uniquely in their culture, are shy and ashamed to speak and whose orders must be referred through special talkers. It also contrasts with the Karajá where the chief is the best worker .... When the season changes, the Trumaí chief urges the people to engage in the new work, which they would do anyway. An example of the complete independence of spirit is illustrated by the two brothers who would not help the brother-in-law of one build the house in which they all were living, because they thought the mosquitoes would be bad in that location during the rainy season. The brother-in-law built the tremendous house all by himself — the two brothers lived comfortably in it.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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105 626 578 [622] [123] [622]

"Angry stylized quarreling is a legal device. The village hoots in derision at him whose argument is poor. The chief must be a master at this kind of argument, but all men and even women participate .... Though everyone makes speeches, it is only the chief who makes executive speeches. Quarrels have always been about women, with the exception of the one which occurred upon my arrival in the village (one party disapproved of me...). The chief does not interfere in personal quarrels. The other men sit quietly in the center of the village smoking and trying to disregard the quarrel, which may be going on over their very heads. When the contenders have retired from the village green, they are perfectly calm. The argument is suspended until it can be carried on publicly. There seem to be no secret alliances among the men.

105 182 771 796

"Another thing I must mention is the complete lack of emotional content in religious ceremonies. These are mildly pleasant chores. Although their structure is designed for a public pageant, nobody pays attention."

1: Murphy, Robert F. and Buell Quain. The Trumai Indians of Central Brazil. Foreword by Charles Wagley. Monographs of the American Ethnological Society, No. 24. Locust Valley, New York: J.J. Augustin Publisher, 1955.

Pp. xii, 108; 4 plates; 1 map.

Yale: Nk10 Am39d 24.

/This brief but well organized monograph on the Trumai Indians of the Upper Xingu River area in Brazil is a posthumous analysis and interpretation of Quain's field notes of 1938 by an equally competent fellow anthropologist, Murphy. It contains keen analyses of the personality, ethos, life cycle, and interpersonal attitude and behavior of the Trumai, and adequate but less extensive accounts of their material culture and religion. This source mainly relies on the data gathered by intensive participant observation techniques but is also supplemented by library research of Murphy. Although Quain did not learn the Trumai language until he reached the field and could not therefore use systematic interview techniques to gather his data, his keen perception, sophisticated observation techniques, and cordial relations with the natives resulted in interesting and seemingly reliable data on psycho-cultural aspects of the Trumai people. Both

1: Murphy, Robert F. and Buell Quain.

Quain and Murphy frequently comment on possible bias of their data when there was any doubt about its reliability as well as on the natives' reactions to the ethnographer, which are helpful in interpreting data.

This is one of the few sources available on the Trumai, a disappearing culture, and may be the best on the social structure of the Trumai. /

Field date: 1938
Analyst: Hesung Chun Koh

Evaluation: Ethnologists-4,5
Processed in 1965

/For map showing a detailed itinerary of the von den Steinen expedition of 1887, specific tribal locations, distribution of settlements, and some topographic features, see 2: Steinen, SP7 Bacairi, category 116, pp. 664-684./

Aueto SP6
Waura SP18
Suya SP21
Trumai SP23
Yuruna SQ26

113
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/For map showing general tribal locations and linguistic affiliations, see 1: Steinen, SP7 Bacairi, category 116, pp. 154-59. For additional map showing a detailed itinerary of the von den Steinen expedition of 1884, specific tribal locations, distribution of settlements, and some topographic features, see same source, pp. 173-85./

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Foreword

In 1938 Buell Quain spent four months, from August to November, among the Trumaí Indians of the upper Xingú River area of central Brazil. In December of 1938 he was recalled to Rio de Janeiro, and failing to obtain governmental permission for his return to the upper Xingú, at least under conditions allowing minimal possibilities for field research, he was unable to continue his studies among the Trumaí. He went instead to do ethnographic and linguistic work among the Gê-speaking Kraho in the state of Maranhão. There, in April 1939, he died.

Quain's research among the Trumaí was, therefore, interrupted and incomplete. He left it in the form of hand-written field notes and a diary. These were carefully and painstakingly arranged and typed by his mother, Dr. Fannie Dunn Quain. Several years after her son's death, Dr. Quain entrusted these notes to me with the understanding that if they proved to be of anthropological value, they would be prepared for publication or otherwise made available to scholars interested in the field. At one time I had hoped that another anthropologist might continue Quain's researches among the Trumaí, and that his notes might thus be incorporated into a more complete investigation of this little-known society. But, in 1946, I was informed by Eduardo Galvão, who had visited the upper Xingú River area, that the number of Trumaí had critically diminished and that Trumaí life was so seriously disorganized that it was doubtful whether they could exist as a tribal entity. It was apparent that little, if any, ethnographic data on the Trumaí beyond that contained in the scattered references of earlier anthropologists who had visited the region and the data in Buell Quain's notes would ever be available to us.

Robert F. Murphy therefore undertook to analyze, order, and prepare for publication the data gathered by Buell Quain. His task was first conceived as essentially that of an editor and a grant from the Buell Quain Fund was made to him for this purpose. It soon became clear that ordering and editing were not enough. While the notes were rich in detail and insights, there were many gaps which Quain certainly was aware of, and there were interpretations and generalizations about Trumaí culture which he undoubtedly would have inserted in his final report. Robert Murphy found that to understand Buell Quain's field work, he would have to immerse himself in the only available document-

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128 ation — he would have to read and re-read the notes, learn the names
114 of the numerous informants and other individuals mentioned there and in the diaries, identify them as to age, sex, status, family membership, etc., familiarize himself with place names and Trumaí terms just as a field investigator would have to do. In addition, Murphy was able to [127] utilize publications on the tribes of the upper Xingú region and of the tropical forest. He was able to consult with Dr. Eduardo Galvão who had worked in the upper Xingú area. And, after the first draft of this manuscript was completed, he was able to make many corrections on the basis of his own experiences among the tropical forest Mundurucú.

Throughout this account, Murphy has adhered to Quain's formulations as closely as possible, but to make them more comprehensible, he has carried analysis further and often added his own interpretations. And his knowledge of Quain's material authorized him to do so. Thus he gives us, not a complete monograph on the Trumaí, but as systematic and intelligible a picture of Trumaí culture and society as his limited data permitted. This monograph is presented for what it is — the field observations of a highly competent research anthropologist analyzed and interpreted by a capable and sympathetic fellow-anthropologist.

114 Something should be said about the general conditions of field research and about Buell Quain as an anthropologist. All anthropologists who knew Quain personally, and those who have read his *Fijian Village*,[1] are impressed by his skill as a field research worker and by his feeling for peoples and cultures not his own. Among the Trumaí, as earlier in a Fijian community, he participated as fully as any outsider could in the culture under study. He was scientifically rigorous, verifying his observations and hypotheses again and again, and when possible giving verbatim statements.

But, above all, Buell Quain liked people, and everywhere he saw them as whole human beings. This was apparent in 1938 in his great concern for the Trumaí canoemen who waited for him at an Indian post near the Xingú headwaters and who were forced to cross "enemy" territory on their return trip to their village. This was apparent in his field notes and diary and in his search to understand the complex motivations of his friends (and enemies). This was apparent in the reactions of the people themselves: in 1946 the few Trumaí whom Eduardo Galvão encountered on the Xingú asked for "Capitão Quain" and spoke of him in glowing terms. And when Galvão camped with the remaining Trumaí in 1952, young people who were but very small children in 1938 knew stories of "Capitão Quain" told them by their parents.

Buell Quain had an artist's responsiveness both to people and surroundings. I shall never forget his description of a phenomenon I later ex-

[1] Quain 1942.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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perienced. He told me of the effect of the tropical dawn on tropical forest peoples. Traveling in the dark, he noted, Indian canoemen tend to break the monotony by singing and talking, but just before the sun appears, they suddenly fall silent, as if in expectation of a sacred moment. Again and again, in camps and while traveling with Brazilian Indians, I was reminded of Quain's perception.

Although Robert Murphy rightly points out the decline of population and the trend toward disintegration of Trumaí culture even in 1938, the Trumaí were a functioning primitive society when Quain visited them. The upper Xingú River area was still very difficult to reach at that time. In 1938 access was by way of Cuyabá, the capital of Matto Grosso. Quain traveled from Cuyabá to the Indian post Simões Lopes by truck, then over savanna grasslands for six days on oxen, then down the Kuliseu River by canoe for seven days to a mission station maintained by Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Young. After a delay here of almost three weeks, he spent another three weeks reaching the Trumaí, traveling slowly and visiting several tribal groups *en route*. The Kamayurá, at whose village he stayed shortly, provided him with canoemen for the last lap of his journey. It took Quain 38 days to return up river and cross the savanna country to Simões Lopes on leaving the Trumaí in late 1938.

Quain's letters to his mother and to his colleagues describe his trip to the Trumaí vividly. To quote a passage telling of his experiences on the upper Kuliseu River on his way to the mission station:

> The river journey was pleasant, until we began to have trouble. Even then I enjoyed it thoroughly. I had too much baggage for two canoes as I had planned. We had to use three. Besides myself I have two Brazilian men and a boy to help with the canoes. I had to paddle one myself and I enjoyed it thoroughly — despite the fact that white men aren't supposed to do that kind of thing. I gave the largest canoe with the most valuable cargo to the Brazilian whom I thought was the best canoeist. He had the boy to help with the paddling and poling through the rapids. Nevertheless it was his canoe which filled with water on the second day. We had to stop on a rock ledge and spread the things out to dry. Lots of rice and beans, papers and books, etc. It was evening. Not until the next morning did we realize that the sun barely touched the rocky ledge that we had chosen for drying the cargo. There was a wind — the worst of the dampness was removed before nightfall. Everything went well until we struck some swift rapids on the fifth day, when the same large canoe wrapped itself around a rock and the cargo went sailing down the river about eight miles an hour. I managed to rescue everything but a bag of farinha, a frying pan, a fishline and a couple of cakes of the hard unrefined sugar, which forms an important part of the diet throughout Matto Grosso.[1]

And about the Indians he wrote from the missionary station:

> My work for the next month is going to be a jumble of languages. It may take a month to reach the Trumaí because the Indians like to rest all the time. This means that I will have ample time to contact several in each of three different linguistic families (Carib, Arawak, Tupí). The Trumaí are entirely unrelated. This

[1] Quain letter, July 13, 1938.

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means that I simply must come back here soon, within the next five years — so I can take advantage of the long delay. I expect to know a lot of useful, but academically unimportant things about the Kuliseu before I get through. This is the place — if I ever heard of one — where a half-dozen ethnologists should be working. Friendly Indians as yet untouched; twenty or more villages within a radius of a month's travel — all of which are culturally different, one from the other. In fact nothing nicer can be imagined.[3]

Although several expeditions had penetrated the upper Xingú area before Quain's time, the greater part of the region was unexplored. Karl von den Steinen is perhaps the best known of the early investigators. Reports of his trips in 1884 and 1887 are given in *Durch Central-Brasilien: Erste Schingu Expedition*[4] and in *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*,[5] respectively. Together they provide us with the first ethnographic data on the tribes of the upper Xingú area. Von den Steinen was warned by the other tribes in the area not to visit the Trumaí, who were said to be dangerous warriors and antagonistic to all outsiders. But contact was made eventually, first with isolated individuals and later with two villages. Von den Steinen describes the small, thin people who received him and his colleagues with solicitous hospitality. Some women still wore the traditional pubic covering, the *sinri*. The German ethnographer also noted the peculiar speech of the Trumaí, their excitability, their uneasy relationships and wars with neighboring tribes, and certain features of material culture.

Von den Steinen's expeditions were followed by numerous others, but only those of Hermann Meyer in 1896 and 1899,[6] Max Schmidt in 1901,[7] and Vincent Petrullo in 1931[8] had ethnological importance. Yet systematic knowledge of the upper Xingú tribes remained relatively scanty, limited to information mainly on material culture and word lists. In fact, until Quain's visit to the Trumaí, most of the ethnographic researches in the area were essentially in the nature of general surveys. Although Quain's data are incomplete, his was the first attempt to study with modern anthropological methods the life of an upper Xingú River tribe, and this at a time when the people of the area were still relatively undisturbed by outside influences.

Today, however, the long isolation of the upper Xingú River area is being broken. In 1945, an expedition of the Central Brazil Foundation, which aimed at opening a road through Brazil to the Amazon, penetrated the region, and constructed a landing strip. The Brazilian Indian Service now maintains a permanent post in the heart of this region, and several anthropologists (and numerous other scientists, journalists, and tourists) have traveled into the area by Brazilian Airforce planes.

[3] Quain letter, July 28, 1938.
[4] Von den Steinen 1886.
[5] Von den Steinen 1897.
[6] Meyer 1896—7 and 1900.
[7] Schmidt 1902—4.
[8] Petrullo 1932.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Recent ethnographic researches have for the most part concentrated upon the Kamayurá (Galvão 1949, 1950, and 1952; Oberg 1953), the Waurá (de Lima 1949, 1950), and the Kuikuru (Robert Carneiro and Gertrude E. Dole, unpublished). Only incidentally have these observers commented upon the Trumaí. Therefore, in 1953 when I had the opportunity to spend a little time in the upper Xingú area, I made a point of remaining a few days with the remants of the Trumaí. They were camped temporarily at Karajaja, the old village site, on a lake about half a mile away from the Kuluene River; their permanent houses were then at Anariatan, near the village site during Quain's visit. It was the dry season and the Trumaí were fishing. There were only 24 persons in the group — six adult males, ten adult females, four boys and four girls. Three of the women were unmarried widows, and there was one unmarried girl just past puberty. The chieftain whose current name was Ilitoari (no doubt the Aloari of Quain's notes), was married to two sisters, and there were four monogamous families. Two of the men were old and unmarried. Thus, the Trumaí were again united as a village (they had disbanded for a while). In 1953, however, there were not even enough men for the Trumaí to participate in the intertribal spear-throwing contests, a sport in which they had once been famous throughout the area.

The process of steady social and cultural disintegration and depopulation, which was already apparent among the Trumaí in 1938, has been a continuing one; and it is only a question of a very short time before these people cease to exist as a separate tribal group. Thus, the information and insights that Robert Murphy has brought together from Buell Quain's field work may be all that we shall ever have on Trumaí life and society.

Columbia University CHARLES WAGLEY
February 1955

[P. x contains no textual material]

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Introduction

Many people do not read the prefaces to monographs. This one must be read in order to understand what follows. 114

The writer never met his co-author, Buell Quain, for Quain died sixteen years ago. Some six months before his death he had terminated a period of four months field research among the Trumaí Indians of the Xingú River in northern Matto Grosso, Brazil. Among his effects were his field notes, which represented the results of one of the most difficult investigations ever undertaken by an ethnologist.

In 1949, shortly after I commenced my graduate studies in anthropology, Professor Charles Wagley of Columbia University asked me to edit the Trumaí notes. After further consideration of the material, Professor Wagley and I concluded that the notes had been ordered as far as was possible by Quain's mother, Dr. Fannie Dunn Quain, and that they could best be presented in the form of a monograph, which I was to write.

First, let me describe Buell Quain's Trumaí notes. In essence they consist of a remarkably detailed field diary in which Quain had recorded the daily activities and events of the Trumaí village. If a woman walked from one house to another bearing food, it was duly stated. The play of the children, the facial expressions apparent during ceremonies, the slightest nuances of interpersonal behavior were all put into the notebook. Present also are charts showing the daily economic activities of every villager and a report, in all its minutiae, of what occurred in a household of an afternoon. Quain also set down in his daily log many comments made to him by his Trumaí informants and scraps of conversation which he overheard. 126

The notes are a triumph of participant observation. Quain understood very little Trumaí, although his diary shows that he was learning it rapidly by the time of his departure. He evidently maintained some communication with certain bilingual Trumaí by using Tupí, of which he appears to have had a fragmentary knowledge. Lacking the means to do detailed informant work, Quain leaned heavily on his observations of the behavior and activity of all the Trumaí, and he also learned much from his own personal interaction with them. He was deeply sensitive to the mutual relationships between himself and the subjects of his study, as he was completely alone in his sojourn; he did not even have a Brazilian backwoodsman for help and companionship. He entrusted 123 [122]

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123 himself to the hospitality of the Indians and in return received their confidence.

A feeling of aloneness permeates the Quain notes. He was in the midst of people with whom he had limited communication, due not only to the obstacle of language, but to the cultural gulf separating him from them. The threat of enemy attack was at that time constant in the upper Xingú area; life was precarious and civilization far off. Perhaps this existence sharpened his observations and increased the depth of his insights, for these are fine notes. Buell Quain's Trumaí 114 field trip is part of a tradition of ethnographic field research of which the anthropological profession may well be proud. His story, told more fully by Dr. Charles Wagley in the Foreword, adds one more legend to the saga of primitivist studies.

114 My own role in the writing of this monograph was to assemble and order the facts collected by Quain and to evaluate the data in terms of 128 which behavior and attitudes are normative within Trumaí culture, which lie within the range of permissible variation, and how such traits are merged in the whole. Facts do not speak for themselves. The concept of culture implies an interrelatedness of the components, which, in turn, calls for interpretation on the part of the ethnologist. It might be said that the information is Quain's product; its ordering into a coherent description of Trumaí culture mine. It is impossible, however, to so neatly separate the Murphy from the Quain in this monograph, for Quain's interests and ideas have influenced my interpretation of the data. Conversely, the facts have no doubt been affected by the interpretation. For this reason, I have included as many illustrations and examples from the notes as was possible. I have also avoided generalizing statements in the actual description of Trumaí culture, and overall interpretations have been reserved for the conclusion. The final chapter, then, is my own view of the dynamics involved in the breakdown of Trumaí culture and society. The reader will by that time be in essential command of the data upon which the generalizations are based and free to make up his own mind.

128 Quain's most adequate information is on the closely interrelated subjects of personality, ethos, life cycle, and interpersonal behavior and attitudes. Material culture, technology, and religion are less thoroughly documented. Thus, the orientation of the monograph is the result of Quain's own interests. I have also visualized my task to be a description of the Trumaí Indians in 1938, and reference has been made to other sources only to place them in the context of history and the cultural landscape of the upper Xingú River region.

114 Quain's field work was never completed and the reader will find large gaps in this monograph. Undoubtedly, there are errors and much that is in disagreement with other data and other field workers. It is

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doubtful, however, that we will ever have a full study of the Trumai, such as Quain had planned, for they are now on the verge of extinction.

Although I must bear the responsibility for the shortcomings of this monograph, others must share credit for any redeeming features it may have. Drs. A. L. Kroeber and Julian H. Steward have read sections of the manuscript and contributed many valuable comments. Miss Jane Phillips edited the first draft and helped in its organization. The manuscript owes much to my wife, Yolanda Murphy, who typed and edited it in all its stages and gave of her own insights as an anthropologist. Dr. Charles Wagley initiated and supervised this effort, and it profited greatly from his knowledge and experience gained among Brazilian primitives. But for him, Buell Quain's Trumai material would still be inaccessible to interested students. Dr. Wagley also furnished the photographs included in this monograph, which were taken during his visit to the Trumai in 1953, fifteen years after Quain had worked among them.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge the financial support given by the Buell Quain Fund towards the preparation of this study. Publication was made possible by the Columbia University Social Science Research Council and the American Ethnological Society. The writer would like to express his gratitude to all these people and institutions.

Urbana, Illinois ROBERT F. MURPHY
January 1955.

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CHAPTER ONE

The Upper Xingú Area

Previous Field Surveys

114 Buell Quain's research among the Trumaí Indians of the upper Xingú River in Brazil was accomplished during the months of August to November of 1938. There have been expeditions since then, and several preceded it. The best known of the early ethnographers is Karl von den Steinen, who was the first white man to explore the tributaries of the Xingú and to contact and report upon the tribes there. His trips of 1884 and 1887 were followed by those of Hermann Meyer in 1897 and 1899, Max Schmidt in 1901, and Vincent Petrullo in 1931. Since Quain's trip, Oberg in 1948, Galvão in 1947 and 1950, de Lima in 1947 and 1948, and Robert Carneiro and Gertrude E. Dole in 1953–54 have worked among the "tribes" of the upper Xingú.* Most of the earlier research was in the form of surveys, which did not concentrate on the culture of any one group. Intensive studies can only be done through continuous residence among and careful observation of a tribe. Quain did exactly this for several months, filling a gap of much-needed information from the upper Xingú. He has also treated social, political, and religious structure much more thoroughly than the surveys, which have given especial attention to material culture. Since the other sources have treated this aspect of culture more completely than did Quain, and as Quain himself was more interested in non-material culture, the present work will follow his emphasis.

Geographical Features

131 The tributaries of the Xingú River have particularly attracted ethnologists, because the inaccessibility of the region has made it a fortress against the inroads of Brazilian civilization. There were probably few places in Brazil harder to reach. Entry from the north is virtually impossible as the main stream of the Xingú is blocked by falls, and transportation by river boat is therefore precluded. Travel above the fall

* The term "tribe" is commonly accepted by anthropologists to mean a multi-community group unified within a common social structure or by continuous political controls, the people of which share the same language and culture and feel themselves to be one. This is not true of the upper Xingú groups, and the term is used herein for purposes of convenience and in its broadest sense only.

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The rapid exhaustion of the soil forces them into a life which, although not nomadic, involves frequent moves. As the soil in old plots is exhausted, new ones have to be opened up. The area of exploitable land around the village is limited by the need to transport the produce and protect the villagers from their enemies. Thus, after the land available to the village has been used, the group moves. 134 241 361

The main subsistence of the nine village groups now living in the upper Xingú area is derived from this typically Amazonian shifting horticulture coupled with fishing in the extensive streams, lagoons, and estuaries. Apparently, the population of the region was never great enough to cause any pressure on land or other resources. Each village maintained exclusive rights of exploitation over certain waterways and areas of land within which the village always moved. There evidently were not, and still are not, any clearly defined territorial boundaries; but village rights are implicitly recognized. 105 226 241 423

The Neighbors of the Trumaí

Although there is considerable uniformity in the cultures of the upper Xingú tribes, their linguistic affiliations are diverse. The main language stocks of aboriginal Brazil are represented. On the Kuluene River are the linguistically independent Trumaí and the Cariban Kuikuru, Kalapalo, Tsuva, and Naravute. Near the waters of the Kuliseu River live the Tupian Kamayurá and Aueti, the Arawakan Mehinaku and Yaulapití, and the Cariban Nahukwa. The Batoví River is inhabited by the Arawakan Waurá and Kustenaú.[1] All these villages maintain a rather distrustful peace among themselves, but live in fear of their hostile Gê- and Tupian-speaking neighbors on the perimeters of the upper Xingú drainage area. 101 197 [648]

The upper Xingú "tribes" consist of one village each. It seems evident from the linguistic heterogeneity of the region that it is a *cul de sac* — one of the aboriginal refuge areas which characterize the cultural landscape of the headwaters of the Amazon and its tributaries. 101

The cultural uniformity of the above peoples has impressed all observers, as has the extensive contact that they maintain with each other. Descriptions of this homogeneity are to be found in von den Steinen[2] and, latterly, in Galvão[3] and Oberg.[4] Among the principal material traits which distinguish the area as opposed to neighboring, but outside, groups are: haystack-shaped houses arranged in a circle around a central plaza; bark canoes; dependence upon fish for protein; 171 [114]

[1] Oberg (1953, p. 4) states that the Yaulapití, Kustenaú, Tsuva, and Naravute no longer live in independent villages, but reside among other groups, usually of the same linguistic family.

[2] Von den Steinen 1886. [3] Galvão 1949. [4] Oberg 1953.

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ted plants as beans and gourds and for the flat manioc flour cake, the *beijú*, are almost identical with the corresponding Kamayurá words.

The pre-contact history of the Trumaí is largely inferential and their recent history is poorly documented. The white explorers and scientists who visited the upper Xingú frequently did not encounter the Trumaí, and almost never visited their villages. Historical data indicate that in von den Steinen's time and possibly as late as the 1931 trip of Petrullo the Trumaí lived in two villages. Von den Steinen showed an abandoned Trumaí village, in substantially its present location, and another on the lower end of the Tsahuku, a network of waterways and lagoons west of and parallel to the Kuliseu River.[6] Although Meyer's map did not show this southern village in 1896,[7] it appears in Schmidt's map for 1901.[8] Petrullo encountered Trumaí, most probably of the southern village, on the west bank of the Kuliseu, between the locales of the Nahukwa and Mehinaku villages.[9] M. Moennich, one of a party of American missionaries who descended the Kuliseu in 1937, did not, however, note a Trumaí village near this site.[10] When Quain arrived in 1938 there was only one Trumaí village, which was located at the northern site. This would suggest that the southern village was abandoned in 1937–38, but it is possible that those Trumaí seen by Petrullo and Moennich were the same ones whom Quain visited.

The northern and southern villages mentioned in the literature are the only ones recorded. It is certain that since 1884 there have only been two communities, although each has been located in many different places. Unfortunately, the exact locations of the abandoned sites and their periods of occupation are not well known. Each of the old village locales had a name, and these designations are still known. Among them are Morena, Waniwani, Karajaja, Iakare, Jawpew, and Wahldat. Some of the names, such as Iakare, are obviously of Tupian origin. Jawpew was the name of the northern Trumaí village at the time of von den Steinen's expeditions. Karajaja was the last location before the one in which Quain resided. This site was located near the Kamayurá village on the Tsahuku and appears on Petrullo's map. The Trumaí said that it was a good village, but that they had to move because the Kamayurá and Auetí were practicing sorcery against them. The village to which they moved, and where Quain visited them, was named Anariatan.

People were often referred to by other Trumaí according to the village in which they were born. Thus, a *Wahldat jaxlo* was, literally, a son of Wahldat. Also, garden sites were most commonly named after an abandoned village. The old villages were looked on with reverence as the homes of the ancestors of the Trumaí. They were considered to be places of great interest, and Quain was repeatedly urged to visit them.

[6] *Ibid.*, 1897, p. 93. [7] Meyer 1897, Plate I. [8] Schmidt 1942.
[9] Petrullo 1932, p. 180. [10] Moennich 1942.

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The usual procedure was for each man to clear a garden plot adjacent to the others; in this way the two large clearings of Nariatan and Waniwanitan were created. The three isolated small clearings might have been nuclei for future large clearings.

All the trees in the plot to be cleared were felled, and the underbrush was slashed away. This has been done with steel axes since the upper Xingú Indians came in contact with the outside world. Quain noted that much more work must have been involved in clearing the forest when stone axes were used. Even with improved implements, clearing land was the most arduous work done by the Trumaí. Stumps were not uprooted, nor were the fallen trees and shrubs removed. The dead vegetation was allowed to dry, and the plot was burned over just before planting in September. When planting, the Trumaí followed the simple expedient of avoiding burned tree trunks and stumps. One year old garden plots were made ready for replanting simply by pulling out or chopping down weeds.

The heavy work of clearing the land fell to the men. In one case reported by Quain, two men from the same household cleared a plot jointly, but in all other instances each garden was cleared by one man.

Permanent rights to land resided in the community as a whole, but gardens were spoken of as belonging to the man who had cleared the land. He also had proprietary rights over the crops, even when he had not planted them himself. Generally, however, such fine points of property were not an issue, as the man who cleared the land usually planted it. Land tenure was a function of use only.

Absolute, permanent ownership of property in land would have had no purpose, as the gardens were temporary and were abandoned when the soil was exhausted after two consecutive plantings.

The planting season began after the first light rains and lasted from about the middle of September to about the second week in October. The first heavy daytime rains arrive at the beginning of October and become more frequent throughout the month. Thus the sowing was done after the earth was moistened, but before the rains arrived in full force.

Quain made note of a variety of food plants growing in the Trumaí gardens. These included bitter manioc (*ole*), corn (*xotet*), squash, large beans (*kuman*), small beans (*kumana'i*), sweet potatoes (*mani*), sugar cane (*kanaviya*), a species of pineapple (*waeus ruyau*), and banana trees (*tsi tdatdat*). Among the domesticated non-food plants were tobacco, cotton (*amundyu*), the castor bean (*patasy*), and *urucú* (*matdot*). Quain believed that the castor bean was used for the round hollow point of the whistling arrow, but Oberg says that the Kamayurá make theirs with hollow nuts of the tucúm palm.[1] *Urucú* is a plant bearing a pod, the

[1] Oberg 1953, p. 31.

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264 Eating seemed to be casual, and it would be inaccurate to speak of "mealtimes." The time for eating was governed by what one happened to be doing on that day. While a person was in the village, he ate whenever food was offered, which occured frequently. If fishing was in order, the fishermen ate before and after their trip and also took food with them. Quain noticed that people usually ate on arising and, during the planting season, again upon returning from the gardens. Meals, then, were only an intensification of eating, occasioned by the return of people to the village. All the people of a household frequently ate at the same time, but the whole village seldom ate simultaneously. Meals involved little formality, and the Trumaí man often ate in his hammock between naps.

House Building

342 Unfortunately, Quain left few detailed drawings of houses or other
● 114 aspects of material culture, and his descriptions are brief. Most of the data on material culture were gathered from his careful inventory of all the houses in the village. He was probably reserving the detailed documentation for the proposed return trip which he never made.

342 The first step in the construction of a house was to sink the two heavy
335 center posts in a deep hole. The ridge pole was then set in place at the top of the center posts by raising it with forked sticks. A few men stood with the sticks at either end of the ridge pole, and each group in turn lifted and set the end on the center posts. A "water shed" (not well described by Quain but undoubtedly a cap of thatch) was placed over the ridge pole. The tops of the center posts were not notched to receive the ridge pole; instead, sticks were lashed on opposite sides of the two
[283] center posts to form a fork in which the ridge pole was laid. All joining of the framework in the house was done with bark fiber. Wall posts, about four feet high, were set in the ground so as to form an elliptical floor plan around the center posts.

The next step was to lash on the curved longitudinal poles which join the wall posts to the ridge pole. Horizontal poles were tied across these and across the wall posts to form a frame for the thatch. Additional smaller poles could be added to give a tighter thatch frame. Thatching was sometimes started in one section before the frame had been entirely completed. The grass (*damok*) for thatch was gathered by the house-
342 builders and brought back tied in bundles.

The roof was thatched first, but a section was often left incomplete until the rainy season. Quain was told by Maibu, the chief, that he would finish thatching his house after the rains began because the grass was longer then. In the case of one house, the thatching of the walls was started when the roof was nearly completed. While one builder

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592 578 friendly terms tended to join in forming a household, and third, it was probably considered desirable to suppress ill feeling within the house.

571 578 592 The unfriendliness between Maibu and the men of Aloari's family existed side by side with close gift-giving obligations between their two houses. According to Aloari's brother Oirupa, he *pana* (gives) to all the people of his own house and also to all the people of Maibu's house. Residence was the crucial factor, for when Yanahi and Mayuva moved from his house, Oirupa no longer gave to them. Similarly, the two other houses had close gift-giving ties. The women united according to this house division when an attack was thought imminent.

●114 592 602 Insofar as can be ascertained from Quain's genealogical data, there were no special kin bonds between the households of Maibu and Aloari, on one hand, and Jakwanari and Nitvary, on the other, to explain this moiety-like division. But it is of interest that the houses of both Maibu and Aloari were the large type of domicile, like those of the Kamayurá, whereas the other pair of houses were the smaller "true" Trumaí type. It is possible that the residents of one pair of houses, perhaps the smaller, were the descendants of inhabitants of the southern village.

The Nuclear Family

594 Despite the importance of the household and the bilateral consanguineal group, the nuclear family, consisting of man, wife, and children, was still the basic unit of Trumaí society and economy. The biological family could provide nearly all the necessities of life within the previously outlined framework of individualized production and division of labor between the sexes.

The responsibilities of child-rearing fell largely on the nuclear family. The Trumaí showed a fondness for children, and it was not unusual for other adults in the house to play with them and watch over them; but the chief attention came from the parents, and the dependence of the young upon the father and mother was stronger than upon the rest of the household.

[513] 593 The conjugal group had its own hearth near which its hammocks were strung. Very young children slept with the mother or, if motherless, with the father. Couples were companionable and spent much of their leisure time with each other. It was common for a man and wife to sit in the shade of their house in the afternoon while he made arrows and she worked on a hammock. At other times the couple would go on a short [832] gathering trip, or just idle around the house. Embraces or mild sex play often occurred in public between younger mates.

593 156 Some unions were closer than others. Aloari and his wife Yumunuwa spent more time together and showed more affection than did other couples. They were both young; he was virile and aggressive, and she

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Incest 835 582 602

taboos and permissible marriages were a part of kinship-determined behavior and will be treated below.

Kinship Terminology

601

Everyone within the Trumaí village classified everyone else by a term of relationship. Since the community was small, most of these designations expressed a demonstrable bond of consanguinity or affinity, although even outsiders were placed within the kinship system. This was done by establishing a kin tie with one Trumaí, whereupon the rest of the village could automatically place the outsider in the proper context.

601 178 114

Much of the data on the kinship system is uncertain for a number of reasons. The high death rate of the Trumaí, their lack of interest in tracing genealogies, and, most important, a taboo on the names of the dead made the recounting of family lines difficult. Moreover, there is some indication that the Trumaí system was changing rapidly. Many descriptive categories for classifying collateral kinsmen were falling into disuse and being replaced by classificatory terms. The result is an extreme looseness of nomenclature, as can be seen from the accompanying list of terms collected by three ethnologists.[3]

601 114

Term	Quain	Oberg[4]	Wagley[5]
Ego's generation			
sibling	apizi[6]		
younger brother	takwai (v)	ahedát[6] (m. sp.)	ha-heát[6] (m. sp.)
	opat (r)	takwai (w. sp.)	ha-pisí (w. sp.)
older brother		apisí (m. or w.sp.)	ha-pisí (m. or w. sp.)
sister	hatdiflo		ha-duflo (m. sp.)
younger sister	ta'yj	tain (m. sp.)	
		takwai (w. sp.)	ha-takwai (w.sp.)
older sister		apisí (m. or w.sp.)	ha-pisí (w. sp.)

[3] The three lists of Trumaí kinship terms are listed below, since they, in a sense, complete and correct one another. Quain's list is admittedly incomplete and contains several errors. Wagley's terms likewise are incomplete and based on short interviews with informants during his brief stay among the Trumaí. Oberg says nothing about his Trumaí informants, and neither Oberg nor Wagley collected referential terms. The divergencies, then, may reflect misunderstandings on the part of the ethnologists or informants, or they may actually reflect changes that are taking place in Trumaí society.

[4] Oberg 1953, p. 119.

[5] Wagley, personal communication.

[6] The prefix "ha" (Wagley and Quain) or "a" (Oberg and Quain) is the Trumaí first person possessive.

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Term	Quain	Oberg	Wagley
mother's brother's son	mipino	hamopinó (m. or w. sp.)	ha-mipinó (m. or w. sp.)
mother's brother's daughter	„	„	„
father's sister's son	„	„	„
father's sister's daughter	„	„	„
mother's sister's son		adif (m. sp.) apisi (w. sp.)	
mother's sister's daughter		adiflé (m. sp.) takwai (w. sp.)	ha-duflo (m. sp.)
father's brother's son	hapino (v)	adif (m. sp.) apisi (w. sp.)	
father's brother's daughter		adiflé (m. sp.) takwai (w. sp.)	ha-duflo (m. sp.)
First Ascending Generation			
father	apapa (v) a'ao (r)	apapá (m. or w. sp.)	ha-papa (m. or w. sp.)
mother	ataivo (v) ale (r)	ataivá (m. or w. sp.)	ha-taivo (m. or w. sp.)
father's brother	tatok (v)	atatók (m. or w. sp.)	ha-tatók (m. or w. sp.) ha-papa
father's sister	akato	akató (m. or w. sp.)	ha-katá (m. or w. sp.)
mother's brother	wawo (v)	wawó (m. or w. sp.)	wawó (m. or w. sp.)
mother's sister	koko	kokó (m. or w.sp.)	koko (m. or w.sp.)
First Descending Generation			
son	faxlo	awalók (m. sp.) awahók (w. sp.)	ha-pai (m. sp.)
daughter	faxlo	yawaitló (m. or w. sp.)	ha-faxlo
brother's son	faxlo takwai (m. sp.) waremo (v., m. sp.) tacnam (r., m. sp.) adjut (w. sp.)	waremó (m. sp.) kamlók (w. sp.)	
brother's daughter	faxlo ta'yj (m. sp.) adjut (w. sp.)	tauf (m. sp.) aytin (w. sp.)	
sister's son	faxlo takwai (w. sp.)	detá (m. sp.) takwaipdé (w.sp.)	deta (m. sp.)

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Term	Quain	Obeng	Wagley
	deta (v., m. sp.)		
sister's daughter	faxio	adák (m. sp.)	ha-dak (m. sp.)
	ta'yj (m. or w. sp.)	ta'ai (w. sp.)	
	tatdicnam (w. sp.)		
Second Ascending Generation			
father's father	adjei (v)	ayei (m. or w.sp.)	ha-doho (m. sp.)
	adjen (r)		ha-yei (w. sp.)
mother's father	adjei (v)	ayei (m. or w.sp.)	ha-doho (m. sp.)
	adjen (r)		ha-yei (w. sp.)
father's mother	atsets (v)	atsetá (m. or w. sp.)	ha-doho
	alen (r)		
mother's mother	atsets (v)	atsetá (m. or w. sp.)	ha-doho
	alen (r)		
Second Descending Generation			
son's son	hadozo	adohó	ha-doho
son's daughter	"	"	"
daughter's son	"	"	"
daughter's daughter	"	"	"
Affinals			
husband	eco	tekaú	ha-eshé
wife	hatdetsi	adetsí	ha-detsi
brother's wife		adifletsi (m. sp.)	
sister's husband		ashlá (m. sp.)	ha-eshla (m. sp.)
wife's brother		ashlá	ha-talak

Incest Restrictions

The Trumaí had no rules of group or locality exogamy. Permissible and prohibited sexual or marital relationships were a function of certain kinship ties only. The most acceptable marriage union was between cross-cousins. According to one informant, true cross-cousins should not marry, but Quain's genealogies present a number of cases in which first cousins related through sibling parents of unlike sex have done so. It is doubtful whether these represented violations of a rule, for there was one instance of such cross-cousins, when they were very young children, being pledged in marriage by their parents. Parallel cousins were not acceptable mates, nor were their children or the children of siblings.

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of specialist among the Trumaí that is not reported for the Kamayurá, and it is to this type that the term "shaman" is applied in the following description. The Trumaí "shaman," in this sense, is a man who possessed extra-visionary powers through which he could locate enemy war parties and "see" the afterworld.

The source of the visionary shaman's and also the curing shaman's power is revealed nowhere in Quains' notes, nor do we have any information on other aspects of the associated belief system. Oberg's Kamayurá informants told him that personal spirits are acquired during illness, and it is contact with one's spirit which gives the power.[3] This may well be true in Trumaí culture also, but the very fact that Quain did not perceive this, even granting the language barrier, might indicate a decline in the strength of animistic belief.

"Seeing," as Quain translates Trumaí shamanism, took place only at night. (Quain was told that if a shaman inhaled large quantities of tobacco smoke during the day, his temples would pound.) Since one of the main purposes of shamanism was to detect enemies and the fear of attack was greatest at night, it was then that knowledge was felt to be most necessary. Shamanism, it should be stressed, revolved around one of the central themes in Trumaí life, fear of other tribes; the pronouncements of the shaman were almost always that enemies were near and that danger was acute. These were generally believed without question by his audience.

The procedure was simple. When the talk in the men's circle stressed the possibility of a raid, the shaman was called upon to "see." A hushed silence fell over the group. Even Quain was asked to stop speaking and using his typewriter. The shaman turned his back on the assembly, inhaled large amounts of tobacco smoke, his only paraphernalia, and seemed to concentrate deeply. Quain could detect no traces of tobacco narcosis, but it was possible that a mild reaction was produced. After a few minutes of intense concentration, the shaman faced about and announced the results of his activity. This was usually to the effect that he had seen Suyá, or, less often, Bororo, Yuruna, or a tribe of the immediate region. A Trumaí shaman could also find lost articles, but this was secondary to "seeing" the enemy. One shaman claimed to have seen the land of the dead, but there was no suggestion that he had communicated with the deceased.

Only certain older men were visionary shamans. There is no evidence that women were admitted to the practice anywhere in the region. Inheritance of shamanistic power was nominally patrilineal. In 1938 there were three shamans: Yakuma, the chief's oldest biological brother, Aloari's brother Tun, and Matiwana. Tun was the most active practitioner, while Yakuma seldom "saw." Maibu said that the latter was

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

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Deities and Mythology

The Trumaí were certainly not preoccupied with the supernatural. Quain makes no mention of the spirit owners of animal, plant, and fish species that figure so prominently in the Kamayurá belief system, nor does he speak of the "*ole* spirits" attributed to the Trumaí by Oberg.[8] Beliefs, which are a more covert part of culture, are particularly difficult for an ethnographer who lacks familiarity with the language to learn about, and it is understandable that Quain's notes are weak on this point.

Magic, except for sorcery, was not observed by Quain, unless shamanistic curing is considered a magical practice. No objects, such as charms or amulets, were thought to have a magical effect, and the already discarded ceremonial objects were the only inanimate items that could be said to have some inherent religious value. In short, the day-to-day world of the Trumaí was little influenced by extra-corporeal forces or personages. The deities were nearly all culture heroes and creators, who did their work in the dim past of the "grandfathers of all the Trumaí."

With some variation the mythology of the Trumaí was quite similar to that of the Kamayurá. The most important of the Trumaí creation deities was Sun (Atehle). This was not the visible, celestial sun. The Trumaí explained that the celestial sun was only the *aton* (pet) of the real Sun, who was important in all the creation myths. Sun no longer actively intervened in life, but in the days of the creation he was an anthropomorphic personage having great supernatural powers. Sun's mother was the wife of Panther (Fetde), who appears in the tales of the after life. This woman, in turn, was the daughter of Wamutsini, or Grandfather. The latter had an important part in the creation, for he was the original deity from whom the other supernaturals sprang. Wamutsini's daughter was not important in these stories.

The identity and character of Moon were ill-defined. At one time Moon was in the heavens with Sun, who, however, became angry with him and cast him out to his present isolated position. Moon was once eaten by Awalanaxe, a fish. Sun, upon learning of this, made a fishhook, caught Awalanaxe, and disemboweled him. Moon was found inside quite chewed up, but Sun molded him back into shape. A fly then crawled up the nostril of the unconscious Moon causing him to sneeze. He thought that he had merely been asleep, but Sun explained that he had been eaten.

Moon's sex was highly ambivalent, being a male in some tales and a female in others. He was not, however, important as a creator. Awalanaxe appeared frequently in the mythology as did Wakpanehene, another fish.

[8] Oberg 1953, p. 54.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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took the axe, and this is why they have been able to build a great civilization. Indeed, white men, although first encountered in 1884, figure in many Trumaí myths. For instance, Waniwani once seduced Uluwa's wife and took her to the land of the white men, which was thought to lie either downstream near the Yuruna or beyond the headwaters of the Kuluene River.

Many ceremonies were first taught by Sun. He presented Maibu's deceased brother with a spear-thrower and taught him the spear-throwing contest. He also first made the masks which the Trumaí once used. The people of the area received cotton and tobacco from Sun, and he gave the fishtrap to the Mehinaku.

The foregoing creation myths collected by Quain were probably only a small part of the Trumaí cycle. Paradoxically, the historic legend of their migration into the area and the subsequent borrowing of culture elements from their neighbors would seem to negate the creation myths in which the Trumaí appear to have always lived in the upper Xingú area. Quain states that they have reconciled the inconsistencies, but he does not support this point with any concrete data. Undoubtedly this problem bothered the ethnographer far more than the Trumaí.

The After-Life

Waniwani, the village of the afterworld, was located in the heavens. In order to get there one had to travel the Milky Way. This was the abode of Panther, and the road was lined with many panthers who inflicted dangerous wounds on the wayfarers. After passing through this gamut, the dead entered the Trumaí village. Here many Trumaí resided, and the rivers and lagoons teemed with *kate* fish. These were usually caught by poisoning, as the *tawasi* tree grew in abundance. There was no death in this afterworld; it was only on earth that death was feared, said the Trumaí.

Jemenary and Kelenewary

The last of the Trumaí myths collected by Quain concerned Jemenary and his trickster nephew Kelenewary. This story, which has a decided Oedipus theme with the maternal uncle in the father role, was the only context in which these two appeared, and they cannot be identified further than to say that they were mythological beings who lived in the "long ago" of the Trumaí.

Jemenary was angry with Kelenewary because the latter, his *deta*, or sister's son, was sleeping with his wife. Kelenewary knew no shame, for a good Trumaí would never have done such a thing. Jemenary tried by a series of ruses to rid himself of his nephew. He ordered him to

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All other play was more spontaneous and uncoordinated. Amusement and education were derived from using small bows and arrows which all boys possessed and the older ones knew how to make. Much of their time was spent shooting at insects and other targets in the village, but three or four children might occasionally go together to the lagoon and shoot fish from the banks. Sometimes they would wander off to the clearings when planting was in progress, or travel through the woods to gather guava. Few restraints were placed on their movements.

Nor was the sex play of children greatly inhibited by their elders. Actually there was no heterosexual activity between children, for there were no girls of appropriate age in the village. Thus, pre-pubescent sexual relations occurred between boys or between boys and men, and almost always it was the boys who were the instigators. Quain felt certain that Tay was the only member of the village who might be considered a homosexual. He was an orphan, and although he was fed and housed, he was identified with no family, and no one took any special interest in him. Tay, more than any boy, remained aloof from other children. His sexual advances were directed to a large extent toward the older males, who often cooperated with him. For example, he often wrapped his legs around Jakuma's hips, going through sexual motions. The older man would giggle when he did this and show signs of being mildly stimulated. Mayuva, among others, was less receptive, but his only mode of resistance was to arch his body away from the boy.

The sexual play of a young child might even include his father. Quain observed little Tsirikoan tugging at his father's penis. The father showed some annoyance, but only because he did not want to be bothered. Although children were rarely manipulated in this way by the men, Quain saw Yanahi, a young married man, amusing himself and some boys by pulling Tsirikoan's penis until the child had an erection. The boys whispered to Yanahi that Quain was watching, but this apparently made no difference to him, for he continued his activity.

The minor homosexual engagements that took place between the boys themselves were likewise in the nature of play. Quain saw no homosexuality between adults, and, contrary to Levi-Strauss' inference from Quain's notes, there was no kinship tie that implied permissible homosexual relations.[1]

The facts of sex were certainly no secret to the children. Living in undivided houses and sleeping with or adjacent to their parents, they were aware at an early age of the sexual activities of their elders. No effort was made to keep sexual knowledge from them, and they derived considerable amusement from the sexual affairs of the adults. Tsirikoan and some other boys raised a great hue and cry when they happened

[1] Levi-Strauss 1948, p. 337.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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APPENDIX

Buell Quain, in a letter to the late Dr. Ruth Benedict written from Brazil on December 21, 1938, summarized several aspects of Trumaí culture which have a direct and immediate bearing on their decline. Following are excerpts of ethnological interest from this letter, which was discovered after this monograph was completed:

"They are a dying culture. Each generation improves its imitation of Kamayurá culture. Everyone in the village knows a few Kamayurá words. Almost all the songs in the manioc fertility ceremony are Kamayurá. Half the people in the village can carry on a conversation in Kamayurá with ease. One household (there are four) uses Kamayurá in preference to Trumaí. The mother of the house owner speaks no Trumaí; she is a Kamayurá woman who has lived with the Trumaí for about twenty-five years. The child of the household, a ten year old girl, confuses Kamayurá kinship terms with Trumaí in classifying the village. All Trumaí women between twenty and forty have been captive wives among the Kamayurá (which puts the Trumaí men in a peculiar position which they fully but fruitlessly resent) .... They have lots of disorganized leisure. They are sleepy (in part because of insects and fear throughout the night). They are ready to imitate not only the Kamayurá, but me, in petty daily habits. No outsider speaks Trumaí.

"There is nobody among them who volunteers information of ethnological value. For three months I dug for structure and got very little... Dullness cannot be attributed to the climate.

"The village is small .... Each of the four households — now five because of a recent split — are organized, or perhaps disorganized, according to different sociological principals. Three of the seventeen women are of foreign birth; one is Kamayurá, one is Mehinaku, and one is Suyá. The first two speak no Trumaí. A fourth woman with ringworm and two sick children is said to be Yaulapití, but she is well set in Trumaí culture. Nobody claims her as a relative (in part because of aversion toward her ringworm); hence she is used as a prostitute by every man in the village — she is the village joke. Among the men, I have found remarkably uniform responses to various 'tests'. (I said 'Draw a picture of a woman and a man.' Every man but one drew the woman first and oriented her in a distinctive way on the paper. The women showed no such regularity. One Kamayurá man tested also lacked this stereotyped response.)

/196 cont./

• 114 The incident, which basically has put me in a bad humor, is all the more unpleasant since the soldiers are very delighted about it; they regard it as a sort of easy victory about which they would like to boast. Many also do not consider the "bravo," the savage, worth better treatment, and those who are full-blooded Indians themselves judge most severely. Antonio is still very dissatisfied, although the feather ornament that he procured for himself in place of the unfortunate hat looks much better on him.

[123] We need not doubt but that none of the Trumaí was hit by a bullet; all the men agree about this. They are very good-hearted by nature; they pulled out of the water one boy who, they say, could not swim.

609 721 Now and then the view is expressed that the Trumaí had a secret disarmament plan. To be sure, the Bakaïrí had warned us in this respect; they described in detail how the Trumaí would receive strangers in a friendly manner, wheedle their weapons from them, and then attack the unsuspecting ones; they would wrench their arms out of their shoulder joints -- "pok, pok, pok," the narrators graphically described it -- tie their hands together, and toss the thus mutilated bodies into the river.

000 Thanks be to the gods if we have escaped such a fate. For the time being, however, I shall deeply regret this day. In popular Brazilian belief, August is an unlucky month. Well, at least we are already at the thirty-first.

And the poor Trumaí are worse off than we are. When they arrive home in their miserable array, deprived of all their weapons and yet none wounded, what will their beloved wives say? Has anything like that ever happened on the Schingú? It will be difficult for the heroes to report their deeds in such a way that praise and honor will be due them; the two trophies so bravely salvaged will play an important role. If not two heads, at least they are bringing home two hats. One of them plaited out of straw, can be understood, explained, but the other, a gray felt -- where are there forest animals whose skin bears hair not only on the outside, but also on the inside? Oh, riddle of life!

/55 cont./

B 101 131 361 On the very first evening I obtained a fairly clear conception of the Kulisehu dwellers whom we might see. There were three Bakaïrí villages; they were supposed to be followed by a village of the "Nahuquá," two villages of the "Minakú," a village of the "Auití," a village of the "Yaulapihú," and on the "Kuluëne" a village of the "Trumaí," Between the Kulisehu and the Tamitotoala-Batovy, the "Kamayulá" and the "Waurá" B 103 133 114 were said to be living. The meaning of the river name "Kuluëne," which I now heard for the first time, remained uncertain. Only gradually did I come to understand that it is the chief river in the east, larger than the Kulisehu which empties into it. Thus the river that we had seen in 1884 flowing in from the southeast at Schingú-Koblenz /Xingu-Coblenz/ was not actually the "Kulisehu," as we had understood at that time and had believed up to now, but rather the combined Kuluëne-Kulisehu; the name "Kuluëne" was retained for the Schingú itself below the large fork, so that the Suyá, for instance, lived on the Kuluëne. If one wished to go by the nomenclature of the natives, one would have to use the name "Kuluëne" instead of "Schingú" and now say that the Kuluëne first receives the Kulisehu and then, at "Koblenz," the Ronuro along with the Tamitotoala-Batovy.

B 823 It was a difficult piece of work to get these statements from the Bakaïrí; there was much drawing in the sand, much pantomime carried on, and, if a section of the route remained B 101 T 114 obscure, they always began again from the beginning. For the time being I knew enough; the individual tribes apparently did not live very far apart, at most a journey of three days. I was also given some bad news, and I confess that for me it spoiled the hitherto very pleasant memory of the first expedition: when the Trumaí /56/ at that time at Koblenz had dashed away from us in sheer flight, and our soldiers had pursued them in order to recover some of the objects that they had taken along in spite of their haste, a Trumaí had been killed, as I now learned, in the foolhardy shooting that the men had permitted themselves and that allegedly was only aimed into the air. We could therefore hardly count on a cordial welcome there.

/123 cont./

437 knives and some sacrifices from our personal belongings, we acquired a small, not unattractive collection. The people had protected from the Suyá and carried along with them the 126 things that were most important for us. There were feather 437 ornaments, necklaces of stone beads, a stone ax, valuable as [439] an example of local manufacture, for the other Kulisehu tribes obtain their stone axes from the Trumaí, throwing sticks, a club, ten masks, dance clubs, large flutes, and various trifles. 411 To our astonishment, we did not see the large arrows with long, pointed pieces of bamboo, which the Trumaí had carried in 1884, a number of which they lost in their flight, and which we noticed had been sharpened for the encounter with us. They had probably been used up in the battle with the Suyá.

126 I spent as much time as possible during the evening writing beside a candle stub, in order to obtain a vocabulary. A [115] younger chief proved very capable, except that in his enthusiasm he shouted with a loud voice, as though I were stone deaf. 123 Inquisitively the men squatted nearby, the witches were /124/ [601] busy at the fires, the children cried atsíu for mother and papá for father, through the branches magic moonlight poured over the strange camp scene, and soon the peace of night embraced the sleeping and the awake. We could sleep undisturbed, but were well aware that a few men remained sitting beside the fire.

The next morning, 26 October, there was great confusion. A large glass of arsenic pills had been stolen from me. Under the peculiar circumstances I would gladly have overlooked any kind of theft, but I could neither be without this arsenic for my part, nor let the Indians poison themselves with it. I was forced to suspect the Yaulapiti who had accompanied us, after our experiences in their village, and demanded that they give it back. They, of course, professed their innocence, the Trumaí became terribly afraid, the women, children, and part of the men escaped into the bushes and did not return even when one of the Yaulapiti actually brought the glass with the arsenic pills. According to his humble opinion, it had dropped out of my

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XXIV

ROBERT F. MURPHY and BUELL QUAIN

THE TRUMAÍ INDIANS OF CENTRAL BRAZIL

[Title Page]

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Foreword

In 1938 Buell Quain spent four months, from August to November, among the Trumaí Indians of the upper Xingú River area of central Brazil. In December of 1938 he was recalled to Rio de Janeiro, and failing to obtain governmental permission for his return to the upper Xingú, at least under conditions allowing minimal possibilities for field research, he was unable to continue his studies among the Trumaí. He went instead to do ethnographic and linguistic work among the Gê-speaking Kraho in the state of Maranhão. There, in April 1939, he died. 114

Quain's research among the Trumaí was, therefore, interrupted and incomplete. He left it in the form of hand-written field notes and a diary. These were carefully and painstakingly arranged and typed by his mother, Dr. Fannie Dunn Quain. Several years after her son's death, Dr. Quain entrusted these notes to me with the understanding that if they proved to be of anthropological value, they would be prepared for publication or otherwise made available to scholars interested in the field. At one time I had hoped that another anthropologist might continue Quain's researches among the Trumaí, and that his notes might thus be incorporated into a more complete investigation of this little-known society. But, in 1946, I was informed by Eduardo Galvão, who had visited the upper Xingú River area, that the number of Trumaí had critically diminished and that Trumaí life was so seriously disorganized that it was doubtful whether they could exist as a tribal entity. It was apparent that little, if any, ethnographic data on the Trumaí beyond that contained in the scattered references of earlier anthropologists who had visited the region and the data in Buell Quain's notes would ever be available to us.

Robert F. Murphy therefore undertook to analyze, order, and prepare for publication the data gathered by Buell Quain. His task was first conceived as essentially that of an editor and a grant from the Buell Quain Fund was made to him for this purpose. It soon became clear that ordering and editing were not enough. While the notes were rich in detail and insights, there were many gaps which Quain certainly was aware of, and there were interpretations and generalizations about Trumaí culture which he undoubtedly would have inserted in his final report. Robert Murphy found that to understand Buell Quain's field work, he would have to immerse himself in the only available document- 128 14 [22]

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128 ation — he would have to read and re-read the notes, learn the names
114 of the numerous informants and other individuals mentioned there and in the diaries, identify them as to age, sex, status, family membership, etc., familiarize himself with place names and Trumaí terms just as a field investigator would have to do. In addition, Murphy was able to
[127] utilize publications on the tribes of the upper Xingú region and of the tropical forest. He was able to consult with Dr. Eduardo Galvão who had worked in the upper Xingú area. And, after the first draft of this manuscript was completed, he was able to make many corrections on the basis of his own experiences among the tropical forest Mundurucú.

Throughout this account, Murphy has adhered to Quain's formulations as closely as possible, but to make them more comprehensible, he has carried analysis further and often added his own interpretations. And his knowledge of Quain's material authorized him to do so. Thus he gives us, not a complete monograph on the Trumaí, but as systematic and intelligible a picture of Trumaí culture and society as his limited data permitted. This monograph is presented for what it is — the field observations of a highly competent research anthropologist analyzed and interpreted by a capable and sympathetic fellow-anthropologist.

114 Something should be said about the general conditions of field research and about Buell Quain as an anthropologist. All anthropologists who knew Quain personally, and those who have read his *Fijian Village*,[1] are impressed by his skill as a field research worker and by his feeling for peoples and cultures not his own. Among the Trumaí, as earlier in a Fijian community, he participated as fully as any outsider could in the culture under study. He was scientifically rigorous, verifying his observations and hypotheses again and again, and when possible giving verbatim statements.

But, above all, Buell Quain liked people, and everywhere he saw them as whole human beings. This was apparent in 1938 in his great concern for the Trumaí canoemen who waited for him at an Indian post near the Xingú headwaters and who were forced to cross "enemy" territory on their return trip to their village. This was apparent in his field notes and diary and in his search to understand the complex motivations of his friends (and enemies). This was apparent in the reactions of the people themselves: in 1946 the few Trumaí whom Eduardo Galvão encountered on the Xingú asked for "Capitão Quain" and spoke of him in glowing terms. And when Galvão camped with the remaining Trumaí in 1962, young people who were but very small children in 1938 knew stories of "Capitão Quain" told them by their parents.

Buell Quain had an artist's responsiveness both to people and surroundings. I shall never forget his description of a phenomenon I later ex-

[1] Quain 1945.

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perienced. He told me of the effect of the tropical dawn on tropical forest peoples. Traveling in the dark, he noted, Indian canoemen tend to break the monotony by singing and talking, but just before the sun appears, they suddenly fall silent, as if in expectation of a sacred moment. Again and again, in camps and while traveling with Brazilian Indians, I was reminded of Quain's perception.

Although Robert Murphy rightly points out the decline of population and the trend toward disintegration of Trumaí culture even in 1938, the Trumaí were a functioning primitive society when Quain visited them. The upper Xingú River area was still very difficult to reach at that time. In 1938 access was by way of Cuyabá, the capital of Matto Grosso. Quain traveled from Cuyabá to the Indian post Simões Lopes by truck, then over savanna grasslands for six days on oxen, then down the Kuliseu River by canoe for seven days to a mission station maintained by Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Young. After a delay here of almost three weeks, he spent another three weeks reaching the Trumaí, traveling slowly and visiting several tribal groups *en route*. The Kamayurá, at whose village he stayed shortly, provided him with canoemen for the last lap of his journey. It took Quain 38 days to return up river and cross the savanna country to Simões Lopes on leaving the Trumaí in late 1938.

Quain's letters to his mother and to his colleagues describe his trip to the Trumaí vividly. To quote a passage telling of his experiences on the upper Kuliseu River on his way to the mission station:

> The river journey was pleasant, until we began to have trouble. Even then I enjoyed it thoroughly. I had too much baggage for two canoes as I had planned. We had to use three. Besides myself I have two Brazilian men and a boy to help with the canoes. I had to paddle one myself and I enjoyed it thoroughly — despite the fact that white men aren't supposed to do that kind of thing. I gave the largest canoe with the most valuable cargo to the Brazilian whom I thought was the best canoeist. He had the boy to help with the paddling and poling through the rapids. Nevertheless it was his canoe which filled with water on the second day. We had to stop on a rock ledge and spread the things out to dry. Lots of rice and beans, papers and books, etc. It was evening. Not until the next morning did we realize that the sun barely touched the rocky ledge that we had chosen for drying the cargo. There was a wind — the worst of the dampness was removed before nightfall. Everything went well until we struck some swift rapids on the fifth day, when the same large canoe wrapped itself around a rock and the cargo went sailing down the river about eight miles an hour. I managed to rescue everything but a bag of farinha, a frying pan, a fishline and a couple of cakes of the hard unrefined sugar, which forms an important part of the diet throughout Matto Grosso.[1]

And about the Indians he wrote from the missionary station:

> My work for the next month is going to be a jumble of languages. It may take a month to reach the Trumaí because the Indians like to rest all the time. This means that I will have ample time to contact several in each of three different linguistic families (Carib, Arawak, Tupí). The Trumaí are entirely unrelated. This

[1] Quain letter, July 13, 1938.

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123 means that I simply must come back here soon, within the next five years — so I can take advantage of the long delay. I expect to know a lot of useful, but academically unimportant things about the Kuliseu before I get through. This is the place — if I ever heard of one — where a half-dozen ethnologists should be working. Friendly Indians as yet untouched; twenty or more villages within a radius of a month's travel — all of which are culturally different, one from the other. In fact nothing nicer can be imagined.[5]

114 Although several expeditions had penetrated the upper Xingú area before Quain's time, the greater part of the region was unexplored. Karl von den Steinen is perhaps the best known of the early investigators. Reports of his trips in 1884 and 1887 are given in *Durch Central-Brasilien: Erste Schingu Expedition*[4] and in *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*,[5] respectively. Together they provide us with the first ethnographic data on the tribes of the upper Xingú area. Von den Steinen was warned by the other tribes in the area not to visit the Trumaí, who were said to be dangerous warriors and antagonistic to all outsiders. But contact was made eventually, first with isolated individuals and later with two villages. Von den Steinen describes the small, thin people who received him and his colleagues with solicitous hospitality.
[291] Some women still wore the traditional pubic covering, the *uluri*. The German ethnographer also noted the peculiar speech of the Trumaí, their excitability, their uneasy relationships and wars with neighboring tribes, and certain features of material culture.

Von den Steinen's expeditions were followed by numerous others, but only those of Hermann Meyer in 1896 and 1899,[6] Max Schmidt in 1901,[7] and Vincent Petrullo in 1931[8] had ethnological importance. Yet systematic knowledge of the upper Xingú tribes remained relatively scanty, limited to information mainly on material culture and word lists. In fact, until Quain's visit to the Trumaí, most of the ethnographic researches in the area were essentially in the nature of general surveys. Although Quain's data are incomplete, his was the first attempt to study with modern anthropological methods the life of an upper Xingú River tribe, and this at a time when the people of the area were still relatively undisturbed by outside influences.

177 Today, however, the long isolation of the upper Xingú River area is being broken. In 1945, an expedition of the Central Brazil Foundation, which aimed at opening a road through Brazil to the Amazon, penetrated the region, and constructed a landing strip. The Brazilian Indian Service now maintains a permanent post in the heart of this region, and several anthropologists (and numerous other scientists, journalists, and tourists) have traveled into the area by Brazilian Airforce planes.

[5] Quain letter, July 28, 1938.
[4] Von den Steinen 1886.
[5] Von den Steinen 1897.
[6] Meyer 1896—7 and 1900.
[7] Schmidt 1902—4.
[8] Petrullo 1932.

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Recent ethnographic researches have for the most part concentrated upon the Kamayurá (Galvão 1949, 1950, and 1952; Oberg 1953), the Waurá (do Lima 1949, 1950), and the Kuikuru (Robert Carneiro and Gertrude E. Dole, unpublished). Only incidentally have these observers commented upon the Trumaí. Therefore, in 1953 when I had the opportunity to spend a little time in the upper Xingú area, I made a point of remaining a few days with the remants of the Trumaí. They were camped temporarily at Karajaja, the old village site, on a lake about half a mile away from the Kuluene River; their permanent houses were then at Anariatan, near the village site during Quain's visit. It was the dry season and the Trumaí were fishing. There were only 24 persons in the group — six adult males, ten adult females, four boys and four girls. Three of the women were unmarried widows, and there was one unmarried girl just past puberty. The chieftain whose current name was Ilitoari (no doubt the Aloari of Quain's notes), was married to two sisters, and there were four monogamous families. Two of the men were old and unmarried. Thus, the Trumaí were again united as a village (they had disbanded for a while). In 1953, however, there were not even enough men for the Trumaí to participate in the intertribal spear-throwing contests, a sport in which they had once been famous throughout the area.

The process of steady social and cultural disintegration and depopulation, which was already apparent among the Trumaí in 1938, has been a continuing one; and it is only a question of a very short time before these people cease to exist as a separate tribal group. Thus, the information and insights that Robert Murphy has brought together from Buell Quain's field work may be all that we shall ever have on Trumaí life and society.

Columbia University CHARLES WAGLEY
February 1955

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Introduction

Many people do not read the prefaces to monographs. This one must be read in order to understand what follows. 114

The writer never met his co-author, Buell Quain, for Quain died sixteen years ago. Some six months before his death he had terminated a period of four months field research among the Trumaí Indians of the Xingú River in northern Matto Grosso, Brazil. Among his effects were his field notes, which represented the results of one of the most difficult investigations ever undertaken by an ethnologist.

In 1949, shortly after I commenced my graduate studies in anthropology, Professor Charles Wagley of Columbia University asked me to edit the Trumaí notes. After further consideration of the material, Professor Wagley and I concluded that the notes had been ordered as far as was possible by Quain's mother, Dr. Fannie Dunn Quain, and that they could best be presented in the form of a monograph, which I was to write.

First, let me describe Buell Quain's Trumaí notes. In essence they consist of a remarkably detailed field diary in which Quain had recorded the daily activities and events of the Trumaí village. If a woman walked from one house to another bearing food, it was duly stated. The play of the children, the facial expressions apparent during ceremonies, the slightest nuances of interpersonal behavior were all put into the notebook. Present also are charts showing the daily economic activities of every villager and a report, in all its minutiae, of what occurred in a household of an afternoon. Quain also set down in his daily log many comments made to him by his Trumaí informants and scraps of conversation which he overheard. 126

The notes are a triumph of participant observation. Quain understood very little Trumaí, although his diary shows that he was learning it rapidly by the time of his departure. He evidently maintained some communication with certain bilingual Trumaí by using Tupí, of which he appears to have had a fragmentary knowledge. Lacking the means to do detailed informant work, Quain leaned heavily on his observations of the behavior and activity of all the Trumaí, and he also learned much from his own personal interaction with them. He was deeply sensitive to the mutual relationships between himself and the subjects of his study, as he was completely alone in his sojourn; he did not even have a Brazilian backwoodsman for help and companionship. He entrusted 123 [122]

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123 himself to the hospitality of the Indians and in return received their confidence.

A feeling of aloneness permeates the Quain notes. He was in the midst of people with whom he had limited communication, due not only to the obstacle of language, but to the cultural gulf separating him from them. The threat of enemy attack was at that time constant in the upper Xingú area; life was precarious and civilization far off. Perhaps this existence sharpened his observations and increased the depth of his insights, for these are fine notes. Buell Quain's Trumaí
114 field trip is part of a tradition of ethnographic field research of which the anthropological profession may well be proud. His story, told more fully by Dr. Charles Wagley in the Foreword, adds one more legend to the saga of primitivist studies.

114 My own role in the writing of this monograph was to assemble and order the facts collected by Quain and to evaluate the data in terms of
128 which behavior and attitudes are normative within Trumaí culture, which lie within the range of permissible variation, and how such traits are merged in the whole. Facts do not speak for themselves. The concept of culture implies an interrelatedness of the components, which, in turn, calls for interpretation on the part of the ethnologist. It might be said that the information is Quain's product; its ordering into a coherent description of Trumaí culture mine. It is impossible, however, to so neatly separate the Murphy from the Quain in this monograph, for Quain's interests and ideas have influenced my interpretation of the data. Conversely, the facts have no doubt been affected by the interpretation. For this reason, I have included as many illustrations and examples from the notes as was possible. I have also avoided generalizing statements in the actual description of Trumaí culture, and overall interpretations have been reserved for the conclusion. The final chapter, then, is my own view of the dynamics involved in the breakdown of Trumaí culture and society. The reader will by that time be in essential command of the data upon which the generalizations are based and free to make up his own mind.

128 Quain's most adequate information is on the closely interrelated subjects of personality, ethos, life cycle, and interpersonal behavior and attitudes. Material culture, technology, and religion are less thoroughly documented. Thus, the orientation of the monograph is the result of Quain's own interests. I have also visualized my task to be a description of the Trumaí Indians in 1938, and reference has been made to other sources only to place them in the context of history and the cultural landscape of the upper Xingú River region.

114 Quain's field work was never completed and the reader will find large gaps in this monograph. Undoubtedly, there are errors and much that is in disagreement with other data and other field workers. It is

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doubtful, however, that we will ever have a full study of the Trumaí, such as Quain had planned, for they are now on the verge of extinction.

Although I must bear the responsibility for the shortcomings of this monograph, others must share credit for any redeeming features it may have. Drs. A. L. Kroeber and Julian H. Steward have read sections of the manuscript and contributed many valuable comments. Miss Jane Phillips edited the first draft and helped in its organization. The manuscript owes much to my wife, Yolanda Murphy, who typed and edited it in all its stages and gave of her own insights as an anthropologist. Dr. Charles Wagley initiated and supervised this effort, and it profited greatly from his knowledge and experience gained among Brazilian primitives. But for him, Buell Quain's Trumaí material would still be inaccessible to interested students. Dr. Wagley also furnished the photographs included in this monograph, which were taken during his visit to the Trumaí in 1953, fifteen years after Quain had worked among them.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge the financial support given by the Buell Quain Fund towards the preparation of this study. Publication was made possible by the Columbia University Social Science Research Council and the American Ethnological Society. The writer would like to express his gratitude to all these people and institutions.

Urbana, Illinois
January 1955.

ROBERT F. MURPHY

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CHAPTER ONE

The Upper Xingú Area

Previous Field Surveys

114 Buell Quain's research among the Trumaí Indians of the upper Xingú River in Brazil was accomplished during the months of August to November of 1938. There have been expeditions since then, and several preceded it. The best known of the early ethnographers is Karl von den Steinen, who was the first white man to explore the tributaries of the Xingú and to contact and report upon the tribes there. His trips of 1884 and 1887 were followed by those of Hermann Meyer in 1897 and 1899, Max Schmidt in 1901, and Vincent Petrullo in 1931. Since Quain's trip, Oberg in 1948, Galvão in 1947 and 1950, de Lima in 1947 and 1948, and Robert Carneiro and Gertrude E. Dole in 1953–54 have worked among the "tribes" of the upper Xingú.* Most of the earlier research was in the form of surveys, which did not concentrate on the culture of any one group. Intensive studies can only be done through continuous residence among and careful observation of a tribe. Quain did exactly this for several months, filling a gap of much-needed information from the upper Xingú. He has also treated social, political, and religious structure much more thoroughly than the surveys, which have given especial attention to material culture. Since the other sources have treated this aspect of culture more completely than did Quain, and as Quain himself was more interested in non-material culture, the present work will follow his emphasis.

Geographical Features

131 The tributaries of the Xingú River have particularly attracted ethnologists, because the inaccessibility of the region has made it a fortress against the inroads of Brazilian civilization. There were probably few places in Brazil harder to reach. Entry from the north is virtually impossible as the main stream of the Xingú is blocked by falls, and transportation by river boat is therefore precluded. Travel above the fall

* The term "tribe" is commonly accepted by anthropologists to mean a multi-community group unified within a common social structure or by continuous political controls, the people of which share the same language and culture and feel themselves to be one. This is not true of the upper Xingú groups, and the term is used herein for purposes of convenience and in its broadest sense only.

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line by canoe would involve a journey of several hundred miles through mostly uninhabited country. The southern approach is the only feasible one for surface transportation. Even this is difficult as canoes and pack animals are needed after leaving Cuyabá. Between that city and the upper Xingú, the Planalto de Matto Grosso intervenes. This is an extremely rugged upland, hard to traverse. The isolation of the area made difficulties for ethnologists, but these were more than compensated for by the intactness of the native cultures. The establishment in 1947 of an outpost and airstrip of the Fundação Brasil Central, located below the juncture of the Kuluene and Kuliseu rivers, has done much to overcome the physical obstacles. The near future should see a considerable increase in ethnographic data from the headwaters of the Xingú.

In 1938 the Trumaí village was situated on the Kuluene River near its juncture with the Kuliseu. The Kuluene is the easternmost of the six parallel rivers that form the headwaters of the Xingú. The Xingú, itself, is one of the largest of the rivers tributary to the Amazon. It joins the Amazon about two hundred miles from the mouth of that river, after flowing from south to north for approximately one thousand miles. The six rivers which flow parallel to each other for over two hundred miles and then join to form the Xingú are, from east to west, the Kuluene, Kuliseu, Batoví, Jatobá, Ronuro, and Steinen rivers. They rise in the uplands, flowing through plains country and gallery forest. Further downstream they widen out and begin their descent into the tropical rain forest. The open country between the streams diminishes and the area covered by forest increases. The terrain is flat with but slight elevations between the rivers. Opening on the rivers are marshy subsidiary streams and large systems of lagoons which extend for several miles. Adjacent to the Kuluene and Kuliseu are broad sections of periodically inundated savannah lands, which are little used by the Indian population.

The heavy rains from October to April have the same profound effect upon the annual cycle of life here as they do in other sections of the Brazilian rain forest. Of great importance, also, is the effect of the rains upon the soil. The rains are too heavy to allow the surface soil to retain them. The water runs off or sinks deeply into the loose earth, leaching the surface of minerals and making it poor for agriculture. Since no form of mineral replenishment is used, a garden plot becomes exhausted in about two or three years, or after two plantings.

Nevertheless, the rain forest is suitable for primitive agriculture, since the looseness of the soil makes it ideally adapted to the primitive tools in use. As the open grasslands in this section of South America have extremely poor soil and cannot be tilled with simple hand tools, the Trumaí, like other tropical forest peoples, are forced to make their gardens in forest clearings in locations that are not flooded annually.

[Text continues on p. 7]

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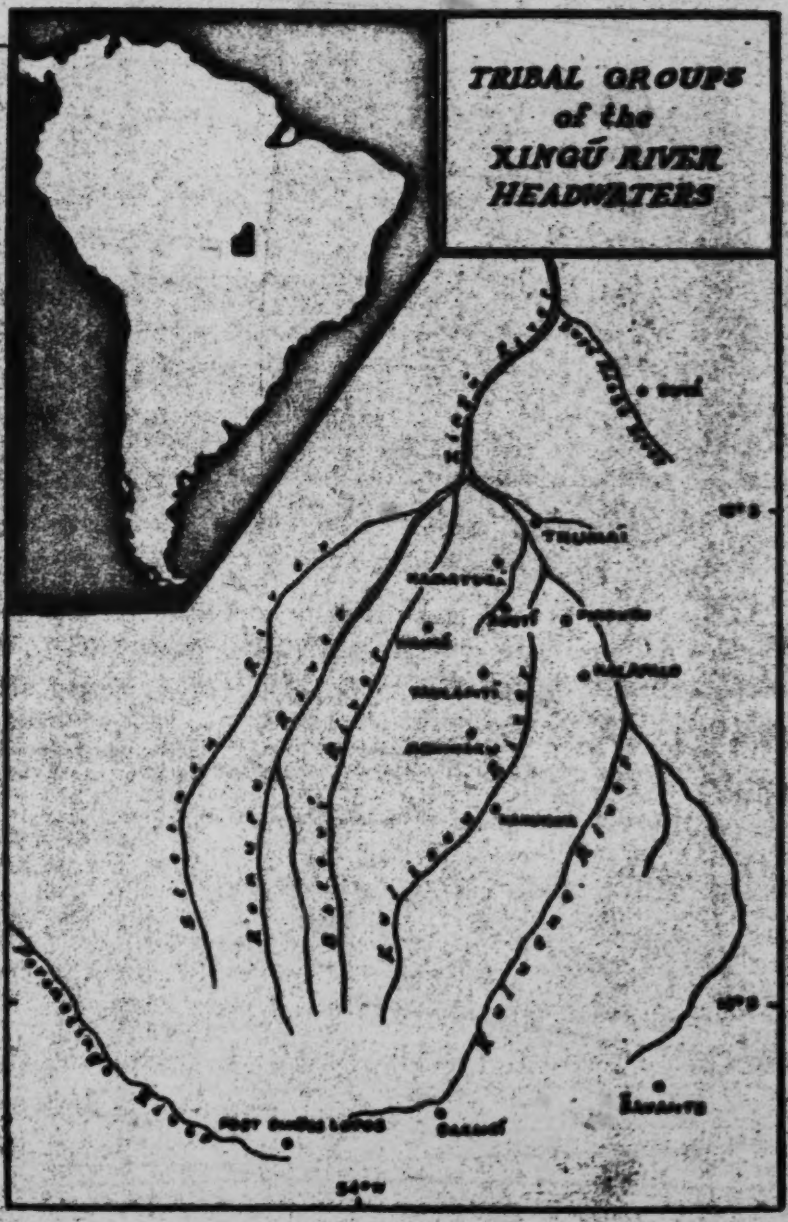

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The rapid exhaustion of the soil forces them into a life which, although not nomadic, involves frequent moves. As the soil in old plots is exhausted, new ones have to be opened up. The area of exploitable land around the village is limited by the need to transport the produce and protect the villagers from their enemies. Thus, after the land available to the village has been used, the group moves.

The main subsistence of the nine village groups now living in the upper Xingú area is derived from this typically Amazonian shifting horticulture coupled with fishing in the extensive streams, lagoons, and estuaries. Apparently, the population of the region was never great enough to cause any pressure on land or other resources. Each village maintained exclusive rights of exploitation over certain waterways and areas of land within which the village always moved. There evidently were not, and still are not, any clearly defined territorial boundaries; but village rights are implicitly recognized.

The Neighbors of the Trumai

Although there is considerable uniformity in the cultures of the upper Xingú tribes, their linguistic affiliations are diverse. The main language stocks of aboriginal Brazil are represented. On the Kuluene River are the linguistically independent Trumaí and the Cariban Kuikuru, Kalapalo, Tsuva, and Naravute. Near the waters of the Kuliseu River live the Tupian Kamayurá and Auetí, the Arawakan Mehinaku and Yaulapití, and the Cariban Nahukwa. The Batoví River is inhabited by the Arawakan Waurá and Kustenaú.[1] All these villages maintain a rather distrustful peace among themselves, but live in fear of their hostile Gê- and Tupian-speaking neighbors on the perimeters of the upper Xingú drainage area.

The upper Xingú "tribes" consist of one village each. It seems evident from the linguistic heterogeneity of the region that it is a *cul de sac* — one of the aboriginal refuge areas which characterize the cultural landscape of the headwaters of the Amazon and its tributaries.

The cultural uniformity of the above peoples has impressed all observers, as has the extensive contact that they maintain with each other. Descriptions of this homogeneity are to be found in von den Steinen[2] and, latterly, in Galvão[3] and Oberg.[4] Among the principal material traits which distinguish the area as opposed to neighboring, but outside, groups are: haystack-shaped houses arranged in a circle around a central plaza; bark canoes; dependence upon fish for protein;

[1] Oberg (1953, p. 4) states that the Yaulapití, Kustenaú, Tsuva, and Naravute no longer live in independent villages, but reside among other groups, usually of the same linguistic family.

[2] Von den Steinen 1894. [3] Galvão 1949. [4] Oberg 1953.

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zoomorphic benches; the bull roarer; use of the spear-thrower in inter-tribal games; whistling arrows; the mode of hair-cutting and body painting and ornamentation; the use of the *uluri*, or triangular bark pubic cover. The basic subsistence economies of the upper Xingú groups are almost identical, and there are strong similarities in social organization. In the latter sphere, the extended family, bilaterality with some patrilineal emphasis, patrilocality, and the men's cult appear general. The various tribes share many of the same ceremonies and co-participate in some. Insofar as is known, shamanism is much the same among all groups, and there is great similarity in religious beliefs and in mythology.

Trumaí History

Although the linguistic affiliations of the other upper Xingú peoples indicate their origins to be in the north, all available evidence points to a migration of the Trumaí from the southeast. Apparently this move did not occur very long ago, for the Trumaí themselves still tell of it. According to Trumaí tradition they came into their present habitat from a land far to the southeast. There, they say, there is still a Trumaí village. Informants varied as to whether or not the forebears of the Xingú Trumaí knew how to grow manioc. They were said to have had long hair like the Gê-speaking Suyá, to hunt tapir, and to tie up their penes. Matiwana, the old man of the Trumaí, claimed to remember when the Trumaí still treated their genitalia in this way. He also claimed that, when the Trumaí moved into the area and saw the Kamayurá and other tribes, they adopted the customs of hair-cutting and penis freedom. The tale, coupled with the fact that the Trumaí women did not use the true *uluri* pubic cover when von den Steinen first visited them,[8] suggests a fairly recent entry of the Trumaí into the upper Xingú area — perhaps no earlier than the nineteenth century — and due possibly to the pressures of white colonization.

Other evidence also argues for the recency of the present Trumaí habitat. The diffusion of culture traits in the upper Xingú is extensive, and in most cases it is difficult to determine the direction of borrowing. The Trumaí lexicon, however, shows heavy influence from their neighbors, especially the nearby Kamayurá. This influence manifests itself chiefly in names of plants and objects of material culture and in ceremonial songs. The songs of two major Trumaí ceremonies, both of which are practiced also by the Kamayurá, show a preponderance of Kamayurá words and phrases. Carib and Arawakan words are frequent in other songs. Also, the word for bull roarer in both Kamayurá and Trumaí is *uriuri*. The Trumaí words for such typically tropical forest domestica-

[8] Von den Steinen, 1897, p. 188.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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ted plants as beans and gourds and for the flat manioc flour cake, the *beijú*, are almost identical with the corresponding Kamayurá words.

The pre-contact history of the Trumaí is largely inferential and their recent history is poorly documented. The white explorers and scientists who visited the upper Xingú frequently did not encounter the Trumaí, and almost never visited their villages. Historical data indicate that in von den Steinen's time and possibly as late as the 1931 trip of Petrullo the Trumaí lived in two villages. Von den Steinen showed an abandoned Trumaí village, in substantially its present location, and another on the lower end of the Tsahuku, a network of waterways and lagoons west of and parallel to the Kuliseu River.[6] Although Meyer's map did not show this southern village in 1896,[7] it appears in Schmidt's map for 1901.[8] Petrullo encountered Trumaí, most probably of the southern village, on the west bank of the Kuliseu, between the locales of the Nahukwa and Mehinaku villages.[9] M. Moennich, one of a party of American missionaries who descended the Kuliseu in 1937, did not, however, note a Trumaí village near this site.[10] When Quain arrived in 1938 there was only one Trumaí village, which was located at the northern site. This would suggest that the southern village was abandoned in 1937–38, but it is possible that those Trumaí seen by Petrullo and Moennich were the same ones whom Quain visited.

The northern and southern villages mentioned in the literature are the only ones recorded. It is certain that since 1884 there have only been two communities, although each has been located in many different places. Unfortunately, the exact locations of the abandoned sites and their periods of occupation are not well known. Each of the old village locales had a name, and these designations are still known. Among them are Morena, Waniwani, Karajaja, Iakare, Jawpew, and Wahldat. Some of the names, such as Iakare, are obviously of Tupian origin. Jawpew was the name of the northern Trumaí village at the time of von den Steinen's expeditions. Karajaja was the last location before the one in which Quain resided. This site was located near the Kamayurá village on the Tsahuku and appears on Petrullo's map. The Trumaí said that it was a good village, but that they had to move because the Kamayurá and Auetí were practicing sorcery against them. The village to which they moved, and where Quain visited them, was named Anariatan.

People were often referred to by other Trumaí according to the village in which they were born. Thus, a *Wahldat jaxlo* was, literally, a son of Wahldat. Also, garden sites were most commonly named after an abandoned village. The old villages were looked on with reverence as the homes of the ancestors of the Trumaí. They were considered to be places of great interest, and Quain was repeatedly urged to visit them.

[6] *Ibid.*, 1897, p. 93.
[7] Meyer 1897, Plate I.
[8] Schmidt 1942.
[9] Petrullo 1932, p. 160.
[10] Moennich 1942.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The fishing grounds and the still productive fruit trees of the old villages were considered to be the domain of the Trumaí, and these rights were apparently respected by others. When the village moved in search of new land, it was usually to one of the old sites, whose name the new village would take.

The Trumaí were once feared by the other tribes of the upper Xingú and were evidently a relatively numerous and vigorous people. However, when Quain visited them in 1938, they numbered only 43, and only ten years later, in 1948, the population had shrunken to a meagre 25.[11] Their small numbers had forced them to abandon village life once since Quain's visit, but they subsequently reunited in a new community.[11a]

Warfare

The topography of the flat upper Xingú Basin encourages considerable contact between tribes. The waterways are extensive and have importance beyond subsistence, as they are the chief avenues of trade and warfare. Communication through the river and flood plain system is the main reason for the high degree of cultural homogeneity that has been achieved by these tribes of diverse origins and languages. Intertribal relations are not confined to trade and warfare, but enter the spheres of social organization, ceremonialism and mythology.

Intertribal bonds within the upper Xingú Basin were based on peaceful relations between the tribes. These tribes formed part of a bounded social system in which groups outside the area did not take part. The Bakairí Indians of the Paranatinga River were on a friendly basis with the headwaters groups only because they had once lived on the Batoví River. Other tribes were uniformly enemies, regardless of cultural or linguistic affinities. Despite this peaceful interaction among the upper Xingú villages, there was considerable mutual fear and hostility between them which was expressed in witchcraft, petty thievery and intimidation. The practice of sorcery upon other villages is especially significant, in that sorcery is used in nearly all cultures only between people who share close interpersonal ties. This illustrates better than anything else the high degree of intervillage integration in the upper Xingú River Basin. The component groups constitute far more than a culture area — they form a society.

Despite the nominal peace within the upper Xingú area, the Trumaí lived in dread of their neighbors, and with good reason.[12] Situated

[11] Oberg 1953, p. 4.

[11a] Latest reports state that a measles epidemic has wrought great havoc, and that the few survivors have all joined other groups.

[12] Although fear of neighboring groups is general in the upper Xingú, de Lima (1949, p. 35) noted it to be especially strong among the numerically weak Trumaí.

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between the warlike Gé-speaking Suyá and the peaceful but overbearing Kamayurá, they were an easy prey to these tribes and to others more peripheral to the region, such as the Caiabí and Kayapó. The tribes the Trumaí feared most were those to the north. These included the Suyá, Yuruna, and an unidentified group. The Yuruna, located by Galvão on the Diauarum River, north of the Suyá, were said to have made raids on the headwater villages,[13] but nothing is known of any aggression by the unnamed tribe. There is definite documentation of numerous assaults by the Suyá, whose reputation for ferocity is unequalled in the area.

The Suyá villages are located several days journey to the north on the Suyá Missú River, and forays into the Kuluene-Kuliseu region have become relatively rare since the establishment of local airfields. Quain was of the opinion that the last Suyá raid on the Trumaí took place about twenty years ago when the brother of the Trumaí chief was killed. Two of Quain's informants had been captured by the Suyá as pre-pubescent boys. Suyá raids into the tributaries resulted in great destruction and von den Steinen reported a Trumaí village to have been recently burned and looted by them.[14]

The upper Xingú peoples were not always passive towards the Suyá. A revenge attack was once launched by the combined forces of the Kamayurá, Mehinaku, Waurá, and Trumaí. Their flotilla of twenty canoes assaulted and burned a Suyá village, starting another cycle of attacks and counter-attacks. This is the only known case of an inter-tribal alliance in war, but there have probably been others.

When Quain was with the Trumaí the memory of past attacks was still strong, and the mere mention of the Suyá was sufficient to cause great anxiety. Indicative of their feeling toward the Suyá is the Trumaí creation myth according to which the Sun made all tribes except the Suyá who are descended from snakes.

Among the Kuliseu tribes, the Kamayurá and Nahukwa were the two most feared. The former, especially, by small acts of aggression against the weakened Trumaí, had done great harm. As a result of the widespread hostility and distrust, Trumaí life was pervaded with insecurity. Tension always increased at night, and the slightest sound from the brush was enough to cause panic. Rumors of an impending attack were often brought to the village by visitors from other groups. These were generally false stories intended to frighten the Trumaí, but, reflecting the prevailing anxiety, they were always accepted as true.

The Kamayurá were the chief instigators of these tales. One visitor from the latter group told the Trumaí that the Kamayurá were coming to kill all of them as soon as Quain left. The Kamayurá attempted to

[13] Galvão 1952, p. 469.
[14] Von den Steinen 1897, p. 115.

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frighten Quain, too. One of their favorite stories was that the Nahukwa chief, Aloike, was coming to take Quain. Aloike was a powerful sorcerer and had a reputation for treachery among all the tribes, and the Nahukwa were probably feared more because of him than because of any traditional enmity.

Wild tales were also told out of sheer perversity. A party of Kamayurá came to visit and announced that Quain's father would arrive in an airplane with gifts for the Trumaí. On another occasion they said that a plane full of *karaíba* (white men) had landed at the house of Thomas Young, an American missionary who lived further up the Kuliseu.

The Trumaí, themselves, aggravated their own fears. One of them spoke at length in the men's circle on how the Kamayurá tortured their captives by piercing their arms and legs with arrow points. He also said that they beheaded them, stirred up their brains over a fire, and ate them. This was undoubtedly a false story born of fear and contrary to all the more reliable information on the treatment of captives. However, torture and ritual cannibalism of this sort once flourished in the tropical forest. It is, therefore, interesting that the Trumaí should know of such practices.

Due to the constant fear of surprise attack shared by all the tribes, it was considered bad policy to enter foreign territory without giving warning. This was done by building a fire. A party from the village then went out to investigate, unless it was definitely known who the intruders were. If a fire was seen by a traveling party, their canoes were beached and an answering fire was built.

Surprise meetings were to be avoided at all costs. When Quain was traveling on the Kuliseu with a Trumaí group, the sight of a Kamayurá canoe caused some concern. The chief was quite happy to note that Quain left his rifle in the bottom of the boat, thereby giving a peaceable appearance.

According to Dyott, an English explorer who descended the Xingú in 1938, arrows planted point first in the ground were "no trespassing" signs.[15] He also said that whistling arrows were shot in the air to warn strangers to stay away. The latter sign was, more accurately, an additional means of letting one's presence be known. Smoke spirals seen to the north or east always caused a great disturbance in the Trumaí village, as these were thought to be Suyá fires. Since the upper Xingú people approached from the south, fires seen in this direction caused little alarm unless there had been rumors of some aggressive act by the Kamayurá or Nahukwa.

Fear of attack at times approached the point of hysteria. The high tension might last a few days, after which it would decline to the normal

[15] Dyott 1930, pp. 283–84.

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level of general anxiety. It was usually the result of several days of rumor, omens, and strange fires in the north.

Late one night during Quain's stay, after most of the village had retired, a near panic occurred when two women shouted that the Suyá were attacking. All the initiated men, even the weak and old, rushed to the village center with their bows and arrows. The women and children from two of the four Trumaí houses hurried with their hammocks to the other two houses. The frightened men milled around in the center of the village with no apparent organization or direction. The chief, who was trembling, did not take command of the situation.

If this had been a real attack, noted Quain, the raiders would have given a loud yell and loosed a volley of arrows. He later made an investigation and found no signs of intruders. One of the women thought that someone had thrown dirt at her. Quain believed this to be a habit of the Suyá, but one that was usually a friendly overture.

The women feared other tribes more than did the men, for one of the main purposes of raids was to capture women. In every upper Xingú community women from other tribes are always found. The dispersal of women takes three forms: capture in warfare (by groups outside the area), open abduction of a woman by intimidation of her fellow-villagers, and peaceful intertribal marriage. According to de Lima, the Suyá raid the Waurá village on the Batoví River for female captives, as the women of the Arawakan tribes are the only potters of the region.[16] The Trumaí lost many young women to the Kamayurá by intimidation, the second of the above means. Most of the women in the Trumaí village were at one time held by the Kamayurá with the result that, in many Trumaí marriages, the woman is several years older than the man. At the time of Quain's visit, Trumaí women were still living among the Kamayurá and other groups. One of them, the sister of the Trumaí chief, ran away from the Kamayurá and returned home because her husband had beaten her, an action that angered the Trumaí greatly. There she picked up the threads of her old life, but after a few weeks a party of Kamayurá took her back to their village. The Trumaí offered no resistance, either physical or verbal, although they outnumbered the visitors, for to have done so would have invited retaliation.

The fact that the Trumaí had lost many women completely, or regained them only after their most fertile years had passed, was probably a contributing factor to the depopulation of the group. The losses were only partially compensated for by the marriage of outside women into the Trumaí village. There were three foreign women in the community in 1938: a Suyá, a Mehinaku, and a Kamayurá. Their status was lower than that of the Trumaí women, and they were at times taunted because of their foreign origin. They did not participate as fully in the

[16] De Lima 1950, p. 5.

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culture as the other women, but their everyday existence was much the same.

Men were also taken as captives, although not to the same extent as were women. Tun and Aloari, two Trumaí men, had lived in captivity among the Yuruna. They had feared their captors at first, but once they had learned the language, they said, they were no longer afraid. Apparently both men had been well treated by the Yuruna, for they were kindly disposed towards that tribe. The elder of the two men had a Yuruna wife, whom he left when he returned to his people. How this was accomplished is not known, but escape could not have been very difficult.

Another factor promoting the incorporation of both women and men into other tribes was the depopulation and extinction of their own groups. When the southern Trumaí village was disbanded many of the survivors joined the northern Trumaí, but some moved in with other tribes. Similarly, de Lima reported that the Yaulapití, who disbanded sometime between 1938 and 1945, were to be found among the Kamayurá, Trumaí, and Auetí.[17]

It is possible that more Yaulapití settled with Arawakan speaking groups, but the three above-named tribes were their closest neighbors. The remnants of a disbanded group might also join villages in which they had close kin or personal relationships. A later report by the Brs. Villas Boas, who maintained the recently established airstrip of the Fundação Brasil Central, stated that, as in the case of the Trumaí, the Yaulapití have reconstituted themselves as a group by the establishment of a one-house village.[18] Clearly, except for the peace that has reigned since the airfield was built, a village of some twenty-five people would not be secure from attack. But while the chances of survival are still far from good, the initiation of such a project shows the eagerness of the participants to preserve their social identity.

The main purposes of warfare in the region are to capture women, take loot, and exact revenge. Captive-taking has a clear economic basis in the sporadic warfare between the Suyá and Waurá, as the Suyá capture Waurá women for their knowledge of pottery-making. Among the tribes of the *alurí* area proper, however, this is not done. Arawakan women are married, but Quain's notes indicate that they do not practice pottery-making in their new villages.

It is possible that male and female captives are taken by upper Xingú groups from tribes outside the region to bolster their waning numerical strength, but infanticide and abortion are also present in the area. However, captives do not have to be reared from infancy, and do not constitute the same strain on the economy that children do. It is also

[17] De Lima 1949, p. 26.

[18] This information was obtained verbally from Dr. Eduardo Galvão. Cf. Oberg 1953, p. 4.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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possible that more women may be needed for polygamous marriages, but the data do not indicate plural marriage to be of great significance.

Pillage, also, inspires raids. The Kamayurá threatened to descend on the Trumaí, after Quain left, to rob them of all the Western goods they had obtained. The Suyá took all the Trumaí pots in a raid which occurred immediately before von den Steinen's second trip through the region.[19] The desire for goods is undoubtedly a motivating factor in particular raids, and it may also be a contributing factor in warfare generally, but since the material surplus is low throughout the area and retaliation almost certain, it is doubtful that this is a basic cause.

Insults, too, could provoke aggression. The Kamayurá threatened to chastise the Trumaí because the latter were rumored to have made defamatory remarks about them. Continuous fear and insecurity can also lead a tribe to attack. Quain observed that the Trumaí worked themselves up into such a state of terror that they were capable of desperate deeds. Needless to say, revenge expeditions tended to perpetuate hostility.

Among the Trumaí, no special prestige was derived from warfare, and the men did not boast of their prowess as warriors. Trumaí men showed scars of old wounds to Quain, but only to impress him with the brutality of other tribes. To the Trumaí, warfare was an occasion for fear, and not an opportunity to enhance one's status.

Warfare, however, is important in maintaining social cohesion within the communities. Quain noted that intra-social harmony and cooperation was low in the Trumaí village. Leadership was weak, and there was little friendliness between the men. However, when an attack threatened, quarrels were forgotten and aggressions and anxieties were directed toward the outside world. Also, when members of other tribes were in the village, the whole tone and tempo of life changed, and the Trumaí presented a united front.

This was made manifest during a visit of several Kamayurá. Despite their apprehension, the Trumaí treated their guests as long absent brothers. There was much forced and nervous jocularity and talk. The men expressed tremendous affection towards each other and the Kamayurá by embraces and linking of arms. Industry and activity were high. The Trumaí men went to catch fish to feed the guests and, upon returning, marched into the village singing gaily and led by their chief. After the Kamayurá left, the village lapsed with relief into its normal way of life. The men ceased to show affection for their comrades, and old quarrels broke out anew.

[19] Von den Steinen 1897, p. 144.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Intermarriage

Despite occasional semi-hostile encounters between the upper Xingú groups, most contacts within the area are peaceful. Intermarriage is common, and, since patrilocality is general, the wives are usually brought back to the village of the groom. There are, however, exceptions to this rule. For instance, if the man has strong enough kinship ties with the bride's village, he may stay there. This was true in the case of a member of the Trumaí village who was half Kamayurá. Friction with one's fellow tribesmen can also lead to a move to another village, as in the case of a Trumaí man and his wife who went to live with the Kamayurá because they believed that someone in their own group was practicing witchcraft against them.

One result of this mixing process, in addition to its obvious function as a mechanism of diffusion, is that all of the upper Xingú groups are cross-cut by ties of kinship. Nearly every man on the Kuliseu River knows all others so located, and they are often related. Most of the extra-tribal kin ties of the Trumaí were with the Kamayurá and Mehinaku, but they also extended to many other villages of the area. For reasons not fully explored by Quain, the chief contacts of the Trumaí were with Tupian and Arawakan groups, especially those of the Kuliseu River. Little mention is found in Quain's notes of the Cariban tribes of the Kuluene River.

Kinship ties were probably responsible for the preference shown by certain Trumaí men for particular tribes. While most men said that the Kamayurá were "bad," a few claimed that they were really "good" and that the other tribes were the ones to be feared. One day a fire was sighted which, it was decided, had been lit by the Yuruna. A man having kinsmen among them left the village to tell them of his presence there and so prevent an attack. The alarm in this instance proved false.

Another basis for preference was past residence with a tribe, even as a captive. However, if there was gossip of an attack by some tribe, even those most kindly disposed toward the potential enemy would become nervous and seek out their bows and arrows.

There was a great deal of friendly visiting between villages. The host village was expected to provide food for their guests, but if women were brought, they joined in the women's work of preparing it. In the afternoon the men traded with each other and engaged in wrestling contests. At night, singing, shamanism and speech-making were in order in the men's circle. Tobacco and large quantities of food were passed around at all times. If the visitors were staying overnight, they slept in the house of their closest kinsman. The latter was also expected to greet them upon arrival and act as their host during their stay.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Visits might be made to obtain a bride, engage in trade, participate in some intertribal ceremony, or for a combination of any of these reasons. Most visits were ostensibly of a purely social nature, but they were also used to frighten and impress. Stealing was frequent, especially when the host tribe, like the Trumaí, was weak. The Trumaí rarely protested against thefts while the visitors were still in the village, although they vehemently expressed their indignation later. Such discretion was due more to fear than etiquette.

The inferior position of the Trumaí was most evident when visitors were in the village. The Kamayurá, especially, treated the Trumaí with arrogance and contempt. At times they would enter the Trumaí village without having built the customary warning fire. The Trumaí, on the other hand, did everything possible to please their visitors and prove their generosity and good will toward them. Quain was berated by the Trumaí chief for being too niggardly toward the Kamayurá, and he found that greater respect was accorded to the Kamayurá chief than to either himself or the Trumaí chief. The Kamayurá felt slighted that Quain had not visited them instead of the contemptible Trumaí, and, when Quain went to meet the visiting Kamayurá chief, the latter turned away with an air of bored indifference.

The Kamayurá chief was immediately given a stool to sit on and was plied with cigarettes. When he threw one away after a few puffs, he was promptly given another. Deference was also paid to ordinary Kamayurá, although to a lesser degree. Once when such a member came to the Trumaí village alone, the man who received him rushed to Quain's house to borrow a chair in order to reach some tobacco which had been placed on a high shelf. He was in a great hurry, for it would not be good to keep his guest waiting.

This behavior stands in sharp contrast to a visit to the Kamayurá village made by Quain and a party of Trumaí. The chief delegated their reception to his brother. No special attention was paid to them, although the villagers were active and industrious in an apparent effort to impress. The Trumaí were not even asked to sit on the log in the village center.

Due to the extensive intertribal relations, command of a language besides one's own is common in the area generally. But since Trumaí is an independent tongue and the number of Trumaí small, it is probable that multilingual people were more frequent among them than in other tribes. Their "second" language was usually Kamayurá, but few outsiders spoke Trumaí, although more understood it. When Kamayurá came to visit, conversation was ordinarily in their tongue. Of the three foreign women in the Trumaí village, only the Suyá woman could speak even a broken Trumaí. Since the Suyá had no peaceful relations with the tribes of the headwaters, the Gé language was not widely known there. The other two foreign women merely understood Trumaí.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Specialization and Trade

439 Among the more distinctive features of upper Xingú culture are community craft specialization and a widespread system of trade relationships. The Trumaí traded among themselves, but the most important exchanges took place on the intertribal level, and it is here that the products of tribal specialization become significant to the economy. At the time of Quain's investigations, the Arawakans maintained a monopoly on pottery, but the once active Trumaí stone axe manufacture had fallen into disuse. In its place, the Trumaí were specializing in the preparation of salt, obtained by burning a species of water-lily and sifting the ashes. The Trumaí depended on the Kamayurá for a highly prized type of bow, as the proper wood was not found in their territory. According to Oberg, this black, rectangular bow was eagerly sought by other tribes, also.[20]

While the Kamayurá monopoly on these bows can be explained by the local availability of the raw materials, craft specialization cannot be looked upon simply as a function of the exclusive possession of certain skills. Other arts diffused rapidly among the tribes, and it is evident that the specialties remained such for non-economic reasons. For example, the three Arawakan tribes, the Mehinaku, Kustenaú and Waurá, all made pottery, but each traded their wares only with certain tribes. The Bacairí obtained their pottery from the Kustenaú, who were, in von den Steinen's time, their neighbors on the Batoví River. On the Kuliseu, the Nahukwa traded for ceramics with the nearby Mehinaku, while the Tupian-speaking tribes and the Trumaí relied on the Waurá. Despite the fact that each Arawakan tribe dealt with its nearest neighbors, the exclusiveness of these relationships is not a physical necessity. The Trumaí could have obtained Mehinaku pottery. They had many kinship ties with the Mehinaku, and even conducted joint puberty rites. The distance between them was not great. Manifestly some standardized channeling of trade relationships existed.

This is further confirmed by the confinement of pottery manufacture to the Arawakans. It is probable that when the various groups first settled in the area, the Arawakans were the only ceramicists. With the development of close intertribal relationships, however, there was every opportunity for the craft to diffuse. It could have been learned by outsiders in trips to Arawakan villages and then practiced at home, as the clay is easily gotten from the river bottoms. Obvious means for its diffusion were marriage or capture of Arawakan women. But the manufacture of pottery was not observed by Quain in any non-Arawakan village of the area, despite the fact that Arawakan women were living in many such communities. In the Trumaí village no pottery was made,

[20] Oberg 1953, p. 30.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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although a Mehinaku woman and a Suyá woman who had dwelled among the Waurá were living there. 439

The origin of specialization apparently lies in the diversity of the original cultures of the upper Xingú tribes. While a great degree of cultural homogeneity was subsequently attained through interaction and diffusion, certain culturally specialized items became integral to the trade relationships that were a functional part of intertribal social life. Trade became standardized, and monopolies were thereby perpetuated. The Kamayurá-type bow and the Waurá pot were not only essential to the Trumaí economy, but trade in these items with these tribes was expected and served to reinforce the structure of the supra-village society. 182 439

In addition to trade in specialized products, there was active exchange of other items of Western and native manufacture, such as feathers, fishhooks, line, cotton yarn, cloth, paper, beads, and trinkets. This, however, did not require organized trading trips, as did the exchange of the specialized products. The Trumaí traveled for the specific purpose of trading salt or securing pots and bows, although such transactions were also carried out during ordinary visits and at intertribal ceremonials. The non-specialized items were taken along on all visits in anticipation of a lively afternoon of trading, but they were incidental to such expeditions. 439 484 [177]

Despite the economic foundation of upper Xingú trade, all exchanges were considered gifts. No aspect of trade was recognized as divorced from personal relations. Food was shared freely in the community and did not enter into trade. Quain was the only person in the Trumaí village who traded to obtain food. 439 437 431 [123]

Quain believed that there was a scale of values and a concept of equivalence in trade, as certain proffered articles were rejected by sellers as inadequate. The individual exchanges indicated some equivalence, and there was a tendency for particular categories of goods to be exchanged. Men traded arrows for fishhooks and gourds for small pots. Trinkets also formed a class. However, when dealing in specialized products, payment in another specialty was not required. Western goods were especially desired. Knives and axes were in great demand, and, once given to an Indian by a white man, they entered into active trade circulation. There was sufficient cross-cutting between the classes of articles to suggest the operation of a more comprehensive scale of values, but, unfortunately, Quain had to leave the Trumaí before this could be verified. 439 435 [177]

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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CHAPTER TWO

TRUMAÍ SUBSISTENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Vital Statistics

162 The population of the Trumaí village in 1938 was 43. This figure includes the 3 foreign women in residence and excludes those few Trumaí who were living with other groups. There were 17 men, 16 women, and 10 pre-pubescent children, of whom 8 were male and only 2 were female. [727] Due to the previously mentioned capture and forced marriage of Trumaí women, the average age of females seems to have been considerably greater than that of males. Two men were considered by the Trumaí [163] as old, while four women were placed in that category. This disparity of age undoubtedly had an influence on the Trumaí birth rate.

165 Infant mortality seems to have been high, and Quain was of the 847 opinion that it was further aggravated by abortion and infanticide. The fact that there were eight male children and but two girls suggests that infanticide must have been practiced only upon females. Quain's notes, however, give no indication that this was the fact. Pulmonary diseases 164 have devastated all the groups of the upper Xingú, but the drop in the 161 Trumaí population from 43 in 1938 to 25 in 1948 is probably not paralleled in the other villages during that time.

Village and Gardens

361 The Trumaí settlement was located a scant half-mile from a lagoon 133 that opened directly upon the east shore of the Kuluene just a few miles away. The mouth of the lagoon was narrow, but it broadened out into a lake of moderate size with many small bays and was ringed with [36] swamps. Proximity to the river made insects a continual nuisance during the rainy season. The Kamayurá village, located near the sandy beaches of a lagoon lined with *buriti* palms, was relatively free of insects.

361 The village consisted of four houses and another under construction. Between the houses and the surrounding forest lay an area of weeds and low underbrush into which refuse was thrown. The ground within the ring of houses was kept comparatively free of weeds and litter. The village "plaza" was about 200 feet wide. In the center were the log [23] bench and fireplace of the men's gathering place. Nearby was a conical wicker cage in which the village harpy eagle was kept for its feathers, which were used in ceremonies.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The plaza was the center of Trumaí social life. Here guests were entertained, ceremonials and wrestling matches were held, and the men gathered daily. Although the women might sit in front of their houses and watch these activities, they were not allowed to come near the log bench, even when the men were not there. The plaza of the Trumaí village was also used as the burying ground.

A short distance north of the circle of houses, on the path to the two main garden clearings of the Trumaí, was another smaller clearing used during the *olo*, or manioc, ceremonies. Other paths radiated outward from the village to the other gardens and to nearby groves of *piqui* trees. Quain noticed that the paths leading to the Kamayurá village were much broader and cleaner. The Kamayurá were proud of their paths and kept them in good condition. Their plaza was also clearer of weeds and trash than that of the Trumaí.

Of the four completed houses in the village, two were as large as those of the Kamayurá, but the other two, which were much smaller, were considered by Quain's informants to be genuinely Trumaí in type. Insofar as is known, the details of the construction and shape of all four were substantially the same. They had an elliptical floor plan and were haystack-shaped. Although the side walls were only four feet high, the roof attained a height of fifteen feet. The silhouette of the house was an almost smooth curve from ridge pole to ground. The frame was covered with a grass thatch. There were no windows, and a single entry opened on the plaza.

Each family occupied its own section of the house and had its own fireplace. Personal belongings hung from the walls and ceilings or were placed on small shelves. Hammocks were hung between the side wall posts and the two center posts, the woman's hammock beneath that of her husband. Except for two nuclear families that screened off their sections with blankets and cloth given them by Quain, there was no internal division of the house.

The two largest garden clearings were situated respectively about one mile northeast and one mile northwest of the village. Three small ones were located southeast of the settlement. In order of size, the gardens were named Nariatan, Waniwanitan, Anariatan, Tan Toreake, and Tandatake. Nariatan, the largest, contained, by Quain's rough calculation, approximately seven acres divided into ten plots, representing the gardens of seven men. One plot contained two acres, but the average garden varied between one-fourth and one acre in size. One of the men had erected a temporary thatch shelter in his plot, providing protection from the sun, but not from the rain. Inside there was only a basket of manioc flour, a rack for cooking fish, and a large shallow pot into which manioc was grated. This was the sole garden shelter Quain saw, and, significantly, it belonged to the most industrious horticulturist in the village.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The path which led from the village to Nariatan, the northwestern garden clearing, passed through the previously mentioned ceremonial clearing north of the village. A short distance beyond this point, a branch took off to the east and led to Waniwanitan, the northeastern and second largest clearing, which contained nine garden plots totaling approximately five acres. Each garden was tilled by a different man, but two men had plots in both Nariatan and Waniwanitan. The size of the average garden was one-half acre. There was no newly cleared land, and, in contrast to Nariatan which was still yielding, nearly all of the crop (mostly manioc) had either died or been harvested. Quain noticed that the soil in Nariatan had a gray tone, whereas that of Waniwanitan was reddish in hue. This difference in color was due to the ashes deposited by the more recent burning over of the former site.

Nariatan was a newer garden than Waniwanitan, and the former was planted to a variety of crops while the latter was nearly all in manioc. This is indicative of the common tropical forest slash and burn system whereby second year gardens are used only for manioc growing, and new areas in which the soil is still comparatively rich are used for other vegetables in addition to manioc. The Trumaí are unique, however, in that the garden clearing was divided into individually owned plots. Smaller individual gardens or large gardens cleared and cultivated collectively are the general rule in the rain forests of South America.

The three other clearings were small, and each contained one garden plot. One was one-quarter acre in size, while the other two each comprised one-half acre. These small gardens were connected with the village by separate paths and were closer to it than the two larger clearings. Anariatan, Nariatan and Waniwanitan were named after old village sites, but Quain knew of no abandoned locations from which the names Tan Toreake and Tandatake could have been derived.

Horticultural Techniques

It is difficult to assess the relative importance of horticulture, fishing and gathering in the subsistence economy of the Trumaí. At different times of the year each made the major contribution to the diet. Most garden products became available at about the middle of the rainy season, but manioc was dug up when needed throughout the year. Fish and manioc were staples the year-round, although fishing was poorer during the rains. Each was more important in the total diet than were the products of gathering. However, the subsistence of the Trumaí at certain times of the year, especially in the early part of the rainy season, would have been seriously threatened without the wild foods.

The agricultural cycle started in the early part of the dry season when the clearings needed for the next rainy season's gardens were made.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The usual procedure was for each man to clear a garden plot adjacent to the others; in this way the two large clearings of Nariatan and Waniwanitan were created. The three isolated small clearings might have been nuclei for future large clearings.

All the trees in the plot to be cleared were felled, and the underbrush was slashed away. This has been done with steel axes since the upper Xingú Indians came in contact with the outside world. Quain noted that much more work must have been involved in clearing the forest when stone axes were used. Even with improved implements, clearing land was the most arduous work done by the Trumaí. Stumps were not uprooted, nor were the fallen trees and shrubs removed. The dead vegetation was allowed to dry, and the plot was burned over just before planting in September. When planting, the Trumaí followed the simple expedient of avoiding burned tree trunks and stumps. One year old garden plots were made ready for replanting simply by pulling out or chopping down weeds.

The heavy work of clearing the land fell to the men. In one case reported by Quain, two men from the same household cleared a plot jointly, but in all other instances each garden was cleared by one man.

Permanent rights to land resided in the community as a whole, but gardens were spoken of as belonging to the man who had cleared the land. He also had proprietary rights over the crops, even when he had not planted them himself. Generally, however, such fine points of property were not an issue, as the man who cleared the land usually planted it. Land tenure was a function of use only.

Absolute, permanent ownership of property in land would have had no purpose, as the gardens were temporary and were abandoned when the soil was exhausted after two consecutive plantings.

The planting season began after the first light rains and lasted from about the middle of September to about the second week in October. The first heavy daytime rains arrive at the beginning of October and become more frequent throughout the month. Thus the sowing was done after the earth was moistened, but before the rains arrived in full force.

Quain made note of a variety of food plants growing in the Trumaí gardens. These included bitter manioc (*oíe*), corn (*xotet*), squash, large beans (*kuman*), small beans (*kumana'i*), sweet potatoes (*mani*), sugar cane (*kanaviya*), a species of pineapple (*wasus ruyau*), and banana trees (*isi idaidat*). Among the domesticated non-food plants were tobacco, cotton (*amundyu*), the castor bean (*patasy*), and *urucú* (*maidot*). Quain believed that the castor bean was used for the round hollow point of the whistling arrow, but Oberg says that the Kamayurá make theirs with hollow nuts of the tucúm palm.[1] *Urucú* is a plant bearing a pod, the

[1] Oberg 1953, p. 31.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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249 Urucú is a plant bearing a pod, The
386 interior of which yields a red paint used in body painting and the decoration of artifacts.

244 Bitter manioc was by far the most important crop, while maize and
[243] sweet potatoes ranked second and third, respectively. Most of the crops were planted in the same three-to-four-week period, but the gardener usually planted manioc before the other vegetables. For this purpose, holes were dug at six to ten foot intervals wherever space between the charred logs permitted. A short trench was first dug with a hoe, and then, from the opposite side, an adjacent trench was dug. The loose earth from the second trench was piled into the first, in which the manioc was then planted. Each pair of trenches was made with about fifty hoe strokes.

244 Shoots for planting were obtained by cutting sections from the stalks
242 of old manioc plants. About ten shoots were planted in each hole by thrusting them at an angle into the loose earth. The gardener tried to plant the stems deeply so that the developing tubers would receive maximum moisture. Slipshod gardeners, however, often thrust them in lightly and heaped earth around the stems. The shoots were inserted at slightly different angles to minimize the tangle of stems and thus facilitate the harvesting, but all shoots pointed in a general westerly direction. Quain was told that if they were planted otherwise, the wind would break the growing stalks.

243 The procedure for planting maize was somewhat simpler. The gardener brought a large container of seed corn and a jug of water to the area to be planted. He soaked some of the kernels, and then put them in a small gourd which he carried with him. Small holes, three to four inches deep, were dug with a digging stick (*mica*) or knife blade in the open spaces between the manioc holes. Into each hole three or four kernels were dropped. A small pile of the loose earth that had just been dug up remained next to the depression in which the corn was planted. This served to trap the early rains. The digging stick and knife were the only implements used in maize planting, whereas only the hoe was used to plant manioc.

244 Men planted manioc; the women were said by the men to "not know
462 how." Indicative of the importance of manioc, the word for planting refers only to manioc planting. Thus, a man who told Quain that he had finished his planting went to his garden the next day to put in sweet potatoes. Similarly, Quain was told that women do not "plant." He soon
[241] learned, however, that women could plant other crops, but, with the exception of cotton, it was always done under the supervision of the men.

The most active horticultural role of the women was harvesting. The
[193] wife of the gardener went to his plot to dig up manioc and pick vegetables, which she carried back to the village in a basketry container balanced on her head. If the gardener had no wife, the female relative in his household who prepared his food brought in his crop.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Each man planted his garden without male assistance. However, when planting vegetables other than manioc, he was often aided by his wife or wives. During the whole Trumaí planting season Quain observed only one instance of cooperative labor in manioc planting. This occurred in the garden of Uluku, a Kamayurá, who had cleared a plot in the Trumaí gardens but had not returned in time to plant it. The work was initiated by the Trumaí chief, as this was an obligation of the village to an outsider. However, the men largely ignored his call and, of those who responded, most were co-residents of the chief.

Fishing Techniques

A variety of fish were caught and eaten by the Trumaí. The exact species were not recorded by Quain, but those in Oberg's partial list are also found in other tributaries of the Amazon.[2] A small fish called *kate* by the Trumaí was caught in great quantities during Quain's visit. Fish figured importantly in the diet throughout the year, but they were not as easily caught during the rainy season when the rivers overflowed into the adjacent forest. Fish were taken by hook and line, bow and arrow, poisoning, traps, nets and weirs.

Shooting with the bow and arrow was the most important single method. The fisherman stood in the bow of his bark canoe with bow and arrow poised while his helper paddled slowly in the stern. When a fish was sighted the arrow usually found its mark with surprising accuracy. Insofar as is known, only hooks and lines obtained from the whites by trade or gift were used. Quain found a great demand for them, and he gave many to the Trumaí and other groups.

Two kinds of poison were used to drug fish in the lagoons. The more important was made from the shredded bark of the *tawasi* tree and was effective only upon the small *kate* fish. The other was made from the ripe fruit of the *fit'a* tree, the bark of which was used in the washing of the body after ceremonial scarification.[3]

Fish traps were baited and set out in the lagoon. These were basket containers, long and rounded in shape. An open-ended basket cone, through which the fish swam, was set in the mouth. Once inside, the fish could not find their way out through the small end of the cone, which was pointed towards the inside of the trap. According to one informant, the Mehinaku could make fish traps, but not the Trumaí. Quain, however, found that at least three Trumaí men made traps,

[1] *Ibid.* pp. 25–26.

[3] The exact species of these trees are not known. Oberg (1953, pp. 26–27) refers to the use of *timbó* in a general sense only. *Timbó* commonly refers to the root of a small shrub and not to the above-mentioned drugs. Von den Steinen (1897) makes no reference to fish drugs.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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226 although not everyone owned one. Quain also described Trumaí fish nets, but netting must have been a minor technique, as he did not see it practiced during his stay.

[71] Throughout the upper Xingú area it was common practice to construct fish dams across the mouths of lagoons. There were two such fish weirs in the Trumaí lagoon, one near its mouth, the other across a small inlet near the village. Their purpose was to block the fish from escape to the main stream when drugs were placed in the water. They were built by driving upright stakes into the floor of the lagoon, after which a wall of rubbish and branches was built against the fence. One dam was constructed by the village cooperatively, while the other was said to have been built by a single man.

226 The Trumaí lagoon was considered the property of the community,
423 and the Trumaí maintained exclusive fishing rights in it. The water in the lagoon is clear in comparison to the muddy Kuluene, and the fishing excellent. A good proportion of the fishing was done there, especially when traps and poisons were used, but they also had fishing rights in other lagoons within the territory of abandoned Trumaí villages. In addition, they fished in the Kuluene and Kuliseu and ranged as far afield as the Batovi River.

576 While most fishing trips were carried out within a day, some lasted
201 two or three days. When the fishermen returned, they were greeted with a conventional shout by all the villagers. The shout was meant to welcome the food rather than the fishermen, and similar cries were heard when well laden gathering parties returned from a short jaunt into the forest.

501 About one-half of the men owned canoes, and according to Quain's
422 informants, only six did not know how to build them. The bark canoes
226 of the upper Xingú are not difficult to make, and it can be assumed that the community did not need more, inasmuch as fishing parties always consisted of two men. Larger groups went out of the village in a body when many fish were needed for a ceremony or to feed guests, but they usually split into pairs. Cooperative fishing groups of more than two men were needed only for drugging and perhaps for netting. On one *tawasi* fishing expedition over half the males of the village went to the lagoon with bundles of shredded bark. Quain noted that this was one of the few examples of group labor transcending the immediate family.

226 Two-man fishing expeditions were composed of the owner or borrower
571 of the canoe and his helper (*tau*). The *tau* generally paddled while the owner fished. Only while serving as a helper was he referred to as the *tau* of that man. Thus, if a person went as the helper of Makurawa, he was referred to as "Makurawatau." He shared in the catch, but whether he received less than the canoe owner is not indicated by the field notes. There seemed to be no fixed standard for the selection of the *tau*, nor

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were the teams always the same. Old Matiwana and his son Yati fished together most of the time, as did Aloari and his true brother Tun. Other true brothers often fished together, but, with the exception of the two above-mentioned steadfast teams, men chose their fishing companions according to their mutual needs or plans for the day. Since such agreements occurred most often between members of the same household, co-residents often cooperated. One man, Jakuma, spent much of his time fishing as the *tau* of different canoe owners or borrowers. He had no wife, and his garden, which he did not till very diligently, was very small. His fishing partners included men from every household, who were related to him in various degrees.

Although the position of *tau* was a temporarily subordinate one, it caused no loss of status. Even the Trumaí chief, since he owned no canoe, went fishing as a *tau*. Occasionally men took their wives along, but fishing was a man's specialty, and the woman's function was restricted to paddling.

Gathering

The two most important food products that the Trumaí gathered were turtle eggs and the fruit of the *piquí* tree, or *tsinon*. Throughout the dry season, turtle eggs were gathered in great quantity on the banks and sandbars of the rivers. By September they were no longer available and, in the following month, *piquí* became the main objective of the gathering parties. The harvest of this fruit was stored and lasted nearly to the end of the rainy season. *Piquí* was an important staple, especially in the period before crops ripened. Most of the *piquí* trees grow wild, but there is a suggestion in Quain's notes that they might also have been transplanted when young. All of the *piquí* trees were individually owned, and proprietary rights of individuals to groups of trees were clearly understood by all. In order to make the fruit ripen fast, the owner of the trees built a slow-burning fire of grass underneath them at night. The early rainy season was a rather lean period, so that there was great joy when the *piquí* was heard falling in the forest. Everyone broke into shouts of "*kaha kaha kaha-a-a*," which was the conventional cry for greeting the first *piquí*. These shouts were slightly different from those welcoming fish brought into the village.

The first fruit was usually gathered by the owner of the trees and his family. However, when the fruit began to fall in great quantity there was a general harvest which was shared without regard for tree ownership.

Piquí gathering started in the middle of October, when the planting season had ended and the men were free to help in the gathering. However, men still fished frequently, and the burden of the gathering fell on the women and older boys. Women from the same household

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222 often gathered together, and at times all of the women of a house would
462 work together in *piquí* collecting. Parties of boys and men sometimes picked up the fruit, and a man often went gathering with his wife to protect her from possible enemies, especially if there had been recent threats or omens. He took his bow and arrows, and frequently did not help in carrying the fruit back to the village. The *piquí* was brought to the village in basket containers, and then made into a variety of dishes.

Guava (*waruwaru*) grows wild in the forest, ripening a short time before *piquí* does, but extending into the season of the latter. Quain be-
[146] lieved it to be a valuable vitamin C supplement to the diet, but it was a far less important food than *piquí*. Men participated little in guava collecting, although they accompanied their wives for sociability and protection. Quain described these connubial gathering expeditions as being largely pleasant jaunts through the wood. Children often went out for the fruit, which they brought back to the village strung on straws.

222 The water lily from which salt was made was another important
258 item gathered during the period of Quain's residence among the Trumaí.
462 The water lilies were collected in the Trumaí lagoon, and the complete salt-making process was carried on there. Each Trumaí built a rack over the waters of the lagoon. The lilies were pulled up, spread out on the rack to dry, and later burned. The ashes were sifted to obtain the salt. Quain did not mention any women's salt racks, but the women prepared their own supply of salt, too. Quain saw salt-making only in the early part of September, although it is possible that it occurred prior to this time as well. However, salt was not made after the middle of September, due to the rains and the exigencies of planting.

222 Ants were eaten by the Trumaí, and, according to an informant, by
[262] all groups in the area. A little boy demonstrated the correct way to consume them when he joyously brought in a fat one, plucked off its abdomen and swallowed it. Quain was told that later in the season the
[231] women and children would go out and collect them in large quantities.
[857] Other insects were in heavy demand for feeding the harpy eagle and other pet birds. Crickets were considered especially good for this purpose, and the boys made great sport of shooting these insects with their miniature bows and arrows.

137 A few other wild foods were eaten, but these were relatively insigni-
222 ficant. Among them was the fruit of the *awa'o* palm. Another fruit called
262 *lamux*, resembling the crabapple in taste and superficial appearance, had a gelatinous interior. An unnamed plant is described by Quain as resembling grass, but having a quality like algae. It was eaten only in times of a manioc shortage. *Kamu'u* is a parasitic plant that looks and tastes like the date. The *atoh* is a berry that tastes like the chokecherry.

226 *Fift'a* and *tawasi*, the fish poisons, were gathered in the locale. The
278 gathering and preparation of *tawasi* boughs was a cooperative venture.
476

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Older boys and men went into the forest to cut down the trees and bring the boughs back to the village. The men then took turns in pounding the boughs into coarse fiber with the blunt end of an axe. Even men who did not participate in the gathering of the boughs helped in their reduction into fiber.

The group nature of the work is understandable in view of the communal labor and benefits involved in fish poisoning. Once the boughs were reduced, the fibers were cut into sheaves of about two and one-half feet in length. These sheaves were used to poison the water. Interestingly, both bark and wood were pounded up together, although, according to Quain, only the bark is poisonous.

The *buriti* palm supplied two raw materials, *isinke* and *isinke hut'*. *Isinke* was obtained from the heart of the young spike of the growing tip of the palm. The top was separated to give access to the heart, and long fibers were pulled out, which were then hung in the interior of the house to dry. When dry they resembled a heavy hemp, and were used to make cord. *Isinke hut'* is the leaf of the *buriti*, which was used in basketry.

Hunting

Hunting was not important at any time during Quain's stay. Tapir, peccary, deer, monkey, jaguar, squirrel and paca, a large rodent, are among the animals mentioned by Quain as being found in the vicinity, but only the monkey and paca were eaten. Birds were also eaten, and their feathers were used for ornamentation. Terrapin were caught by hand, either by creeping up on them or by swimming close to them under water and grabbing them by the shell. All other game was shot with the bow and arrow, except for the capybara, called *tsimo* by the Trumaí. Canoeists speared the swimming animals. The spear was used at no other time in hunting or fishing, although the Yaulapití speared fish.

Quain saw no organized hunting parties. One or two men sometimes set out with the express intention of hunting, but most animals were shot while on fishing or gathering expeditions. The Trumaí did not rely on meat, nor did they show a craving for it. Hunting seemed to be more a pastime and sport than a subsistence activity. When Quain hunted with the Trumaí he noticed that they wanted him to kill birds more for their feathers than for their meat. They also wanted him to kill several entirely worthless birds because, as two of the men expressed it, they wanted "to see it."

Foods

The horticulture, fishing and gathering economy of the Trumaí gave them a fair variety and adequate quantity of food during most of the year, barring crop failure. The Trumaí, however, had a considerably

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smaller food stock than did the Kamayurá. Quain found the Trumaí diet nourishing and tasty, and although the methods of cooking were not always appetizing from a European point of view, he notes that "the delightful rounds of foods are endless," and that there were many recipes for their preparation.

Manioc processing, from harvest to finished product, was the work of the women. The tubers were dug up when reserves of *beijú*, or manioc cake, ran low, for the supply of manioc flour on hand was always enough for several days, but no more. The first step in the process was to scrape the skin from the tubers. This was done with a clam shell, the rough edges of which had been abraded so as to give a smooth scraping surface. The manioc was then reduced to a wet pulp by rubbing it on a grater made of wood studded with sharp bones. In order to extract the prussic acid from the bitter manioc, the pulp was placed on an open-work sieve, or *tuafi*, which was set on top of a wide-mouthed Waurá pot, and water was washed through it. The mass was then wrung out and rewashed. After several washings, the manioc was squeezed into a lump and dried on a rack in the sun. The flour (*karima*), thus prepared, was used to make the flat manioc cake or was mixed in water to make a gruel. For *beijú*, the sun-dried lumps of flour were pulverized in a large wooden mortar set in the floor and moistened, sometimes with fish juice. It was then placed on a flat clay plate (*ja'meo*) and beaten with a special wooden paddle until flat, after which it was baked. Two kinds of *beijú* were made: a thin and a coarse, thick type. *Beijú* was sometimes eaten plain, but other foods were usually heaped on top.

Manioc was also regularly consumed in the form of a thick gruel prepared by boiling the flour in water. A fibrous fruit known as *iriwa* was often boiled with the manioc gruel and imparted a prune-like taste to the dish. When drinking it, the fruit was chewed, the shells and fiber spat out. The manioc gruel (*ats aek*) was kept in the house in gourds.

Fish were roasted or boiled. Roasting was done by holding the fish directly over the flame, or by wrapping it in a broad palm leaf and placing it on a babricot over the fire. A common dish was a thick stew of boiled fish which was heaped on *beijú*. Fish was also added to stews which contained vegetables in season. Men did all the roasting in the Trumaí village, although it was permissible for a woman to help. However, most foods were prepared by boiling, and the burden of cooking thus fell on the women.

The *piquí* fruit (*tsinos*) was the most versatile food in the village during Quain's period of residence. The most important dish was boiled *piquí* pulp (*ke'jas*), which was placed in containers and stored in the waters of a pool in sufficient quantity to last until the end of the rainy season. *Piquí*, like most fruits, ripens and falls uniformly, making it necessary to gather the harvest all at once, and to prepare and store

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it before it rots. The Trumaí worked hard at this, and Quain heard the sounds of women boiling and stirring the *ke'jau* far into the night. Some of the *ke'jau* was placed in gourds for immediate use. It was mixed with water, making a rich yellow drink, and was frequently stirred into the manioc gruel, or *ats aek*. *Ke'jau* was considered an excellent food for canoe trips, and was carried by fishermen and travelers.

The *piquí* fruit when roasted whole "tastes like egg yolk, or, vaguely, like deviled eggs," Quain wrote. In addition to cooking the pulp of the fruit, the kernel of the *piquí* pit was used. It was sometimes eaten raw, but usually it was cooked. The kernel has a fragrant, coconut-like flavor. A pudding was made by boiling down *piquí* kernels to the consistency of paste and, to Quain, the flavor was much like that of the caramelized coconut sauce prepared in Fiji. Another preparation called *t'ak*, which resembled *beijú*, was made from a flour prepared from *piquí* kernels. Fish and various other foods were piled on top of the *t'ak* and eaten with it, or pieces of the cake were broken off and eaten plain.

Maize, beans, and squash were grown in the Trumaí gardens, but due to the season none of these was eaten during Quain's stay. While making house inventories he saw small amounts of maize and beans stored in gourds sealed with tree gum, undoubtedly to be used as seed. Two varieties of maize were eaten. The more common type was called *xotet*; the other was a red species known as *hy kapsik*.

Pineapples and bananas did not figure importantly in the diet. Although the Trumaí grew sugar cane (*kanaviya*), there is no information on its use. Sweet potatoes were roasted by the men, but were probably prepared in other ways also. A paste was made from cotton seeds by pounding them in a mortar and then boiling the mashed seeds. The paste was kept in a gourd and eaten by scooping it up with the fingers.

Quain's notes contain little on the preparation of wild foods other than *piquí* fruit. Guava were eaten raw, but there is no information on how the various kinds of palm fruits were prepared.

The abdomen of a large ant called *xokoldomat'ek* was considered a delicacy, and flying ants were popped into the mouth like peanuts. A tremendous green grasshopper with long horns (*tawarero*) was roasted and eaten. A small red tick (*tekwu*) was also consumed, but a fuzzy caterpillar known as the *ma'yryr* was looked upon with revulsion. The Trumaí claimed contemptuously that only the Suyá ate them.

It would appear that the Trumaí seldom drank plain water. Instead, beverages such as the manioc or *piquí* drinks were used. A gourdful of one of these drinks was usually available in the houses, and a supply was taken on canoe trips. No intoxicating beverages were made, but Quain was told by a former captive of the Yuruna that the Yuruna brew "kills you for a day or two, and they stay up all night shouting and singing." The informant did not approve of its taste or effects.

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264 Eating seemed to be casual, and it would be inaccurate to speak of "mealtimes." The time for eating was governed by what one happened to be doing on that day. While a person was in the village, he ate whenever food was offered, which occured frequently. If fishing was in order, the fishermen ate before and after their trip and also took food with them. Quain noticed that people usually ate on arising and, during the planting season, again upon returning from the gardens. Meals, then, were only an intensification of eating, occasioned by the return of people to the village. All the people of a household frequently ate at the same time, but the whole village seldom ate simultaneously. Meals involved little formality, and the Trumaí man often ate in his hammock between naps.

House Building

342 114 Unfortunately, Quain left few detailed drawings of houses or other aspects of material culture, and his descriptions are brief. Most of the data on material culture were gathered from his careful inventory of all the houses in the village. He was probably reserving the detailed documentation for the proposed return trip which he never made.

342 335 The first step in the construction of a house was to sink the two heavy center posts in a deep hole. The ridge pole was then set in place at the top of the center posts by raising it with forked sticks. A few men stood with the sticks at either end of the ridge pole, and each group in turn lifted and set the end on the center posts. A "water shed" (not well described by Quain but undoubtedly a cap of thatch) was placed over the ridge pole. The tops of the center posts were not notched to receive the ridge pole; instead, sticks were lashed on opposite sides of the two [283] center posts to form a fork in which the ridge pole was laid. All joining of the framework in the house was done with bark fiber. Wall posts, about four feet high, were set in the ground so as to form an elliptical floor plan around the center posts.

The next step was to lash on the curved longitudinal poles which join the wall posts to the ridge pole. Horizontal poles were tied across these and across the wall posts to form a frame for the thatch. Additional smaller poles could be added to give a tighter thatch frame. Thatching was sometimes started in one section before the frame had been entirely completed. The grass (*damok*) for thatch was gathered by the house-builders and brought back tied in bundles.

342 The roof was thatched first, but a section was often left incomplete until the rainy season. Quain was told by Maíbu, the chief, that he would finish thatching his house after the rains began because the grass was longer then. In the case of one house, the thatching of the walls was started when the roof was nearly completed. While one builder

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On the Kuluene River

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PLATE II

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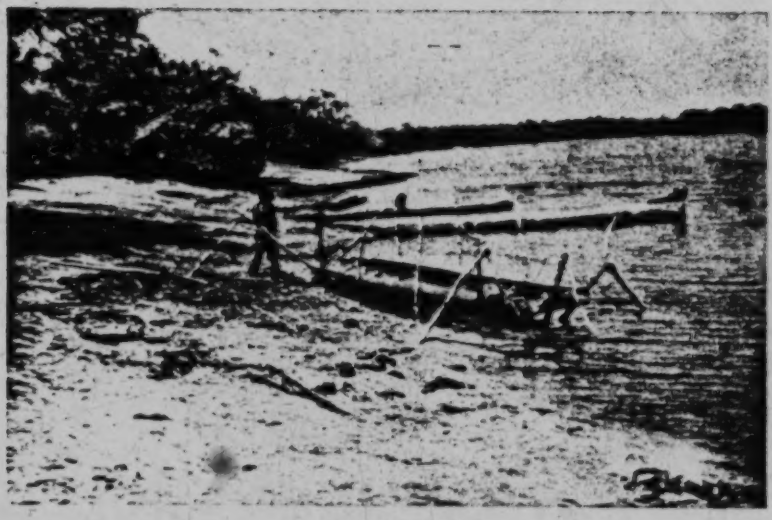

Trumaí camping at Karajaja

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Working Manioc

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was working on the roof, the other thatched the wall facing the forest, and the house was subsequently occupied while work was still proceeding on that wall. The wall toward the village was temporarily hung with cloth drapes for privacy, although for purposes of protection from enemies the opposite side was thatched first.

Additional thatch was placed on the house at the beginning of the rainy season. At that time light poles were bound to the frame for greater support. The chief's house began to sag from the weight of the thatch, and braces had to be put under the ridge pole. Two posts, as heavy as the center posts, were crossed just below the ridge pole and bound together. A few men got behind each post and pushed so that the poles would assume a more nearly vertical position and give firmer support to the ridge poles. When this had been accomplished, the bases of the posts were set in holes.

Quain had the opportunity to observe two houses being constructed: his own and a fifth dwelling being built by two Trumaí men. His own small house took one week to build. The work started off with a great burst of effort, and in four hours all the wall posts, center posts and the ridge pole were in place. However, every day thereafter progress became increasingly slower.

House styles and construction were not rigidly conventionalized. The Trumaí helped build a house for the missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Young, and they thought that Quain, being a *kurahiba* (white man), would like one such as the Youngs had designed for themselves. When they were half finished with the frame, Quain realized what was happening, and asked for a haystack house like theirs. The revision was made easily and the result was a hybrid. This, added to the fact that two of the houses in the village were much larger than the other two, indicated a certain flexibility and willingness to imitate. The Kamayurá classified the different posts and poles that went into house building, but the Trumaí had only very broad terms for the corresponding parts.

The heavy work of raising the ridge pole, stepping in braces, and carrying and inserting center posts was done cooperatively. These joint labors, although brief and infrequent, made for a festive occasion and gave rise to laughter and gaiety, an unusual thing among the men. With the exception of operations requiring the combined efforts of more men, the house was built by the males who were to occupy it. Women took no part in the building. Yanahi and Mayuva, who were building a new house, shared the work unequally, Yanahi doing the larger part. They did not always work at the same time, and, when they did, they worked on separate sections of the house.

Quain's house was built cooperatively because he was an outsider, and it was the obligation of the whole community to accommodate him.

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The situation was comparable to the previously mentioned communal planting of the garden of the Kamayurá, Uluku.

Canoes

The standard bark canoe of the upper Xingú was made and used by the Trumaí.[4] Construction was simple and much less time was required to complete it than the typical dugout canoe of the tropical forest. A long, rectangular piece of bark was cut from the *jatobá* tree by men standing on platforms. The bark was then heated over a fire to soften it. The sides were bent up, and the top end of the bark, which narrowed slightly, was made into the bow by bending it upwards. The center of the stern was bent inwards, allowing the whole stern to be well above the water. Leaks were mended with patches of river mud or clay. Propulsion was by paddle, although occasionally poles were used.

There was also one small dugout in the village which belonged to Aloari, Quain's cook and helper. Aloari had been a Yuruna captive, and it was undoubtedly during this experience that he had learned to make this type craft. He also had a bark canoe and was the only Trumaí to own two canoes.

Basketry

The Trumaí men manufactured baskets that were variously shaped and served several purposes. In general, the Trumaí were less skilled in this art than their upper Xingú neighbors. Among the baskets described by Quain was a deep, round tray made of *buriti* fiber and another which was used to store manioc flour and, when equipped with shoulder and forehead tumplines, to carry loads. The latter was an openwork container made of bark strips. A smaller basket of this type was made of *buriti* fibers. The manioc sieve, or *tuaſi*, was made of stiff *buriti* fronds and was also used to store small articles. It was made by the women. The women also made a bark cloth bag known as the *tdesnit*, a term that, in addition, designated the female pubic covering.

All of the baskets and similar containers described by Quain were made by other groups of the area, but the art of manufacturing certain varieties was known to only a few Trumaí. Some baskets were obtained in trade.

Textiles

All work in cotton was the exclusive province of the women. Hammocks of both twined and woven types were made. The loom consisted of two upright posts between which a warp of *buriti* fiber was extended.

[4] Cf. von den Steinen 1897, pp. 322–23.
[1.e. building Quain's house--Analyst]

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The woof was made of cotton threads. The men's hammocks were usually woven, while those made by the women for themselves were generally an inferior twined product. Other manufactures of cotton were arm and leg bands.

Ceramics

The knowledge of ceramic manufacture cannot be properly considered a part of Trumaí culture, despite their daily use of pottery in cooking, manioc processing, eating and storage. All pottery utensils were obtained in trade with the Arawakan Waurá, usually in return for salt. The only clay article of Trumaí manufacture was the *ja'meo*, a crude clay griddle on which the *beijú* was baked. The Trumaí did not rely completely on pottery for watertight containers, as gourds, grown in their own gardens, were extensively used.

Wood Manufactures

All woodwork was done by the men with, at the time of Quain's visit, steel tools. The most distinctive article was the zoomorphically carved wooden stool, found among all upper Xingú peoples. Quain's notes contain a sketch of one such stool which is very similar to the one depicted by von den Steinen.[8] Other wood products were canoe paddles, *beijú* paddles, manioc graters, and mortars and pestles, used by the women to pulverize the hard, dry balls of manioc flour.

Weapons

Bows and arrows were used almost to the exclusion of other weapons. The Trumaí got their bows in trade from the Kamayurá, but made the bowstrings themselves from the fiber of a tree known to them as the *patacy*. They made their own feathered arrows out of cane, at the end of which was inserted a thin wooden shaft. The points were fixed to the shaft with a tree resin (*awalitsu*) and were wrapped at the juncture with cotton thread. Monkey bone points were used for shooting fish and birds. One man who was making a bamboo point told Quain that it was used for hunting and warfare. Another was seen hammering an arrow point out of a piece of metal.

Spears were not used often, although the Trumaí made them. Quain saw a spear point being made of the shin bone of a tapir. The spear-thrower (*xopep*) was used only in the annual spear-throwing contest. It was made from the wood of a palm. Quain sketched one that had a flat handle with a finger hole and a shaft with a hook on the end, and another that lacked the hook, but had a thong on the end.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 141.

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411 The Trumaí made no war clubs at the time of Quain's investigation, although von den Steinen stated that the Trumaí and the Suyá were the only groups of the region to have clubs.[6] The only war club in the village was a long, fluted one of wood that the Waurá had captured from the Suyá and had subsequently given to one of the Trumaí men. It was only used ceremonially.

Firemaking

372 Fires were kindled by use of a simple, hand-twirled fire drill. Generation of a new fire was not often necessary as there was almost always an active fire in the village from which a flame could be taken. Gathering firewood was woman's work.

[313] [467]

Ornaments and Body Decoration

291 [301] Except for ornaments, men and women were completely nude. The women wore a cord belt that passed around the body just above the buttocks. Some of the women still had what Quain called a "fig leaf," probably a piece of leaf or bark, strung on a cord passing between the buttocks. It was known as the *tdesnit*, the Trumaí term for the *uluri*, the common upper Xingú version of which they did not use.

302 Except for occasional body painting, the women indulged in little ornamentation. They were plucked of all body hair, but in contrast to the shorter tonsure of the males, they let their hair grow over their shoulders.

291 301 The men wore belts of cotton thread or bark fiber, but did not tie their penes. Occasionally flat shell beads were strung around the waist, but more often they were used in necklaces. Necklaces, which were worn in ceremonies, were made by stringing flat rectangular shells on cotton thread. The shells were strung only on the front half of the necklace. Quain noted one type that had two black panels on each end of the necklace. Shell necklaces were an important commodity in intertribal trade, as has already been indicated. Cotton or bark fiber bands were tied around the ankles, just below the knees, and around the biceps.

[439]

301 237 287 Featherwork ornaments were worn ceremonially and included headdresses, ear pendants, and feather necklaces. Quain noted one pendant made from the whole breast of a bird. The breast had four colored bands: black, yellow, red, and again yellow, from top to bottom. Another feather pendant consisted of black, red, and yellow feathers arranged in bands and attached to a short piece of wood. A black tree resin held the feathers firmly in place. The feathers were obtained from the tips of parrot wings.

[314]

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 222.

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Necklaces were made by tying feathers to a cotton cord with *buriti* fibers. Headdresses included one consisting of a ring of cotton threads with colored feathers attached. The front feathers were long and formed a sort of plume. Another headdress, a feather topknot tied to a cotton headnet, was captured in warfare with the Caiabí. A third was a crown woven of bamboo splints traded from the Waurá for arrow feathers. There were probably many other kinds, as intertribal trade in headdresses was lively.

Belts and anklets were also traded between tribes. A few Brazilian type shirts and hats had found their way into the Trumaí village. They had been obtained from travelers in the region, and especially from the missionaries, Thomas Young and his wife.

The men wore their hair cut straight around the head on a line even with the tops of the ears. A small patch on the crown was plucked, but Quain noted that the Trumaí were much less careful about keeping these parts free of new growth than were the neighboring groups. The scissors which Quain gave to one of the men replaced the old method of hair cutting with an instrument made of *piranha* teeth. A composite comb (*kuwau*) was also used. The back was made of two parallel pieces of cane joined by cotton thread and the teeth of splints from the small roots of a palm-like shrub.

The Trumaí used several vegetable paints to decorate their bodies. This method of adornment was always invoked for ceremonies, and often for wrestling, or when there were guests. The paint most commonly used was the red *urucú* (*matdot*) which was grown in the gardens. The *urucú* was made into a paste by mixing it with oil from the visceral fat of a fish. The paste could be rolled into a ball and applied directly, or spread with the fingers or a spatula made from the middle rib of the *buriti* leaf.

Other body paints were *taiwariri*, a black tree gum mixed with soot, and a preparation made from *piqui* fruit and fish oil. There was also a dye, *atdot*, which was not described, and one or two other paints which Quain was unable to identify. *Jany*, a non-decorative paste made from the liver of a fish, was used to ward off insects.

Designs included dots, crescents, zig-zags, circles, curves, straight lines, and combinations of these. Quain observed several standard patterns, many of which were symbolic; others were possibly symbolic representations also, but he was unable to learn their meanings.

One man painted crescents on his chest above either nipple which he said represented vaginas. A rattlesnake design consisted of a half ellipse on the flanks with dots in the center. Quain was told that a design of red spots, with two near the nipples ringed in black, was a boa constrictor. Another snake pattern, made by painting zig-zags down the sides and back, was used on one of the posts erected during the *ole* ceremony.

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531 Black zig-zags on a grayish background were painted on the body of one
302 of the singers. Many designs were undoubtedly conventionalized, but seemingly not according to rigid standards.

All of these designs were observed on men. The women painted themselves much less often, and their patterns were far simpler. Blackened foreheads and black streacks on the thighs were most common. The latter looked as if the women had merely wiped their hands on their thighs after having painted their husbands.

Children also had their bodies painted. Some of the boys blackened their faces or had black dots put on their chests. One little girl had black angles painted on her cheek by her mother. Children's and women's body designs were simple and required little paint. The men reserved most of the paint for themselves.

A husband's painting was often done by his wife, but men frequently adorned themselves or another man, particularly a younger close relative. There may also have been specialized knowledge of certain designs. Only one man was said to be able to make the zig-zag snake pattern, and he painted it on the bodies of others.

Work Patterns

461 Accompanying the low degree of specialization and cooperation in
512 production was a lack of rhythm in the work habits of the Trumaí. The day started at about three or four o'clock in the morning. At this time many persons got out of their hammocks to fan their fires and huddle around them, for these were the chilliest hours. The men might get together at this time and talk while the women prepared food. Not much work was done then. At most, a man might add some thatch to his house. By sunrise everyone was awake, and the women went in a [515] body to a nearby arm of the lagoon to bathe and draw containers of water. The men usually went to bathe a little later in pairs or alone. After bathing, everyone ate, and the work day really began.

Those who intended to garden went out early and labored until ten or eleven o'clock, that is, while it was cool and insects were less trouble- [264] some. As a rule, they ate again upon returning and then stayed in the village the rest of the day, working at various crafts as the spirit moved them. Actually a good deal of time was spent loafing and sleeping.

Those who planned to fish started out in the morning, but usually after the gardeners had departed. Unless a two or three day trip was planned, they commonly returned by four o'clock, and always before dark. Occasionally a group of men and women went to the lagoon to [258] spend a day or two making salt.

One of the striking features of Trumaí economic activity was the number of different tasks done by various people on the same day.

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Agendas were ordinarily based on the immediate needs of the household or the desire for some variety in their diet. Food, however, was shared widely, and this probably robbed most work of any sense of urgency. Apparently, each man's plans for the day were determined in part by the season, in part by the household needs, and in part by what he felt like doing.

Some men stayed in the village all day, sleeping and working intermittently at small tasks. The women spent more time in the village than the men. Their work was done in the house or, if outside, in the shade of the house. Since male work was done largely in the morning, most of the men had ample time in the afternoon for trade, wrestling, and other diversions. The trade game was an especially popular indoor activity on rainy days.

Much less work was probably done during the rainy season, for planting would be finished, the *piqui* would be harvested, and the heavy rains would confine people to the village. However, there was much less seasonal variation for the women, as they had to continue to make *beijú*, weave, cook, and care for their households — the ordinary female chores, whatever the month.

Trumaí economic life was loosely organized. Few types of labor transcended the nuclear family, which was the basic unit of economic cooperation and interdependence. The inventory of material culture was sparse, and workmanship was not highly developed. What the Trumaí did not make, they could obtain by trade. From the standpoint of technology, the Trumaí were more backward than other tribes in the upper Xingú area, perhaps a reflection of their more recent settlement in the region.

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CHAPTER THREE

Trumaí Social Organization

Property Ownership

105 Trumaí society was relatively simple. There was no social stratification
[556] based on wealth, nor were the mechanisms of social control and
[626] cohesion highly developed. This was in accord with the individualization
[433] of productive effort and the low level of economic surplus. The political
[621] unit was a single community, the sole bearer of Trumaí culture.

All land and productive resources were considered the property of the
421 community, and the right to their exploitation resided with any indivi-
423 dual willing to expend the labor. Gardens were individual property, but only in the sense that the man who reclaimed the land from the jungle was entitled to its product. There was no concept of alienable property in land, entailing the right of disposition. The *piquí* trees were said to be owned individually, but the owner exercised exclusive rights only over the first fruits. Other wild food plants were community property
423 and their fruits belonged to the gatherer.

The fishing rights to lagoons and backwaters of the rivers belonged
[226] to the tribes in whose territory they were located. There was no indivi-
dual ownership of fishing sites.

422 There was property in foods, but as soon as they were cooked they
[267] were freely distributed. *Beijú* belonged to the women, but the manioc out of which it was prepared was said to be the property of the man
[462] who grew it. Such distinctions were largely academic. Actually, the men grew the vegetable and the women harvested it, prepared it, and cooked it, after which it was distributed and eaten. The same situation prevailed in regard to the products of fishing, hunting, and gathering. Salt was
[263] the only exception, as it was prepared and owned by individual men
[439] and women. The difference undoubtedly lies in the fact that salt was an important trade item, while the other commodities were not.

Very little property can be said to have belonged to the family.
[285] Baskets and gourd containers were made by the men for themselves
[415] and for the women, but they were often used by both a man and his wife. Nearly all material objects outside of natural resources were owned by the person who made them or the person to whom an object was
423 given. House ownership was vague, since houses were built and occupied by more than one man, and abandoned when the village moved. The house, however, was often considered the property of the man who put

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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the greatest time and effort into its building. Quain was reprimanded for speaking of the house in which Maibu lived as "Maibu's," for his brother-in-law, Mata'wai, had built it. This point of property was confirmed by others, despite the fact that Maibu was the head of the household and acted as host when guests entered.

To the Trumaí, the only important property was in the personal possession of transportable, material artifacts. These ranged from tools and weapons to ceremonial objects and trinkets obtained from Quain. The second class of property was probably cherished more than the first, which was viewed as consisting of everyday necessities. The combs, feathers, beads, European novelties, papers, and other such items that all men and women possessed were carefully kept in baskets and gourds near their hammocks. A man and wife would often keep some of their personal belongings in the same containers, but beyond this there was a special category of personal possessions called *wacta*. This highly valued personal property was kept by each individual in separate gourds, where it was safe from the gift claims of kinsmen and reasonably free from the danger of theft.

The privacy of this property was especially observed by opposite sexes, although not as strictly by mates. Quain was told by one man that it was "bad" for a man to look at a woman's *wacta*, although he rummaged at will through the personal belongings of the men. The taboo on male contact with women's *wacta* was due in part to inclusion within it of articles used during menstruation.

Accompanying the stress on personal and private ownership of certain material objects was a strong sense of acquisitiveness. Quain expressed this as follows: "There can be no doubt that property ownership is a paramount drive in this culture. Children are not content to see, as they are in Fiji, but things must be theirs. The possessive pronoun has an importance here which is striking. Once articles are received, they seem to disappear. They are probably carefully guarded among personal belongings." Significantly, the word for "gift-giving," literally translated, also means "to yield to a demand."

The Trumaí were tremendously interested in Quain's belongings and made continual attempts to acquire them. Adults as well as children whined in order to obtain objects from him. This attitude was manifested towards useful objects such as knives and axes, but they also pleaded and begged for articles having only curiosity value to them. As Quain said, to be curious about an object was to want it. Possession was desired for its own sake, for only slight prestige was gained by accumulating material objects, and utilitarian articles, such as knives, axes, and pots, were easily borrowed.

Despite the possessiveness described by Quain, the Trumaí were restricted by strong gift-giving ties. A true brother or a son had a claim

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431 602 [261] on a man's property, as did also, in the following order, his sister's son and his brother's son. Within the household, food was freely shared, and correspondingly, a co-resident could ask for a material object. These requests, however, were not always granted. A common excuse was to say that the object was promised to someone having a stronger claim. Despite these evasions, the patterns of gift-giving created a constant circulation of food and objects throughout the village.

Inheritance

424 428 533 [768] Transmission of property was accomplished chiefly through trade and gift. There is no information on the disposal of the material possessions of the deceased. The only available data on inheritance concern the office of chief and the possession of certain songs sung at the *ole* (manioc) ceremony. The former was inherited patrilineally and will be discussed later. The ceremonial songs were inherited either through the mother's brother or the mother's father. Thus, old Matiwana would some day teach his *ole* songs to Amanatain, his daughter's eldest son. Nitvary, another of the three men who knew *ole* songs, learned them from Jawaku's father, who was his mother's brother. Since cross-cousin marriage was practiced, [582] Jawaku might marry Nitvary's sister, and their child would inherit the songs from Nitvary. In this way the *ole* songs returned to the direct patrilineal line every other generation.

613 In response to careful questioning, Quain was assured that these songs could be obtained only from the mother's brother and mother's father, and not from the father or the father's brother. The combination of this matrilineal trait and patrilineal elements is characteristic of the bilaterality in upper Xingú culture.

The Trade Game

437 517 524 The trade game was a mechanism of inter- and intra-community distribution. Even more importantly it provided a framework for social participation, leisure time relaxation, and general enjoyment. As such it was one of the few integrating factors in Trumaí society.

Afternoons, especially rainy afternoons, were dull times in the Trumaí village. In Quain's words, "These people are bored but don't realize it! Wrestling provides some diversion, but nothing quickens spirits more than a brisk trade game (*kwirxo*). All that is needed is for one of the men to stride through the village with a bundle of goods to trade and suggest a *kwirxo*. Shouts go up on all sides, everybody crowds into one [574] of the houses, and the game is on. Enthusiasm is even greater when there are visitors in the village."

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These were noisy affairs. The seller threw his merchandise on the ground and loosed an exultant shout. All the participants cried out in response. Occasionally the goods were offered in the hope of acquiring a desired article from a certain person, but usually they were put up for barter with the general public. In this case, whoever wanted the item went back to his house and brought an article to exchange. He placed this on the floor and picked up his purchase. Often the seller refused the proffered exchange and waited for a better offer. If the trade was consummated, another loud shout was given by the audience. These exchanges went on until the participants lost interest, or until no more goods were offered.

All exchanges were considered to be gift-giving. This was especially true of trade between fellow-Trumaí. When members of other groups were involved, trade was at least formally so considered, although the behavior and attitudes in gift-giving, proper, were quite different. When Quain made exchanges he was always admonished to tell his wife who the donor of the "gift" was.

Within the Trumaí village gift-giving and not trade was the usual form of property distribution, especially between kinsmen. A man might trade with a person whom he called mother's brother, or father's brother, or some other relationship term, but this was almost always a kin bond reckoned by extension, and not a close blood tie.

Women participated little in the men's trade games. In part this was due to the sexual dichotomy that operated in social participation generally, in part to the nature of the goods involved. A woman did not want to buy a man's fish hooks any more than he wanted her cotton. Occasionally a woman might break into the male trade game to buy a particular object, but once this was accomplished she would withdraw. A few women might sit around the house where the trade game was being held, especially if their husbands were participating. Occasionally the women held their own trade games in which cotton and household utensils were commonly bartered. Conventional shouts accompanied their activities, but they were less boisterous than those of the men.

The women were especially eager to trade with Quain, to get his cloth and colored thread in exchange for food, which normally was given away. The chief was also a main instigator of trade games with Quain. At times Quain refused to participate to the great annoyance of the would-be second party.

The trade game reflected the Trumaí attitude towards property, in that it provided more enjoyment and excitement than any other form of social participation, except intertribal festivities. Each exchange was watched with bated breath, and the outcome greeted with happy cries and laughter. There was some indication that the most dominant and forward personalities were also the most energetic traders. It was

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421 437 524 [156] [525] It was significant that Aloari, probably the most aggressive person in the village, was often an organizer and always a main participant in the games. On the other hand, he never cooperated in group work.

This conventionalized form of exchange, which Quain called the trade game, had a strong functional role in Trumaí culture, but there are indications that it was of outside origin. One informant said that it was [177] a Bakairí custom, and Quain thought that the "game" might have been introduced by Bakairí traders bringing goods from the Indian post on the Paranatinga River.[1]

The Household

171 596 622 Among both the Waurá and the Kamayurá the extended family occupied its own house, and the head of the lineage was considered a sub-chief of the village.[2] Such unilocal, co-resident and extended family groupings, which were typical among tribes of the upper Xingú, were absent in the Trumaí village.

592 613 Consanguineally close male relatives usually formed co-resident units, but these nuclei of kinsmen were very small and did not constitute an entire household. Furthermore, they were related to each other through [591] male or female lines. Due to village patrilocality, there was a tendency for patrilineally related males to live together, but this did not result in [165] the establishment of a patrilineal lineage for several reasons. Among them the high death rate was very important.

592 594 Maibu's house illustrates the eclectic nature of the Trumaí household. Four nuclear families, totaling fourteen people, lived in it. Hanging their hammocks from one of the two center posts were Katauka, his son Kamkuti, his brother's son Autsuki, and another brother's son and his wife. At the opposite end of the house were Maibu and his wife, the wife's son by Maibu's deceased brother, Maibu's sister Ayenuke, Makurawa, a classificatory sister's son, and Makurawa's wife and their three children. Although everyone in the household was related, bonds were closer between those people who hung their hammocks from the same post.

589 592 182 Despite the fact that the household, as a unit, had no specific functions, it established the framework within which certain interpersonal dependencies were worked out. Bride-capture, intertribal warfare, divorce, and early death caused a significant proportion of the Trumaí to be temporarily or permanently without mates. This disadvantage was

[1] The trade game was possibly borrowed from the Bakairí, as its existence among this group has been reported by Oberg (1953, p. 72). However, craft specialization and trade on the upper Xingú predates the Indian post. Cf. von den Steinen 1897, pp. 196, 207. [177]

[2] De Lima (1950, p. 9.) reports this arrangement among the Waurá, and Oberg (1953, p. 45.) adds that the position of house chief tends to pass in the male line in the Kamayurá village.

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mitigated by intra-household sharing and the performance of services, normally done by mates, by co-resident relatives of the opposite sex. In this way unmarried persons could be integrated within the Trumai economy.

Among the twenty-eight persons of marriage age in the Trumai village, there were only eight unions involving seventeen persons. The eleven unmarried included one widower with a young child, one divorced man with a child, three widows with children, four unmarried men, and two unmarried women.

One of the widows was married during Quain's sojourn, but the other two were considered too old. One of the unmarried women subsequently took a mate, but the other, who had a clubfoot, was thought to be too old and ugly for marriage, although several men had sexual relations with her. Two of the unmarried men were probably also considered too old for marriage, a third was seeking a wife, and the fourth showed little interest in obtaining one. Neither the widower nor the divorced man were seeking wives at the time.

All these persons had made some sort of adjustment through their relatives. The incorporation of two of the unmarried men and of one of the widows into Nitvary's household shows how a functional interdependence within the household was achieved, despite the lack of a lineage in residence. Living at one end of the house were two old unmarried men, Yahu and Yakuma. At the other end were Nitvary, his wife Kaiti, his widowed mother Fayeru, and his young sister Kayaya. Gift-giving and food-sharing went on between all of the people in the house, but the two single men depended most on Fayeru, whom they called "sister," while Nitvary's needs were provided for by his wife. The members of the household were all dependent on each other, as Kaiti alone would have been hard pressed to do woman's work for two more men. Their presence, however, meant more food for the house.

In Aloari's house his unmarried brother Tun provided food for the cooking pots of Aloari's wife Yumununwa, while her brother Oirupa exchanged services with his classificatory sister Yawala, the club-footed woman. By this free flow of food and service, which was especially marked between the sexes, each individual was economically fully functional, and everyone in the household was adequately cared for.

Most of the arguments in the village occurred between members of different houses. Aloari, his brother, and his brother-in-law showed considerable personal antipathy toward Maibu and jealousy of his status as chief. When a serious conflict broke out in the village over a marriage, it took the form of verbal quarrels between members of different houses.

The greater amity between co-residents was due to a number of factors. First, closer kinship ties usually prevailed, second, people on

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592 578 friendly terms tended to join in forming a household, and third, it was probably considered desirable to suppress ill feeling within the house.

571 578 592 The unfriendliness between Maibu and the men of Aloari's family existed side by side with close gift-giving obligations between their two houses. According to Aloari's brother Oirupa, he *puns* (gives) to all the people of his own house and also to all the people of Maibu's house. Residence was the crucial factor, for when Yanahi and Mayuva moved from his house, Oirupa no longer gave to them. Similarly, the two other houses had close gift-giving ties. The women united according to this house division when an attack was thought imminent.

114 592 602 Insofar as can be ascertained from Quain's genealogical data, there were no special kin bonds between the households of Maibu and Aloari, on one hand, and Jakwanari and Nitvary, on the other, to explain this moiety-like division. But it is of interest that the houses of both Maibu and Aloari were the large type of domicile, like those of the Kamayurá, whereas the other pair of houses were the smaller "true" Trumaí type. It is possible that the residents of one pair of houses, perhaps the smaller, were the descendants of inhabitants of the southern village.

The Nuclear Family

594 Despite the importance of the household and the bilateral consanguineal group, the nuclear family, consisting of man, wife, and children, was still the basic unit of Trumaí society and economy. The biological family could provide nearly all the necessities of life within the previously outlined framework of individualized production and division of labor between the sexes.

The responsibilities of child-rearing fell largely on the nuclear family. The Trumaí showed a fondness for children, and it was not unusual for other adults in the house to play with them and watch over them; but the chief attention came from the parents, and the dependence of the young upon the father and mother was stronger than upon the rest of the household.

[513] 593 The conjugal group had its own hearth near which its hammocks were strung. Very young children slept with the mother or, if motherless, with the father. Couples were companionable and spent much of their leisure time with each other. It was common for a man and wife to sit in the shade of their house in the afternoon while he made arrows and she worked on a hammock. At other times the couple would go on a short [832] gathering trip, or just idle around the house. Embraces or mild sex play often occurred in public between younger mates.

593 156 Some unions were closer than others. Aloari and his wife Yumununwa spent more time together and showed more affection than did other couples. They were both young; he was virile and aggressive, and she

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was one of the most attractive women in the village. Their marital 593
life, however, was not always smooth. She was unusually possessive, [837]
and he was said to have thrashed her severely once for infidelity. Also, [847]
he felt some resentment for the infanticides she had committed at the
birth of two of their children.

Aloari, his wife, and his brother Tun were not typical of the Trumaí. In addition to the closeness of Aloari's marriage there was a strong attachment between the two brothers. None of the three participated fully in the community social life. The small in-group formed by the family probably had much to do with the strength of the marriage.

The usual cause of quarrels was adultery. Wives generally obeyed 593
their husbands, but since each had his or her own clearly understood [837]
duties to perform, it was seldom necessary for a husband to exert authority. The women, however, did influence their husbands to some extent. Quain was told by a few men that they would not be able to go to the Indian post with him because their wives wanted them to stay at home.

All but one Trumaí marriage was monogamous. The plural union 595
consisted of Jakwanari and two sisters. A number of men wanted second [583]
wives, and Aloari told Quain of a plan to go to the Suyá to capture women. Judging from the Trumaí's fear of the Suyá, this was probably sheer bravado. Several attempts were made by some of the men, however, to take one of the two eligible village women as a second wife. These efforts were all balked by the first wife, who ultimately decided whether her husband might have a second wife and, if so, who it would be. Yumunuwa flatly refused to allow Aloari to take her own sister as a wife. Kuyafi had been Nitvary's second bride for only two days, when his first wife drove her from the house in a fit of temper. Wives were obviously jealous of their monogamous position, but if a second wife was suitable, she might be allowed to stay.

Jakwanari's two wives got along well, but the second, Kamiha, accepted a decidedly subordinate role. Jakwanari's closest relationship was with Tsuku, the first wife, who also owned all the family utensils. On one occasion Kamiha had a quarrel with one of the men. She quickly retired from the fray when he called her a "second Tsuku." Jakwanari's hammock hung across those of his wives, but nothing is known of their sexual relations.

Quain was told that in polygamous marriages it was preferable to 595
take two sisters. However, even a sister might not be accepted by the 837
first wife, as Aloari's situation shows, although a man had sexual rights over his wife's sister as long as she remained unmarried. One man beat his wife's sister for refusing him sexual favors, and his action was approved by the other men. Women, however, were jealous of their husbands, and did not approve of these or any other extra-marital connections.

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Divorce and Adultery

595 The polygynous unions were extremely brittle. In two cases observed
586 by Quain, they lasted only a few days. In both instances the first wife
was responsible for the break-up. The bonds of the second marriage of a
[837] plural mating were loose, for Jakwanari's second wife had sexual relations with several Trumaí men with apparent impunity. Such behavior would have been dealt with severely by a husband had his first wife
586 been involved. Divorces also occurred in monogamous marriages; they entailed little more than telling the wife to leave. After the birth of their son, Oirupa sent his Mehinaku wife back to her village and kept the child. The right of the father's village over the children seems to have been general in the area, for Autu had a son by a Waurá husband, whom the Waurá refused to give to the Trumaí.

684 There is no recorded instance of adultery precipitating a divorce,
[586] although this probably occurred. However, the usual procedure was for the injured husband to beat his wife and make a lengthy and heated speech against the offending suitor. The wife of an adulterous husband
[578] showed anger toward his paramour and did not speak to her. Hair pulling resulted in some cases. The husband's behavior was viewed as reprehensible by the wife, but she took no action against him. One wife even chuckled a bit over her husband's adventures, although jealousy is the more usual response.

837 Due to the threat of punishment, the married women engaged far less in extra-marital relations than did their husbands. Both married and unmarried men sought out unattached women, but instances of married men in such liaisons were less numerous. The younger married men and Maibu, the chief, seemed to have been the chief offenders. The latter
[582] complained to Quain that all the women in the village were prohibited to him, as they were his wife's cross-cousins. Neither his genealogy nor his activities bore him out, and he often approached the single women and Jakwanari's second wife when the other men were out of the village. Everyone conceded that, although Maibu's wife had not reached menopause, she was "too old." Thus they rationalized his escapades.

105 The instability of the nuclear family and the vicissitudes to which it
571 was exposed were alleviated by household and kin distribution and by
594 the interdependence of co-resident relatives of the opposite sex for
591 sexually specialized goods and services. These arrangements made possible the economic workability of Trumaí culture. The conjugal family was basic to the culture, however, and marriage was highly
[836] desirable to the Trumaí. Despite the shortage of available women and
[578] the conflicts which stemmed from it, sex relations between unmarried persons were free and easy and subject to little or no public censure, except insofar as they encroached on the interests of others. Incest

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PLATE III

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Aloari

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[563]
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Yanabi

Kokumu, Suyá Woman.

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PLATE IV

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Yawala

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Mother and Child in Hammock

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taboos and permissible marriages were a part of kinship-determined behavior and will be treated below.

Kinship Terminology

Everyone within the Trumaí village classified everyone else by a term of relationship. Since the community was small, most of these designations expressed a demonstrable bond of consanguinity or affinity, although even outsiders were placed within the kinship system. This was done by establishing a kin tie with one Trumaí, whereupon the rest of the village could automatically place the outsider in the proper context.

Much of the data on the kinship system is uncertain for a number of reasons. The high death rate of the Trumaí, their lack of interest in tracing genealogies, and, most important, a taboo on the names of the dead made the recounting of family lines difficult. Moreover, there is some indication that the Trumaí system was changing rapidly. Many descriptive categories for classifying collateral kinsmen were falling into disuse and being replaced by classificatory terms. The result is an extreme looseness of nomenclature, as can be seen from the accompanying list of terms collected by three ethnologists.[3]

Term	Quain	Oberg[4]	Wagley[5]
Ego's generation			
sibling	apizi[6]		
younger brother	takwai (v)	aheát[6] (m. sp.)	ha-heát[6] (m. sp.)
	opat (r)	takwai (w. sp.)	ha-pisí (w. sp.)
older brother		apisí (m. or w.sp.)	ha-pisí (m. or w. sp.)
sister	hatdiflo		ha-duflo (m. sp.)
younger sister	ta'yj	tain (m. sp.)	
		takwai (w. sp.)	ha-takwaí (w.sp.)
older sister		apisí (m. or w.sp.)	ha-pisí (w. sp.)

[3] The three lists of Trumaí kinship terms are listed below, since they, in a sense, complete and correct one another. Quain's list is admittedly incomplete and contains several errors. Wagley's terms likewise are incomplete and based on short interviews with informants during his brief stay among the Trumaí. Oberg says nothing about his Trumaí informants, and neither Oberg nor Wagley collected referential terms. The divergencies, then, may reflect misunderstandings on the part of the ethnologists or informants, or they may actually reflect changes that are taking place in Trumaí society.

[4] Oberg 1953, p. 119.

[5] Wagley, personal communication.

[6] The prefix "ha" (Wagley and Quain) or "a" (Oberg and Quain) is the Trumaí first person possessive.

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Term	Quain	Oberg	Wagley
mother's brother's son	mipine	hamopiné (m. or w. sp.)	ha-mipiné (m. or w. sp.)
mother's brother's daughter	,,	,,	,,
father's sister's son	,,	,,	,,
father's sister's daughter	,,	,,	,,
mother's sister's son		adif (m. sp.) apisí (w. sp.)	
mother's sister's daughter		adiflé (m. sp.) takwai (w. sp.)	ha-dufle (m. sp.)
father's brother's son	hapine (v)	adif (m. sp.) apisí (w. sp.)	
father's brother's daughter		adiflé (m. sp.) takwai (w. sp.)	ha-dufle (m. sp.)
First Ascending Generation			
father	apapa (v) a'ao (r)	apapá (m. or w. sp.)	ha-papa (m. or w. sp.)
mother	ataive (v) ale (r)	ataivá (m. or w. sp.)	ha-taive (m. or w. sp.)
father's brother	tatek (v)	ataték (m. or w. sp.)	ha-taték (m. or w. sp.) ha-papa
father's sister	akato	akoté (m. or w. sp.)	ha-katé (m. or w. sp.)
mother's brother	wawe (v)	wawé (m. or w. sp.)	wawé (m. or w. sp.)
mother's sister	koko	kokó (m. or w.sp.)	koko (m. or w.sp.)
First Descending Generation			
son	faxlo	awalók (m. sp.) awaiók (w. sp.)	ha-pat (m. sp.)
daughter	faxlo	yawaithé (m. or w. sp.)	ha-faxlo
brother's son	faxlo takwai (m. sp.) waremo (v., m. sp.) tacnam (r., m. sp.) adjut (w. sp.)	waremó (m. sp.) kamlók (w. sp.)	
brother's daughter	faxlo ta'yj (m. sp.) adjut (w. sp.)	taui (m. sp.) ayós (w. sp.)	
sister's son	faxlo takwai (w. sp.)	detá (m. sp.) takwaipát (w.sp.)	deta (m. sp.)

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Term	Quain	Oberg	Wagley
	deta (v., m. sp.)		
sister's daughter	faxlo	adák (m. sp.)	ha-dak (m. sp.)
	ta'yj (m. or w. sp.)	ta'ai (w. sp.)	
	tatdicnam (w. sp.)		
Second Ascending Generation			
father's father	adjei (v) adjen (r)	ayei (m. or w.sp.)	ha-doho (m. sp.) ha-yei (w. sp.)
mother's father	adjei (v) adjen (r)	ayei (m. or w.sp.)	ha-doho (m. sp.) ha-yei (w. sp.)
father's mother	atsets (v) alen (r)	atsetá (m. or w. sp.)	ha-doho
mother's mother	atsets (v) alen (r)	atsetá (m. or w. sp.)	ha-doho
Second Descending Generation			
son's son	hadoxo	adohó	ha-doho
son's daughter	"	"	"
daughter's son	"	"	"
daughter's daughter	"	"	"
Affinals			
husband	ece	tekaá	ha-eshó
wife	hatdetsi	adetsi	ha-detsi
brother's wife		adifietsi (m. sp.)	
sister's husband		eshlé (m. sp.)	ha-eshle (m. sp.)
wife's brother		eshlé	ha-talak

Incest Restrictions

The Trumaí had no rules of group or locality exogamy. Permissible and prohibited sexual or marital relationships were a function of certain kinship ties only. The most acceptable marriage union was between cross-cousins. According to one informant, true cross-cousins should not marry, but Quain's genealogies present a number of cases in which first cousins related through sibling parents of unlike sex have done so. It is doubtful whether these represented violations of a rule, for there was one instance of such cross-cousins, when they were very young children, being pledged in marriage by their parents. Parallel cousins were not acceptable mates, nor were their children or the children of siblings.

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582 [186] Quain was told that the Kamayurá were "bad," because they permitted marriage with a sister's daughter.[6]

582 595 837 Cross-cousin marriage is correlated with sororal polygyny among the Trumaí and with the sexual privileges that a man may take with his wife's sister. No indication was found of the sororate, despite its probable acceptability. There was only one case of the levirate, and that was the 587 marriage of the chief to his dead brother's wife. That the levirate is expected but not compulsory is apparent in the case of Yati and his brother's widow Vatsiat. She resided in Yati's house, and they performed [469] many necessary, sexually specialized functions for each other. Although their hammocks were some distance apart, Vatsiat called him *ece* (husband) and became quite incensed at one of his paramours. However, Yati called her *apizi* (sibling), and apparently felt that there were no marital obligations between them. He had his love-life, which did not [833] include her, and he showed no sign of annoyance at her escapades. It was a standing joke that every man in the village had sexual relations with Vatsiat, except where an incest taboo prohibited it.

582 684 835 Marriage between people of different generations, especially between older women and younger men, was frequent; but the rules governing such unions are obscure. It was specifically frowned upon for a man to marry his mother's brother's widow. However, when one young man did so, he was only mildly ridiculed and censured, and his status in the village was little affected.

Joking Relations

582 602 831 Cross-cousins were not the only acceptable marriage partners, but they were the only ones with whom marriage was expected and especially approved. Also, patterned and expected joking existed only between these kin. Cross-cousins of the same sex, especially males, bantered with each other, but most sexual joking occurred between men and women. Thus, Aloari enjoyed making suggestive remarks to the rather old and ugly Vatsiat and frequently accused her of improprieties with various men. On one occasion, partly for Quain's benefit, he threw her on her back and went through the motions of coitus.

602 605 831 Cross-cousins of the same sex confined their joking to pranks and good-natured raillery, *ami tarajau*, which Quain translates as "cross-cousin talk." Mayuva teased Yati, who had a phobia of frogs, by chasing after him with a frog hanging from a stick. Both men and women made great sport of urging Quain to throw their cross-cousins out of his house. 123 On one occasion, Quain, experimentally, made sexual suggestions to 602 several women who had congregated in his house. They all ran out 834 laughing shrilly, but one came back later to be reassured that it was

[6] Cf. Oberg 1953, p. 44.

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only *ami tarajau*. *Ami tarajau* also took the form of mock name-calling contests between men.

The Trumaí found great amusement in minor accidents that befell others and in humorous gossip, without regard to kinship. Jokes played by one person on another, however, usually occurred between cross-cousins.

Avoidance and Respect

Taboos on the names or persons of affinal relatives were observed by the Trumaí, because, as they said, they felt *ualty* (ashamed) toward them. The strongest prohibited a man from speaking the name of his parents-in-law or being in their presence. Thus, a man would not enter a house in which his father-in-law was visiting or join the men's circle if he were there. Parents-in-law were the only affinals whose persons were avoided, and this was most strictly observed between a man and his father-in-law. Due to the short life span, social intercourse was little interrupted by this practice; only one father-in-law and two mothers-in-law lived in the Trumaí village. However, they figured importantly in marital troubles, since parents always took the part of their own offspring in a conflict between mates. Aloari felt bitter about his dead mother-in-law, because she had helped his wife to kill their first two children at birth. The avoidance of a father-in-law's name was so strict that a Trumaí man could not mention his own son's second name, because it was inherited from his wife's father.

Name avoidance was also invoked to some degree with respect to the second ascending generation of affinals. A wife's grandparents could be referred to by name, but only in a whisper, while no such inhibitions were observed when addressing the wife herself by the name.[7]

The Trumaí were ashamed toward the wife's brother and the sister's husband. This was expressed by name avoidance and a respect relation. If there were children, a man could avoid the use of his brother-in-law's name by calling him *deia a'o* (sister's son's father) in the case of a sister's husband, or *apat'awe* (child's mother's brother), if he was the wife's brother. Respect was shown by offering the affinal a chair or by other small courtesies or gift-giving. Since an affinal of the same generation was often a cross-cousin, the joking and respect relationships overlapped rather curiously. While Yati and his cross-cousin and brother-in-law Mayuva played pranks on or feigned anger at one another, they showed great mutual deference at other times. Immediately after Yati told Quain to throw Mayuva out of his house, Mayuva rolled a cigarette for Yati and lit it for him. Manifestly, the two prescribed patterns caused no conflict.

[7] This probably illustrates some overlapping between name avoidance and the taboo on speaking the name of a dead person.

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551 Only when he was also the brother-in-law was respect given to a cross-
605 cousin or his name avoided. Female cross-cousins, despite affinal con-
607 nections, were never so treated by the men.

Avunculate

604 The maternal uncle in Trumaí society was in no sense a disciplinarian.
522 Only the father and the father's brother were allowed to strike a child.
[861] On the other hand, the gift-giving claims of the sister's son (*deta*) upon
[431] the mother's brother (*wawe*) were strong, and particularly so when they were reinforced by co-residence. A man was expected to be benevolent and tolerant toward his *deta*. This frequently took the form of teasing and jollying the boy, and contrasted with the more serious attitude of the father and his brothers. For instance, Yati told his *deta* that he and Quain were going to eat him, and, as if to carry out the threat, he began to drag him toward the fire. The child cried lustily, and Yati immediately stopped and cajoled him. Also, Katauka said to his *deta*, "When you die, I will not cry." Katauka was greatly amused when this caused tears.

Such teasing ceased by the time a boy reached the age of puberty. Moreover, the *wawe* became a defender of the *deta's* interests in the absence of the boy's father or father's brother, and, in some cases, he supervised his initiation ceremonies. Common to both the Trumaí and
[437] Kamayurá was the traveling partnership of a man and his sister's son.
[171] It was quite usual for a *wawe* to take his *deta* along when he visited another village. Quain noted that on such trips the wife of the older
[835] man was rarely included. This is consistent with the sexual taboo between the nephew and the maternal uncle's wife.

The Chieftaincy

622 The Trumaí had one chieftain (*aek*), Maibu, and two sub-chiefs,
624 Katauka and Matiwana. At the outset it should be understood that Katauka and Matiwana at no time during Quain's stay exerted any
[888] chiefly prerogative or function. They were not men of especially high status — indeed, Matiwana was looked down upon as an old man. Their main function, Quain was told, was to take over the office of chief when Maibu was away from the village. Due to Matiwana's advanced age, this duty ordinarily fell to Katauka. Otherwise, neither man was particularly influential; nor did they talk more in the men's circle than others.

622 The chief's main function was to urge his fellow Trumaí to carry out
537 those projects or tasks which were the responsibility of the community as a whole or in its interest, but he frequently exhorted the villagers to

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pursue their individual affairs. Maibu made speeches in the evening men's circle or in the early morning, telling the men to plant their gardens or urging all to gather *piqui* fruit. Such proddings had little meaning, as they were usually made during the appropriate season for these activities, and most people would have planted or gathered as a matter of course.

Those who did not choose to do what Maibu suggested went their own way, whether it was to fish or sleep. Maibu was a gadfly; yet he was the conscience of the Trumaí. Perhaps more people would have procrastinated if it had not been for his admonitions. He was truly interested in the good of the village. He asked Quain for presents only for others, never for himself.

Cooperative work on the community level was usually organized by Maibu. The decision to perform such work was generally made by common agreement, but it was the chief's function to recruit the necessary labor and see that the task was done. This he did with varying degrees of success, for his power was limited.

The chief was accorded much more respect by his housemates and close kinsmen than by the rest of the villagers. The people resisted him in varying degrees, depending on their relationship to him and their individual personalities. His control over the women was particularly weak. When Quain first arrived, they refused to carry water for him, despite Maibu's orders. When they realized that they were to be given gifts for their trouble they grudgingly consented to do so, but, in the meantime, the chief had fetched the water, since the performance of such tasks for an outsider was the responsibility of the village as a whole, and no other man would do women's work.

Referring to the limitations on chiefly powers, Quain noted, "Maibu has to put up with a lot of booing and do a lot of talking. Obedience comes to him only after a long time. He seems to have no 'big stick.'" The Trumaí chief had no coercive power whatsoever. This particular headman was not a powerful shaman, although such a combination was possible and would undoubtedly have enhanced his position. The only act of a supernatural nature that he could perform was curing by sucking and blowing smoke, which was practiced by almost every adult Trumaí male.

Maibu was often completely ignored, and some of the men made a point of flouting his authority. The men of Aloari's house were extremely antagonistic toward him and told Quain that he was not a true "*aek*." These men rarely took part in the few group work projects and usually they were also absent from the wrestling matches. Their own prestige motives and individual inclinations brought them into frequent conflict with Maibu, both in his capacity as the man of highest status and as the village goad. Their resentment of authority never resulted in

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outright rebellion. Despite a great deal of grumbling and non-compliance, they still tacitly recognized Maibu as chief.

One of Maibu's main prerogatives was his talking function. He alone had the role of exhorter of the people. Other men would be "ashamed," he said, to speak so. Most of Maibu's speeches were delivered at night in the men's circle or before work started in the morning. The attitude of his audience ranged from interest to bored indifference and outright ridicule. One morning Maibu lay in his hammock and shouted for everyone to go out to gather fruit. The initial response to this was a shout from some of the houses, telling him to be quiet. Later some people drifted out of the village carrying baskets, and still later others followed, grumbling that they were being driven from the village. This was a common complaint. Because of the tone in which it was said, Quain thought at first that they were actually being exiled.

The chief had no symbols of office outside of the above prerogatives; yet a deference of sorts was shown him. When Maibu entered the men's circle or Quain's house, someone always got up to give him a seat. Tobacco was usually supplied him, and the donor would roll the cigarette and light it before making the presentation. Even the men who told Quain that Maibu was not a "real chief" made these gifts. Maibu himself did not hesitate to send someone across the village through the rain to fetch something. These favors were usually performed by his kinsmen and co-residents, although occasionally more distant persons obliged. On the other hand, Maibu was expected to be generous towards all the other Trumaí. Nearly everything that Quain gave him passed to other hands. Maibu did not even have a bow of his own.

Maibu's poverty was attributable in part to his heavy gift obligations and in part to the fact that he had no garden. He said to Quain that he did not plant because he was a chief. However, he was not completely a non-producer. He went fishing, joined in collective labor, and helped his wife in gathering. At none of these tasks did he occupy himself strenuously. The only articles that he manufactured were arrows and spears. He thus made no trade commodities, relying on others, principally his co-residents, for all his artifacts and food. On most days he did little except talk, sleep, and philander with the unmarried women.

Inheritance of the chieftaincy was nominally patrilineal. Maibu, however, was the son of the daughter of the Trumaí chief whom von den Steinen had met, indicating that the office can pass matrilineally if there are no male heirs available. (Maibu's brother's son, Jawaku, adopted by Maibu through the levirate, was to have been the next Trumaí chief.) But the Trumaí chief reported by Galvão nine years later was Aloari, who was only a distant relative of Maibu.[8] What happened in the years between 1938 and 1947 is not known, but it is apparent that

[8] This information was received verbally from Dr. Eduardo Galvão.

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Aloari took over the post of *aek* by dint of personality and not by regular succession. Even if Jawaku had died, Aloari would not have been a logical heir. Manifestly, patrilineality was very fluid. 622

Conflict

In cases of interpersonal strife in the village, there was no mediator. The chief usually dissociated himself from these arguments and let the litigants shout it out. Maibu, described by Quain as a happy extrovert and a secure person, was involved in few personal quarrels. He did have occasional difficulties in discharging his office. For instance, Tun and Aloari refused to help build Quain's house on the grounds that he was only a *camara*, or person of low status. There then ensued a loud argument in the village plaza between Aloari and Maibu in which each tried to shout the other down. The men sat around and watched in bored amusement. Finally, to break it up, they tried to get Quain to sing. When Maibu grew weary and retired, Aloari continued to talk, but was greeted with hoots of derision. 578 622 626 [123]

Aloari was continually embroiled with the other villagers. He refused to finish thatching his house for the rainy season because he wanted the community to move to an old village site where there were fewer insects. His protests were to no avail. The village remained where it was.

Protests against the chief or the village as a whole did not often result in open conflict. For the most part, they were expressed by grumbling, non-compliance, and threats to leave. No action except ridicule was taken against dissidents. Disputes usually took the form of shouted arguments in the evening men's circle. The closest approximation to the use of force was a mock wrestling match between the disputants, in which light slaps and holds were mixed with talk. During one argument, a club was waved. 622 578 [626] [526]

Unwarranted use of force was regarded as a serious offense. Quain learned this at first hand after he had been among the Trumaí for two and a half months and had established excellent relations with them. When Autsuki, an adolescent boy, who had been told not to take any flour from a sack in Quain's house, persisted in doing so, Quain knocked the flour from his hand. Autsuki left the house, laughing derisively. Instantly, however, the entire village was astir. The men gathered in the plaza for a serious discussion. The boy's *wawes* (mother's brothers) came to Quain's house to demand an explanation, as did the chief. Fortunately, except for his pride, Autsuki was not hurt, and the matter was allowed to drop. Maibu, however, seeing that Quain was still annoyed, invited him to come into the center of the village and make a speech in his native tongue, the standard Trumaí escape-valve. 123 578 626 [154]

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626 828 154 On these occasions the men usually unburdened themselves in the village center. Malice was expressed either by a verbal interchange with the opponent or an angry speech. The substance of the latter type of demonstration often was not related to the cause of the dispute or to the speaker's discontent. Manifestly, the function of the harangue was to provide an emotional outlet rather than a forum. Maibu's suggestion that Quain should make a speech in his own language underlines the fact that the externalization of anger was the paramount purpose.

154 626 123 Emotional release could also be found in contrived performances. Quain, feeling depressed one evening, refused to sing when the Trumaí asked him to. However, when Maibu proposed a mock argument, Quain, being a good ethnologist, complied. Facing each other in the village center, the two men hurled epithets and insults at each other at the top of their voices. When Quain was at a loss for something to say, Maibu suggested that he repeat a speech he had made about the theft of his supplies. At the conclusion Quain reported, "I felt very good when I shouted at him for a while, and I was quite willing to sing."

683 692 In cases of physical harm, settlement could be obtained by paying the injured person. Quain was told that after the spear-throwing contest, the Kamayurá and the Trumaí each paid indemnities for bruises inflicted.[9] No case of physical violence was observed by Quain, but when [173] he slapped the flour from the boy's hand, and again when he stepped on a child's foot, the Trumaí suggested that he pay something. The latter case was an obvious attempt at petty extortion, for a week later the same child had his foot stepped on by a Trumaí, but this time the only result was an admonition from his father to be quiet.

626 754 [186] Still another alternative to violence was found in witchcraft. Only one or two Trumaí knew the practice of sorcery, and these men were said to have learned it from the Nahukwa, who were much feared because of their dangerous skill. Sorcery was usually invoked covertly, but at least once in an argument its use was openly threatened. This, however, was regarded as a most reprehensible action.

578 154 The chief source of conflict in the village was sex. Quarrels over who was to marry the three available women raged throughout Quain's stay. Bride-capture, the large percentage of older women, and polygamy combined to make the allotment of women an extremely sore point. The story of the battle over one woman is worth reporting, as it illustrates both patterned interpersonal relationships and the ways in which anger could be expressed and channeled.

578 584 154 Three men wanted to marry Kuyafi, a widow with a child. They were Oirupa the sorcerer, Mayuva, her sister's husband, and Nitvary. Kuyafi, it was said, had once had a child by Nitvary, so his claim was a strong one. So also was Mayuva's, as he had recognized sexual rights over her

[9] Cf. Galvão 1950, p. 363.

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because she was his sister-in-law. Mayuva, however, was afraid of Nitvary, as the latter had close ties with the Kamayurá and had threatened Mayuva with witchcraft at their hands. After Nitvary returned from a trip to the Kamayurá village, Mayuva complained of severe headaches and said he was going to die. Although he denied to Quain that his condition was due to Kamayurá sorcery, the threats against him apparently had the desired result: a short time later Kuyafi moved into Nitvary's house. The union last only two days, for Nitvary's jealous wife drove her out in a fit of anger. The field, it would seem, was clear for Oirupa, the third suitor.

Oirupa, however, had been trying to marry Kuyafi for years. Her father, Matiwana, refused to give his consent and Oirupa, in revenge, was said to have killed two of Matiwana's children by witchcraft. Relations between their families were understandably strained, and they were further aggravated by the marriage of Matiwana's son Yati and Oirupa's sister Kerami, which occurred during Quain's stay. This union was unhappy and short-lived. When Kerami left him, Yati and his father held Oirupa and his co-resident affinals, Tun and Aloari, responsible. Yati bitterly asserted that he (and Matiwana) would go to live among his mother's people, the Kuikuru of the upper Kuluene. There, he said, women were much easier to get.

With this background of conflict and suspicion, it is not surprising that the quarrel again broke out in earnest when Oirupa tried to seduce Kuyafi. Angered by her rejection he threw *piquí* pits at her. In the afternoon Matiwana spoke out against Oirupa from his house. (This was proper behavior, since a parent is expected to take his offspring's part in such disputes.) That evening the two men indulged in the usual loud shouting and wrestled with barely restrained hostility. Kuyafi added her bit from the house as did another of Matiwana's daughters. The other men pretended indifference. Yati remained silent, although he was vitally interested in the dispute; for, besides being Matiwana's son, he was involved in an enduring respect relationship with his former brother-in-law, even after his marriage was dissolved. Public opinion, however, was on the side of Matiwana, for Oirupa had committed an offense by hitting Kuyafi with the pits, and he had also threatened to use witchcraft. To this last Matiwana tauntingly replied that had Oirupa's witchcraft been really effective, he would have been dead long ago. As of the time Quain left the Trumaí, Kuyafi's future was still undecided.

The Men's Circle

The men's circle served a number of functions. It was the place in which initiated males gathered, talked, argued, and smoked. It was not taboo to young boys, as it was to women, but youngsters rarely joined the group, and they never participated in any of its activities.

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575 the group, and they never participated in any of its activities. Occasionally men gathered in the village center during the day. but at night the circle always formed, generally lasting from sundown until about nine [526] o'clock. In the afternoon it was often the scene of wrestling matches. Talk usually went on then also, but the gatherings were smaller than at night.

[521] At night most of the men were present, and conversation ranged over a variety of topics. Of greatest interest were neighboring tribes, past warfare and present threats to peace. Gossip, usually about sex, found ready ears. This was the time when the chief made most of his speeches, and the time when plans for a fishing trip, for salt manufacture, or for a journey to the Waurá for pots were discussed. The men's circle was [756] also the place where the shaman practiced his art, and, as noted above, where grievances were aired.

[626] The social life of the males was centered almost completely in these gatherings, and it was in them that the mechanisms of village authority and social control were expressed. Also, the men's circle underlined the cleavage between the activities of the men and of the women. The women had no formal grouping such as the men's circle, but they showed [562] solidarity when the need arose. While men were dominant, as Quain [578] said, they "look on the women as an ungoverned force," and open group quarrels were not infrequent between the sexes.

Status

554 *Aek*, the Trumaí word for chief, also denoted membership in the
565 upper half of what is nominally a status class. Members of the lower
178 half of this class were loosely referred to as *camara*, a term which,
622 according to Galvão, probably diffused into the region from rural
624 Brazil, where workers are called *camaradas*.[10] There was some uncertainty on the part of Quain's informants as to who were members of the *aek* division. In general, it included the chief, the two sub-chiefs, and their families. But while the status appears to have been hereditary, its transmission was loose and uncertain. For instance, Maibu was an *aek*, but he refused to classify his brothers as such. However, the fathers of both Maibu and Katauka, one of the sub-chiefs, were *aek*. Matiwana's three daughters and his son derived their status from him, further supporting the case for patrilineality. On the other hand, the children of one of the daughters were *aek*, even though their father was a *camara*. The significance of being *aek* had probably declined with the weakening of leadership patterns and the lessened importance of the sub-chiefs. Today, the *aek-camara* division is non-functional, membership is confused, and, except for the chieftainship, it is correlated only vaguely

[10] Galvão 1949, p. 40.

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with prestige. Aloari, who later became chief, was classified as a *camara* at the time of Quain's visit.

At the top of the Trumaí prestige scale was the chief. His authority was limited, but he was more respected than any other man. The two sub-chiefs enjoyed some, but not much, prestige. Matiwana was an old man, and old age decreases status among the Trumaí. He took the lead in group curing ceremonies, however, and was the repository of much Trumaí lore and learning. Nor was Katauka, the other sub-chief, very influential. And neither official had the privilege of "talking" to the people as Maibu did. That Katauka was a shaman and Matiwana the chief curer of the village contributed more to their prestige than did their position as sub-chiefs or their membership in the *aek* class. Tun, the shaman, and Oirupa, the sorcerer, ranked just below the chief in importance. The former enjoyed some standing as his prognostications of enemy movements were relied upon and respected by everybody. Oirupa had added power only because he was feared.

The only other criteria of status were youth and aggressiveness. Property was not a point of prestige, but those whose assertive attitudes gave them some status and influence were also those who manifested an accumulative attitude toward property. Youth and sexual prowess were highly regarded. Boasting about sexual exploits was usually done privately, but great pride was taken in them. This was related to the general esteem in which youth, size and vigor were held. To be a successful wrestler, therefore, enhanced a man's position. The Trumaí were also impressed by Quain's height and wanted to know what kind of medicines white men used to make them so tall. There was no warrior class and no special status for success in combat, except insofar as it was an indication of strength and courage.

As noted above, the status of old men was very low, except when they had special knowledge or office. Yet these attributes did not protect Matiwana from being contemptuously referred to as an old man. Moreover, Quain was severely criticized for giving presents to old Yahu, most of whose property had already been claimed by others, since the Trumaí did not think it proper that one so old should have any possessions beyond fishing and hunting equipment and other necessities. A favorite insult among the Trumaí was to tell someone he was old, and by implication that he no longer bathed or was able to fornicate.

Prestige variations, on the whole, were not great in the Trumaí village. The community had no clearly defined social groupings based on status, nor were there social mechanisms for human exploitation. Variations in wealth were slight, and their only significance was that one man might have more tools and trinkets than another. It is possible, however, that before the Trumaí had declined to their present low estate, prestige and authority were more clearly patterned, as they still were in the Kamayurá village.

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CHAPTER FOUR

Religious Beliefs and Practices

182 771 829 The lapse of many religious practices and the lessening of interest in those aspects of culture that we classify as religion were striking features of this dying society. Older informants remembered the time when there were ceremonial masks, the flute house, and other traits that are still found among certain tribes of the upper Xingú. Indeed, if it were not for Matiwana's unusual age, the Trumaí would be even more lacking in ceremonial knowledge. Yet there seems to have been little regret on the part of either the older or younger generations for this culture loss. They shrugged it off, saying that their grandfathers had had such [771] practices, but that they did not. This indifference is not too surprising, since much of their religion was borrowed from their upper Xingú neighbors not too long ago.[1]

771 105 Despite the decline in interest in the ceremonial cycle and the disappearance of certain religious traits, the main outlines of Trumaí religion were still observable in Quain's time. Shamanism was still practiced extensively, but it was simple both in form and supporting ideology. Ceremonialism was related to subsistence and curing. The shaman's individualized power resulted in a specialization of religious functions as did the individual ownership of ceremonial songs and dances. Some Trumaí, like old Matiwana, were better versed in the [193] religious rites than others, but they did not constitute a priestly class. While no one person interceded with the supernatural on behalf of the [182] whole village, the group ceremonials provided a focal point for social participation and village cooperation, and many of them were undertaken by the community for the benefit of all.

Shamanism

756 [184] The shamanistic art of curing was known and employed by nearly all the adult males of the village, and in this sense parallels the practices recorded among the Kamayurá by Oberg.[2] There is, however, a type

[1] Kamayurá ceremonial and religious life, much of which was once shared by the Trumaí, is discussed by Oberg (1953) and Galvão (1949, 1950). The extent of Trumaí culture loss can be roughly inferred from these sources and from the work of the earlier ethnologists.

[2] Oberg 1953, p. 60.

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of specialist among the Trumaí that is not reported for the Kamayurá, and it is to this type that the term "shaman" is applied in the following description. The Trumaí "shaman," in this sense, is a man who possessed extra-visionary powers through which he could locate enemy war parties and "see" the afterworld.

The source of the visionary shaman's and also the curing shaman's power is revealed nowhere in Quains' notes, nor do we have any information on other aspects of the associated belief system. Oberg's Kamayurá informants told him that personal spirits are acquired during illness, and it is contact with one's spirit which gives the power.[3] This may well be true in Trumaí culture also, but the very fact that Quain did not perceive this, even granting the language barrier, might indicate a decline in the strength of animistic belief.

"Seeing," as Quain translates Trumaí shamanism, took place only at night. (Quain was told that if a shaman inhaled large quantities of tobacco smoke during the day, his temples would pound.) Since one of the main purposes of shamanism was to detect enemies and the fear of attack was greatest at night, it was then that knowledge was felt to be most necessary. Shamanism, it should be stressed, revolved around one of the central themes in Trumaí life, fear of other tribes; the pronouncements of the shaman were almost always that enemies were near and that danger was acute. These were generally believed without question by his audience.

The procedure was simple. When the talk in the men's circle stressed the possibility of a raid, the shaman was called upon to "see." A hushed silence fell over the group. Even Quain was asked to stop speaking and using his typewriter. The shaman turned his back on the assembly, inhaled large amounts of tobacco smoke, his only paraphernalia, and seemed to concentrate deeply. Quain could detect no traces of tobacco narcosis, but it was possible that a mild reaction was produced. After a few minutes of intense concentration, the shaman faced about and announced the results of his activity. This was usually to the effect that he had seen Suyá, or, less often, Bororo, Yuruna, or a tribe of the immediate region. A Trumaí shaman could also find lost articles, but this was secondary to "seeing" the enemy. One shaman claimed to have seen the land of the dead, but there was no suggestion that he had communicated with the deceased.

Only certain older men were visionary shamans. There is no evidence that women were admitted to the practice anywhere in the region. Inheritance of shamanistic power was nominally patrilineal. In 1938 there were three shamans: Yakuma, the chief's oldest biological brother, Aloari's brother Tun, and Matiwana. Tun was the most active practitioner, while Yakuma seldom "saw." Maibu said that the latter was

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

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still too young to "see," but that when he was older he would learn, since his father was a shaman. Aloari said that he, too, would learn when he was old, as would his son Tsirikoan. Matiwana would instruct Aloari and would receive a payment for this tutelage. Indicative of a possible looseness of inheritance was the fact that Matiwana's son Yati was nowhere mentioned as a prospective shaman.

Dreams were considered to be a way of "seeing" while sleeping. This was known as *ohltaxer*. Dreams were taken seriously, at least by the dreamer. Aloari fully believed that the Waurá would come after he had dreamed it. And Maibu was convinced that he should make the trip to the Indian post on the Paranatinga River because he had dreamed that Climaco, the agent, liked him very much and would give him a rifle. However, individual dreams were not a matter of community concern or interest. Village action was taken on the basis of shamanistic "seeing" only.

Witchcraft

The only known sorcerer in the Trumaí village was Oirupa, the brother-in-law of Aloari. Oirupa was said by one man to have learned witchcraft (*okei*) from the Nahukwa, who, with the other Cariban tribes, were dreaded for their black magic. Oirupa's knowledge made him one of the most hated men in the village, but no action was taken against him for fear of incurring his enmity. Also, there have been no reports of the execution of sorcerers in the upper Xingú, and, from all indications, this mode of retaliation is not customary.

When someone fell ill and witchcraft was suspected, the guilt was usually imputed to a neighboring tribe. It was said that the Trumaí had to leave their old village site near the Kamayurá because the latter were killing them off with witchcraft. Sorcery was probably often practiced against other groups by the Trumaí, and the converse was always feared. Oirupa refused to speak above a whisper one night when the Aueti were said to be using black magic on the Trumaí.

It was Quain's belief that witchcraft was a substitute for open violence among the people of the area; significantly, witchcraft was not practiced by the people of the upper Xingú against the Suyá and other hostile tribes outside the Basin.[4] Intertribal black magic functioned as a check upon violence within the village as well. Certainly, it was more conducive to social order to attribute sorcery to another tribe than to some member of the small and already disrupted Trumaí community.

[4] Cf. Galvão 1949; Oberg 1953.

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Diagnosis and Treatment of Disease

Illness was believed to be caused primarily by witchcraft and, secondarily, by the breaking of a taboo or by contagion. Headaches, bloated stomach (*pihl*) and stomach aches were among the common symptoms of bewitchment. The tremendous fear of black magic probably added greatly to the severity of these afflictions. During Quain's stay the women appeared to complain more of sorcery as a cause of their illnesses than did the men, but this self-diagnosis was not always accepted.

Trumaí concepts regarding contagion were generally loose, and they often fused with witchcraft beliefs. Contagion was acknowledged to be a possible cause of illness, but if death followed, it would in all probability be laid to sorcery. The Trumaí knew that epidemics of pulmonary diseases were associated with the coming of white men, and they were especially worried that when the rainy season arrived Quain would give them coughs and fevers. Indeed, one night when Quain complained of illness and retired to his hammock with a headache, this eventuality was vigorously discussed.

The Trumaí called such a threat *tun*, a word that can be translated only as a malignant influence causing disease. *Tun* was said to exist around sick people or in places where there was known to be danger of contamination. Thus, when several of the people of Jakwanari's household were sick, everyone avoided the house, for it was full of *tun*. Aloari said that the waterfront, also, was full of *tun*. He preferred to bathe from a pottery vessel outside his house. Ringworm, however, was known to be caused by natural means.

The word *okei*, while referring to sorcery under certain conditions, was also a general term for medicinal preparations. Thus, *okei* of various kinds were used in different stages of the life crisis rituals and also in the treatment of various ailments. Roots were extensively used for medicinal purposes. Maibu rubbed his wife's head with the extract of a root (*ipox*) when she had a headache. Another root (*murukuyu*) supplied the basic ingredient for eye drops, and still another was prescribed for ringworm.

The Trumaí were subject to severe boils which were treated by piercing. This was a woman's specialty, and it was usually done by the wife or a close relative of the afflicted person. All other curing, both secular and supernatural, was done by men. Herbal medicines were used exclusively for such ailments as ringworm, but most cures involved both botanical and supernatural means used in conjunction.

Illness was treated by both individual curers and group ceremonies. The practice of individual shamanistic curing, known as *jau'kuth*, had much in common with similar arts throughout South America. The main techniques employed were tobacco smoke and sucking. Great

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clouds of tobacco smoke were first blown over the affected area by the curer who then, with noisy inhalations, sucked that part of the body in which the ailment appeared to be localized. Insofar as Quain was able to determine, no foreign objects were "extracted," and he was not given any explanation as to why the treatment worked.

Knowledge of curing was widespread among the men. All the men knew how to use botanicals, and over half, all said to have been taught by Matiwana, knew the art of *jau'kath*. Men cured their wives, children, or other close blood relatives. When Aloari was treating his son's ringworm he was asked by Quain whether he would also treat a young boy who was only indirectly related. Aloari refused because the boy had closer kinsmen who could perform this act. Kayaru developed a swollen breast, and it was Yanahi, her sister's son, who performed *jau'kath* on it. All men treated the members of their biological families with medicines, but those who did not know the shamanistic cure relied on a practitioner from outside the immediate family.

Matiwana treated his son Yati without recompense, but when his daughter's husband became ill, the latter paid him for the cure with a pot. The kinship ties by which curing was free to certain relatives probably corresponded closely to the pattern of gift-giving obligations. Payments for medical treatment were called *okei pop* (medicine gift). Quain was usually given small payments for the many cures he performed for the Trumaí. In no case could it be said that any curer derived a significant income from his services.

Group Curing Ceremony

The only time that Quain witnessed the group curing ceremony (*kevere*) was on an occasion two weeks after his arrival. He noted the formal aspects carefully, but he was unable to ascertain their meanings, since his command of the language at that time was so meagre.

Maibu's wife, Matavitsa, was sick and wasted when Quain arrived in the village. Her husband had been treating her for some time by the shamanistic means of tobacco smoke and sucking, but with little success. It was decided to hold a ceremonial cure, although shamanistic techniques were not ruled out. Nearly all the adult men of the village gathered in Maibu's house for the ritual, which lasted for three hours. No women were admitted, and the door was kept closed. The *kevere* was strictly prohibited to females, and the men would not even talk of it in their presence. The women seemed to regard Quain's status as doubtful, for Maibu's sister told him that he would die if he entered. He refused to be dissuaded, and upon entering was motioned to a seat.

The men were ranged in a broad semi-circle along the side of the house opposite the sick woman's hammock. Matiwana, who was in charge of

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Matiwana, who was in charge of
the proceedings, was seated somewhere near the center; Maibu, the husband of the sick woman, at one end of the line. Matiwana was chanting while the others merely shouted words at irregular intervals. Each man held a rattle in one hand and a branch with leaves in the other, except for two who held a branch in each hand. Approaching Matavitsa's hammock in succession, and, with arms extended, each stamped on his heels, causing his rattle and leaves to shake, as he moved up and down the length of the sick woman's body several times. This done, he passed the rattle and leaves from her head to her feet, and then clapped the two objects together so as to suggest that he was brushing off something undesirable. He repeated this sequence two to four times, and before taking his seat, he carefully picked up all the leaves that had fallen to the floor.

While awaiting their turns, the other men rubbed their rattles against their forearms and kept up a steady, disorganized chant. They also smoked, but this apparently was not part of the ceremony.

Turns started at one end of the line and, when the other end was reached, the next series began there. A pause was observed between each series. Some variation was to be noted. One man passed his leaves under Matavitsa's hammock, while another gave special attention to her head. Maibu, during one turn, sucked in the area of her navel.

Quain noted that during the ceremony "there was an amazing lack of affective tension. The men seemed inattentive and disinterested." He was able to ask questions about the ceremony while it was going on, for not everyone participated. Paradoxically, one of the active performers was Oirupa, who was suspected of having brought about Matavitsa's condition through witchcraft.

The Ole Ceremony

In the Trumaí village no ritual was more important or consumed more time than the *ole* (manioc) ceremony.[5] Its purpose was essentially to insure an abundant manioc crop, and much of the symbolism involved was clearly oriented around the concept of fertility. The supernatural techniques that were employed were practiced almost daily from the middle of August to the end of September. (It will be remembered that planting lasted from mid-September until early October.) The whole ceremony was loosely knit. After it started it reached no special climax,

[5] Oberg (1953, p. 58) describes a Kamayurá ceremony which also takes place at the beginning of the rainy season and, in form, closely resembles the Trumaí *ole* ritual. He calls it, however, the *Kwarup*, a "special ceremony in commemoration of the dead," and states that the Kamayurá manioc ceremony was not held during his stay in the field. If the ceremonies observed by Quain in the Trumaí village and by Oberg among the Kamayurá are not the same, a great similarity of ritual forms for different religious purposes is indicated.

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but continued at the same pace for about three weeks, and then slowly died down. It would be impossible to say on what day the *ole* ceremony ended.

When the *ole* cycle began it consisted of little except songs and dances. These were usually held shortly before daybreak and at night. About a week afterwards decorated posts were erected in the village center. These "*ole* posts" served as "shrines" to which food offerings were made. In the meantime, dancing and singing went on almost every day. On some days two or three *ole* songs and dances were performed; on others there was little activity.

The intensity of the ritual varied with the number of people in the village and according to whim. The participants changed from day to day, and some took part more often than others. Only certain men knew the songs and dances, and they served as leaders. Other men occasionally joined in and performed an accompanying role, while the women followed the dancers and served as a chorus. The usual procedure was for the men to sing and dance their way from the nearby forest into the plaza, where they were joined by the female chorus. They then made the rounds of all the houses, pausing to sing at each.

Only Matiwana and Nitvary served as leaders of the dance processions, as they had inherited the necessary songs. Makurawa also knew *ole* songs, but his role was always secondary. Nitvary, due to his youth and vigor, was the principal dance leader. Most of the other adult men did not participate in the dances and seemed bored by the activity at times. There was no rule governing female participation in the dance. One of the men initiated the performance without consulting the other men, and the women flocked from their houses of their own will to join the procession, falling in behind the older boys. Quain thought this reflected well the respective roles of the men and women in Trumaí culture. Children always followed in the rear and cried out at the beginning and end of each major sequence in the performance.

There were also *ole* songs for solo performance without choral accompaniment, which were not considered to be the special property of any one man. The soloist made the rounds of all the houses, stopping at each to perform a song and a simple dance. Even the women sang certain *ole* songs, and on one occasion Quain observed two women making the customary rounds together without male accompaniment.

Quain mentioned one song as being quite melodious, and stated that there was greater variation of pitch in songs which were distributed throughout the upper Xingú area. The Trumaí had borrowed songs heavily from their neighbors, and, in fact, had probably borrowed the whole ceremony. Kamayurá verses were most frequently heard, but there was also a significant sprinkling of Cariban words.

The chorus that followed Matiwana and Nitvary gave only the sketchiest accompaniment. The women did not seem to know the songs,

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but the frequent repetitions and the small number of pitches made accompaniment possible, and their voices fell consistently into the fourth interval below those of the men. The women, however, enjoyed their role thoroughly and gave far better support than the men, who made little effort to coordinate their activities. 796 243 533

The songs were arranged in a series of three verses. Each time a new house was entered, the singer started a new series. Matiwana's songs were more elaborate than Nitvary's. Occasionally the old man would make a mistake and have to start the verse over again, but these lapses merely amused him. The only musical instrument used was the tapir hoof rattle. [534]

Quain gives no detailed information on the dances involved, but apparently they were simple, and perhaps partially improvised. Nitvary was the sole person to take special pains with his toilet before leading a dance. At such a time he usually wore a feather headdress and painted his body ornately. [535] [302]

One of the more important parts of the *ole* ceremony was the complex of activities surrounding the *ole* posts. A few days after the ceremony began several poles were brought into the clearing just outside the village, and the bark was peeled from them. They were rubbed with white clay and painted in colored designs. Each man placed the pole he had decorated upon his shoulders and brought it into the village with shouts and singing. With the poles on their shoulders, they danced about the village, finally placing their burdens upright in holes that had been dug previously in the village plaza. The children helped by packing dirt around them. The women then smeared red *urucú* dye on the bases of the poles and just below the upper ends. Tufts of cotton were put on top by both men and women. An offering in the form of fish on *beijú* was placed in front of the posts. Later in the afternoon, and early every afternoon for the next two weeks, the men ate together among these poles. Their attitude in this ceremonial milieu was certainly not one of special reverence, for they draped two blankets Quain had given them over the posts for shade. 796 243 [386] [782]

Nearly every day additional food offerings were placed in front of the posts. One post was given special attention. This was Nukekerehe, which was said to be malignant. However, fear of Nukekerehe was mixed with jokes. Quain was told one night that the men would not go to bed until he did, for if he stayed up long Nukekerehe would surely eat him. Weeks later, when the posts were pulled up and brought into the houses of their owners, the man carrying this pole stamped his feet at the children and pretended anger, much to everyone's amusement. On one occasion Matiwana performed a ritual in which he was apparently acting the part of Nukekerehe. He made wrathful noises and jumped about in front of the post, before which were two bowls of manioc soup. [782] 796 243 522 [242]

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He then started a song about the post in which he was joined by Nitvary and the women. After two repetitions, the women poured a bowl of the soup on Matiwana's head and shoulders, making a dripping mess of him. He retired amid general laughter. The second bowl of soup was then poured over the pole. A full explanation of the beliefs surrounding the *ole* posts was not obtained.

Due to the fact that Quain had only recently arrived in the village when the ceremony was held, there is also a lack of clarity in the system of relationships known as *ole aton*. The word "*aton*" means "pet" in Trumaí, but in the present context it applies to a temporary ceremonial identification between people, and between people and the *ole* posts. The interpersonal ties set up were only between persons of opposite sex. However, a man could have more than one woman for *aton*, and vice versa.

Kinship may be the determinant of these ties, but the data are inconclusive. Interestingly, the greatest number of *ole aton* relationships existed between people of the previously mentioned pairs of houses, suggesting a ceremonial reinforcement of this moiety-like arrangement.

Except for reciprocal gift-giving obligations, nothing is known of the behavioral roles called for by these connections. The owners of the *ole* posts were said to have their particular posts for *atons*. Their chief ceremonial duties were to peel and paint the pole, and supply it with food offerings. It may be hypothesized that the posts represent certain spirits with which individuals are identified, perhaps as the result of shamanistic experiences, as described by Oberg for the Kamayurá.[6]

During the *ole* ceremony, as during the cure described above, Quain was impressed by the lack of interest in the proceedings. Those who were not part of the immediate activity sat and smoked, indulging in the usual topics of conversation. The loose patterning and secularity which characterized the ritual bespoke the general lassitude that permeated all aspects of the culture.

The Piqui Ceremony

The *piqui (tsinon)* ceremony occurred at the end of the harvest of that fruit, during the first half of the rainy season. It was similar to the *ole* celebration, but not as lengthy nor as important. Quain's information on the festival, obtained from Aloari, is very limited. Jakwanari, the main functionary, occupied a position similar to that of Matiwana and Nitvary in the *ole* ceremony. As Aloari phrased it, "Jakwanari had *tsinon* as *aton*." There was house-to-house dancing by the women, accompanied by singing of a certain series of songs. At the end of the dancing Jakwanari's wife made a large quantity of *t'ak*, the *piqui* flour cake, which

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

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Jakwanari then presented to the dancers as payment. In another part of the ceremony, a gourd of the *piquí* fruit drink was poured on Jakwanari in the same manner that the manioc gruel was poured on Matiwana during the *olé* festival.

The Spear-Throwing Contest

The spear-throwing contest involved intertribal participation and was completely secular. The core of the celebration, which took place at the end of the rainy season, was a duel between rival teams representing the tribes of the area. The purpose of the duel was for a member of the team on the offensive to strike a member of the defending team with a blunt-ended spear propelled by an *atlatl*, or spear-thrower. The defendant held a few sticks vertically, one end resting on the ground, and tried to deflect the oncoming spear with them. The distance between the two was about twenty paces and hits were frequently scored. After each turn, the defender went on the offensive. The games were conducted in a spirit of friendship and festivity. Bruises, some of which must have been severe, were compensated for by gift exchanges.

The participants painted their bodies elaborately for the combat. One informant erroneously stated that the masks for which the area is famous (but which were no longer made by the Trumaí) were worn during one part of the festival.[7] Intertribal wrestling matches were also held at this gathering.

The Bull Roarer

Information on the defunct bull roarer rites, as for other ceremonies, is extremely meagre. As the Trumaí express it, they have "buried the *kuth*" (bull roarer), but most of the adult men knew the ritual connected with it and remembered when it was still in use. The Trumaí formerly went to the Kamayurá village and took part in the ceremony there. One man told Quain that dancing in the Trumaí village preceded the ritual, whereupon they all went to the Kamayurá village and "did things that the women cannot see." Then, he said, there was a great deal of wrestling and copulation. Yati, Maibu, and Tun played a ceremonial role known only to them, while Yati, Oirupa, and Nitvary sang certain songs at night when everyone was asleep. The ceremonial flutes found throughout the upper Xingú are not mentioned in Quain's notes. Apparently, they were no longer used by the Trumaí.

[7] These masks are worn during a ceremony called the *jakuí* by the Kamayurá, which, according to Galvão (1950, p. 385.) takes place in the same season, thus explaining the confusion.

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Deities and Mythology

The Trumaí were certainly not preoccupied with the supernatural. Quain makes no mention of the spirit owners of animal, plant, and fish species that figure so prominently in the Kamayurá belief system, nor does he speak of the "*ole* spirits" attributed to the Trumaí by Oberg.[8] Beliefs, which are a more covert part of culture, are particularly difficult for an ethnographer who lacks familiarity with the language to learn about, and it is understandable that Quain's notes are weak on this point.

Magic, except for sorcery, was not observed by Quain, unless shamanistic curing is considered a magical practice. No objects, such as charms or amulets, were thought to have a magical effect, and the already discarded ceremonial objects were the only inanimate items that could be said to have some inherent religious value. In short, the day-to-day world of the Trumaí was little influenced by extra-corporeal forces or personages. The deities were nearly all culture heroes and creators, who did their work in the dim past of the "grandfathers of all the Trumaí."

With some variation the mythology of the Trumaí was quite similar to that of the Kamayurá. The most important of the Trumaí creation deities was Sun (Atehle). This was not the visible, celestial sun. The Trumaí explained that the celestial sun was only the *aton* (pet) of the real Sun, who was important in all the creation myths. Sun no longer actively intervened in life, but in the days of the creation he was an anthropomorphic personage having great supernatural powers. Sun's mother was the wife of Panther (Fetde), who appears in the tales of the after life. This woman, in turn, was the daughter of Wamutsini, or Grandfather. The latter had an important part in the creation, for he was the original deity from whom the other supernaturals sprang. Wamutsini's daughter was not important in these stories.

The identity and character of Moon were ill-defined. At one time Moon was in the heavens with Sun, who, however, became angry with him and cast him out to his present isolated position. Moon was once eaten by Awalanaxe, a fish. Sun, upon learning of this, made a fishhook, caught Awalanaxe, and disembowelled him. Moon was found inside quite chewed up, but Sun molded him back into shape. A fly then crawled up the nostril of the unconscious Moon causing him to sneeze. He thought that he had merely been asleep, but Sun explained that he had been eaten.

Moon's sex was highly ambivalent, being a male in some tales and a female in others. He was not, however, important as a creator. Awalanaxe appeared frequently in the mythology as did Wakpanehene, another fish.

[8] Oberg 1953, p. 54.

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Crow appeared as a trickster and, although not a creator deity, managed to bring forth new things in the process of his machinations. Waniwani, the name of an abandoned Trumaí village site, was also a village in the heavens — the home of a mythical person of the same name. Jemenary, Kelenewary, and Nane were three other mythological characters. The second was the sister's son (*deta*) of the first, and an inveterate trickster. Although they appear in a Trumaí tale of mythological times, they had no part in the creative process.

Rain (Ka'wixu) was apparently the only Trumaí deity capable of interfering with the world in its present form. Although he appeared as a character in the mythology, he was also believed to be the active agent behind rains and storms. The Trumaí were extremely frightened of thunder and lightning, and thought storms to be the result of someone's having antagonized Rain. During a violent equinoctial thunder storm, Aloari came rushing into Quain's house, imploring him to turn out his light and stop working as he was angering Rain. Despite their fear of displeasing Rain, the Trumaí on a few occasions tried to drive away the clouds. One man blew at the clouds to push them back, while Quain was told to fire his rifle to frighten Rain away.

There was also a class of malignant beings that were important as omens. The Trumaí could not look at a snake called *lesilesi*, seemingly the rattlesnake. Aloari said that shortly after he saw one, two of his brothers died. Jakwalu saw one while she was harvesting manioc in the garden, and it was generally believed that for this reason she would not live long. Quain was uncertain whether this was the immediate result of seeing the snake, or whether the snake was an omen that the Kamayurá were practicing witchcraft on her. Similarly, anyone seeing the *le*, a bird with a red forehead, would die. And finally there were sirens inhabiting the woods to the northeast of the Trumaí village. Their call exerted an attraction, and anyone seeing them or cohabiting with them would surely die. These women had long hair, wore bark cloth pubic coverings, and did not depilate. Significantly, the direction of their abode and their appearance correspond to those of Suyá women. Omens, such as cloud formations and canine howls, indicate the imminence of an enemy attack.

The Origin of Things

Most of the Trumaí mythology is devoted to explaining the origin of the natural world, people, and culture. The chief creator deities are Sun and Wamutaini.

In the beginning there was only Wamutaini. His origin is not explained, and he is probably thought to have always existed. He made daughters out of wood. One of them married Panther, who lived in the

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793 Milky Way, and gave birth to Sun and Moon; but whether Panther begot them is not known. No myth was found for the creation of the Earth, but the river waters were the result of a dispute between Sun and Wamutsini. In the region of the abandoned village of Morena there was a semicircular bay in which Wamutsini decided to take a bath.[9] He did not tell Sun of this place, as he was angry with him, and Sun, apparently in retaliation, told Crow to bring water, from which the rivers were formed. In other versions Moon and the *kute* fish also appear.

The region near Morena is important in the Trumaí myth cycle. In this section Waniwani stole Sun's wife and took her to his village. A sparse place in the brush nearby served Sun as a path to his bathing place. His house was also in the brush nearby, but no one had ever seen it, for fear of angering him.

Sun was responsible for many other features of the natural order. Sun shot the otter in the posterior, thus forming his anus; before this the otter could eliminate only through his mouth. He also made certain that man would get his work done by creating the gnat (*pejot*) which prevented the people from sleeping during the day. That man had to be so goaded into earning his subsistence is an interesting commentary on the economic ethic of the Trumaí.

Quain also recorded a number of stories of how human beings were created. In one, Awalanaxe Kute was the first human, but he swam in the water and was much like a fish. Wamutsini, who was dissatisfied with his form, baited a fishhook with a cigarette, caught him, and molded him into his present beautiful shape, as one Trumaí man explained while stroking his own body narcissistically. In another, the Sun made all people; and in still another the Sun made all good people out of arrows. (The Suyá were the offspring of a snake.) The Sun then distributed the land among the Kuluene-Kuliseu tribes, but the Suyá, who were left out, fled to their present home. The Bakairí and the white men were also made by the Sun. The Trumaí found it hard to understand why Quain did not observe rules of affinal avoidance, for "did not the Sun make the white men, too?"

There is also a myth in which Moon's wife is a Trumaí woman who was seduced by Sun. Trumaí children were born of this mating.

Sun also gave cultures to those whom he created. Long ago, Sun laid a bow, a pot, some beeswax, and a steel axe on the ground and told the Trumaí, Waurá, Kamayurá, and the white men to choose from among them. The Trumaí chose the beeswax, which made Sun angry with them. The Kamayurá chose the bow, and the Waurá, the pot. The white men

[9] Morena, the locale where Warputsini is said by the Trumaí to have created humanity, is, according to Oberg (1953, p. 49), claimed by the Kamayurá to have been the village where their Mávutsiné, the equivalent of the Trumaí Wamutsini, created the Kamayurá.

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took the axe, and this is why they have been able to build a great civilization. Indeed, white men, although first encountered in 1884, figure in many Trumaí myths. For instance, Waniwani once seduced Uluwa's wife and took her to the land of the white men, which was thought to lie either downstream near the Yuruna or beyond the headwaters of the Kuluene River.

Many ceremonies were first taught by Sun. He presented Maibu's deceased brother with a spear-thrower and taught him the spear-throwing contest. He also first made the masks which the Trumaí once used. The people of the area received cotton and tobacco from Sun, and he gave the fishtrap to the Mehinaku.

The foregoing creation myths collected by Quain were probably only a small part of the Trumaí cycle. Paradoxically, the historic legend of their migration into the area and the subsequent borrowing of culture elements from their neighbors would seem to negate the creation myths in which the Trumaí appear to have always lived in the upper Xingú area. Quain states that they have reconciled the inconsistencies, but he does not support this point with any concrete data. Undoubtedly this problem bothered the ethnographer far more than the Trumaí.

The After-Life

Waniwani, the village of the afterworld, was located in the heavens. In order to get there one had to travel the Milky Way. This was the abode of Panther, and the road was lined with many panthers who inflicted dangerous wounds on the wayfarers. After passing through this gamut, the dead entered the Trumaí village. Here many Trumaí resided, and the rivers and lagoons teemed with *kate* fish. These were usually caught by poisoning, as the *tawasi* tree grew in abundance. There was no death in this afterworld; it was only on earth that death was feared, said the Trumaí.

Jemenary and Kelenewary

The last of the Trumaí myths collected by Quain concerned Jemenary and his trickster nephew Kelenewary. This story, which has a decided Oedipus theme with the maternal uncle in the father role, was the only context in which these two appeared, and they cannot be identified further than to say that they were mythological beings who lived in the "long ago" of the Trumaí.

Jemenary was angry with Kelenewary because the latter, his *deta*, or sister's son, was sleeping with his wife. Kelenewary knew no shame, for a good Trumaí would never have done such a thing. Jemenary tried by a series of ruses to rid himself of his nephew. He ordered him to

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773 gather some vegetable dye in a tree in which he had put a snake. The wily nephew made designs on his leg with the dye which caused the snake to fall out of the tree. He returned home and resumed his relations with his uncle's wife.

Jemenary then ordered Kelenewary to cross a river in which there was a fish that would surely eat him. The nephew suffered some bites, but these he cured by smearing with another vegetable dye. The infuriated uncle then sent him to the village of Rain, Kelenewary's cross-cousin, to get a highly prized wood which Rain guarded closely. Kelenewary arrived at Rain's village and repeatedly urged Rain to have sexual intercourse with his wife. After many wakeful nights, the couple, exhausted, fell into deep sleep. Kelenewary stole the wood, and returned to his uncle's house, where he continued to sleep with his uncle's wife.

Later, when the two men were building an eagle cage, Kelenewary, who was sitting on top of it, angered his uncle by saying that the eagle was no larger than one of his wife's pubic hairs. The enraged Jemenary released the vertical poles in the framework of the structure, catapulting the insolent nephew through the air and into the branches of a tree. Kelenewary was hurt, and Nane, a creature having a human form but capable of flying, carried him to his village. Under Nane's care, he drank medicines that restored him to health and caused him to grow to a tremendous size. The uncle, in despair, created the deer with the intention of having it kill his nephew. Kelenewary, however, lassoed the animal with his armband, and it killed the uncle instead. The opposition thus removed, the nephew returned to the embraces of his dead uncle's wife.

Lore and Learning

821 [775] The cosmology of the Trumaí was not very elaborate. Many stars and constellations were known and named. As noted above, the Milky Way entered into their beliefs of an after-life. Special attention was also given to the Hesperides, which may be the constellation that dates their ceremonial season at the end of the rains. Quain was told by Thomas [241] [805] Young, the missionary, that the planting time was determined by astral phenomena. Quain was not able to confirm this, but he noted that the Trumaí knew the proper time for burning the felled brush. This knowledge was important as the rains arrive suddenly, and once the brush becomes wet it is almost impossible to fire.

805 824 825 Flora and fauna also served as markers of seasonal passage. One such sign was an insect that issued a shrill and pleasant whistle from dusk until far into the night in the weeks immediately preceding the rainy season.

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It was Quain's good fortune that a lunar eclipse occurred while he was still in the company of the Trumaí who were escorting him back to civilization. On about November 7, 1938, the moon eclipsed shortly after it rose. When it was first noticed, one man asked Quain to fire his gun. Another danced and shot a burning arrow at the moon. 921 789

The eclipse lasted for more than an hour, and during this time the Indians refused to proceed further. It was necessary to frighten away whatever was eating the moon. To right the disturbance of the natural harmony, Maibu drew himself up to his full stature and addressed the moon at great length. All the tribes in the area, Quain was told, were taking similar measures.

The eclipse was thought to be a harbinger of evil. One man decided to return home in the belief that now the white men would kill him. Yati, who had an infected hand, was sad because Matiwana, his father, would think by this sign that he, Yati, had been "killed" by Mehinaku witchcraft. As Yati's hand grew worse, the rest of the party began to believe that the eclipse was caused by old Matiwana's tears. [787]

Seasons were recognized as "sunny times" and "rainy times," and the number of moons and their phases were used as time-markers. Long periods were reckoned as "when my father was small" or "when I was a boy;" short periods by adding up the passing nights. This latter method was ineffectual for anything after ten days, as ten marked the upper limit of Trumaí counting. 805 [802]

Enumeration of objects was shown by holding up the appropriate combination of fingers. There were words for the numbers one through ten, but ten also signified "a great many." Large quantities could be expressed by gesture as well. When Maibu wanted to indicate many *beiýá*, he held up his hand to their height when stacked. 802

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CHAPTER FIVE

THE LIFE CYCLE

Birth

843 [842] The Trumaí were well aware of the facts of conception, paternity, and pregnancy. That menstruation ceased after conception was, of course, perfectly obvious to them, but it is uncertain whether this was considered a diagnostic of pregnancy. Maibu related some female gossip to Quain to the effect that Aloari's wife, Yumunuwa, was pregnant. When Quain objected on the grounds that she had only recently menstruated, Maibu pointed out as indisputable evidence that her navel was protruding.

847 [732] [848] One of the Trumaí women, the clubfooted, childless, and unmarried Yawala, was pregnant during Quain's stay. She spent most of her time in her hammock and received little attention, except from other women who kept insisting that they perform an abortion upon her. Abortion was usually induced by manipulating the abdomen, but also, it seems, by drinking certain "waters" of which the women had knowledge. Yawala resisted all urgings and maintained that she wanted a child "to hold in my arms."

Abortion was undoubtedly frequent, and infanticide too, and at times without the agreement of the husband. It is not known what, if any, observances and precautions were taken during pregnancy except that sexual intercourse ceased when a woman became very large because "it hurts her."

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844 846 Parturition was accompanied by observances led by old Matiwana, during which the men sat and smoked. The women held the laboring woman in a sitting position, in which she gave birth. The role of the husband before and after delivery was not recorded. After Aloari's son was born, however, his wife bled for three moons. During this time he had to drink a certain medicine. Quain's notes suggest that a form of couvade was observed.

[831] After birth, the only economic exchange that took place was a gift which the husband gave to the wife in payment for the child.

Early Childhood

162 The youngest child in the Trumaí village was a girl between one and two years of age. The other girl was about six. Of the boys, one was about

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four, three between five and seven, two between seven and ten, and the other two between ten and twelve. The little girl could not as yet walk alone. The two youngest boys could, although occasionally they still suckled at their mother's breasts.

The Trumaí infant was subjected to very little training. Rarely was the very young child told not to do anything. However, all the children except for Katsits, the infant girl, knew that they should defecate in the bush and urinate away from the village plaza. Katsits very often eliminated in the house, or while she was in her mother's arms. X'utsi, the mother, merely scraped a bit of dirt over the wet spot. She gave no indication to the child that this was an undesirable act, and the child took no note of her own activity. Exactly how a child learned to exert self-control is not clear, but it was probably by emulating older children and adults, whose toilet habits were hardly a secret.

The child suckled until it was five or six years of age, although it began to partake of the ordinary diet by the end of the first year. Yumunuwa said that she suckled Tsirikoan three times a day: morning, noon, and evening. This was not a strict regimen, for the boy often crawled into her lap or straddled her waist and suckled at odd hours. Until about five years old, the child slept in the mother's hammock, or if motherless, with the father. Often it slept with the mother's breast in its mouth, and if it awoke during the night, it suckled until it fell asleep again.

The nursing of older children is a perpetuation of the infantile pattern, and it is indicative of the lack of stress on weaning. Also, because of infanticide and the low birth rate, there is little cause for sibling rivalry among the Trumaí.

Help was given the child in learning to walk and talk. The men appeared to devote more attention to this phase of upbringing than the women. Katsits was often walked about by her father, and sometimes by Maibu or other men who lived in the same house. Her father was eager to have her walk by herself so that he would not need to coach her, but nevertheless he and the other adults showed the greatest indulgence and patience in this task.

Part of the father's anxiety was doubtless due to the taboos which restricted his activity until his child had learned to walk. The most important of these was a ban on sexual intercourse. When Katsits developed colic, it was generally thought to be the outcome of coitus between the parents. Certain foods were also forbidden the father, one being seasoned fish hash, which was a great favorite. It is not known whether the mother was also required to observe food taboos.

More emphasis was placed on teaching the child to speak. The adults and older children made repeated attempts to put words into the mouths of the very young, saying the same phrases over and over again. In this

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868 867 way the child was taught the kinship terms applying to his immediate family and age mates. He did not, however, learn to classify the whole village until much later.

Pre-Pubescence

593 866 A good deal of a youngster's time was spent around his house, and his attachment to his parents first, and then to other members of his household, was very strong. Dependence on the parent was expressed in a variety of ways. When the motherless Matsiripi's father, Oirupa, left the village for a few days, the boy was dispirited. When someone approached from the canoe landing, he would run anxiously to see who it was. His joy was obvious as he clung to the hand of his returned father. This pattern was repeated, but with less intensity, by children having both a father and mother.

152 855 Night terrors were common among the children. They were afraid of the dark and, if they awakened in the night, sought immediately for their father or mother, or howled if both were absent. The early pattern of sleeping with a parent undoubtedly had much to do with these fears, but ample justification for them can be found in other aspects of the culture. Adults communicated to the children their own nocturnal anxieties, which were stimulated by fears of enemy attack. The young made [186] frequent references to the Suyá. One little boy, after an especially uneasy night, marched around the village chanting the word "Suyá" in a deep, serious voice. A frightened child's cries were immediately answered by his parents, who recognized it by tone. Tay, an orphan boy, often awakened with loud howls, but the people of his house paid little attention, and listened instead for their own children.

857 The children played and lolled about in the house, and had closer ties with co-residents than with others bearing the same kin relationships. When Kuyafi shifted her hammock to the house of her new spouse, her child cried lustily at the change of residence. The boys frequently visited in other houses, and there were no restrictions on lying in the nearest hammock, no matter to whom it belonged. This liberty was [123] taken by the adults also. To keep visitors out of his hammock, Quain had to tell everyone that his "wife would be angry" if anyone used it. This was the standard excuse for turning down such requests.

867 Children were given considerable freedom. Adults were interested in them, but made little effort to direct their activities. Encouragement was given, but the child was never forced to do anything. There were few "do nots." However, the child learned that he did not have an unlimited claim to all property, and sometimes he was punished for his transgressions. He also learned that he should not disturb older people unduly. The adults had a high tolerance for the noises of children, but

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occasionally someone, who was occupied or in bad temper, would chase the child away or slap him lightly. The only time that Quain ever saw a child given physical punishment was after some petty pilfering. In this case the father whipped him angrily across the legs. Usually, however, only a verbal reprimand followed misconduct.

Children were in a somewhat privileged category. With respect to gift-giving, the claims of the young were particularly strong, although, as noted above, they were not unlimited. When a child wanted something, it would either be given it or a good excuse would be offered. Parents backed up such demands, and were hurt and aggrieved if the request was refused.

Children had almost as strong control over their property as did the older Trumaí. Quain dealt directly with the children to secure specimens of children's playthings. The children manifested the same possessiveness as their parents in these dealings and in their general concepts of property. Even little Katsits cried when her father wanted to put up her necklace in the trade game. Her father let her keep the necklace and sought other objects to exchange.

Children cried frequently, and their tears rarely went unheeded. Teasing by adults was common, but when a child broke into full and lusty howls, he was soothed and comforted. There were no admonitions against crying itself. The only time a child was reprimanded for crying was when it was absolutely unwarranted and annoying to the adults. In such cases, a stern voice was all that was required. By the time a boy reached the age of ten he rarely wept, for he was then going through the initial phases of the puberty rites, and courage and fortitude were expected.

Little work was demanded of children. The boys often accompanied the women on gathering expeditions, but this was the only help they gave them. On the other hand, they were frequently called on to perform errands for the men or lend them some small aid. These tasks were done willingly.

The older boys occasionally accompanied the men on hunting and fishing trips, thus learning the necessary subsistence techniques. They participated actively in fish poisoning, helped in the preparation and application of the *tawasi* bark, and in the gathering of the drugged fish. Of all the subsistence techniques, horticulture was the last to be learned. The youngest Trumaí to have a garden was Autsuki, who was going through the final stages of the puberty ceremonies. Maibu's foster son, Jawaku, was still considered too young to cultivate his own plot, although he was no more than two years younger than Autsuki. Most of the boys were well acquainted with the work, however, through trailing the men to the gardens and watching them.

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857 Among the eight boys below the ages of Autsuki and Jawaku there were no clearly organized groups. When outdoors they usually played in small groups of three or four, although nearly all would gather together occasionally for some special activity. The small groups were usually composed of age mates. Tsirikoan, the youngest, spent most of his time in the house, while the oldest boy, Muruta, was already drifting away from the others and spending more time with the men. Tay, an orphan boy of between ten and twelve years of age, was decidedly a misfit and did not join the others often. Of the remaining five, the three oldest were steady companions, while the two youngest either trailed them or stayed near their houses.

[572] Despite the fact that the children were together frequently, there were no fast friendships or strong ties of loyalty and dependence. In this respect they were much like the men. Their play together was sporadic, and participation was fluid and shifting.

857 The only organized play in which the children indulged was wrestling. 526 Matches were infrequent and usually broke up within fifteen minutes. 459 All the boys turned out on such occasions except Tay, whose interests 838 were abnormally directed toward homosexual play. The wrestling matches were a complete replica of the adult contests, the boys even [858] sitting on the log in the men's circle (this was one of the few times they were permitted to do so). The adults never interfered. Usually they stood near the houses and watched the grappling with great amusement. When the wrestling involved boys of the village only, it was very informal and few pains were taken with their ornamentation. Each bout consisted of trying out some holds and grunting loudly in imitation of the men. The contests generally ended in a draw by mutual consent without any hostility being shown.

Most of the matches were between the older boys. But they also wrestled with the younger children. Even little Tsirikoan wrestled once. As he did not know what he was expected to do, he merely grunted and fell down. The bigger boys were very gentle with the little ones and tried only to teach them.

648 Just as the men were excited by the intertribal wrestling matches, the 857 boys welcomed the chance to wrestle with boys from other tribes. This 526 occurred regularly, since it was customary in the upper Xingú for a boy [484] to travel with his maternal uncle. At one such time, a Kamayurá boy [604] came to the Trumaí village and was invited to wrestle. The boys gathered [171] in the men's circle after having carefully painted themselves and put on new arm and leg bands. The older boys wrestled the Kamayurá youngster in turn, but since he was bigger, he threw them easily. The Trumaí men watched from a distance, silently rooting for their own [576] boys, but laughing loudly as each landed on his back, out of politeness to the visitors.

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All other play was more spontaneous and uncoordinated. Amusement and education were derived from using small bows and arrows which all boys possessed and the older ones knew how to make. Much of their time was spent shooting at insects and other targets in the village, but three or four children might occasionally go together to the lagoon and shoot fish from the banks. Sometimes they would wander off to the clearings when planting was in progress, or travel through the woods to gather guava. Few restraints were placed on their movements.

Nor was the sex play of children greatly inhibited by their elders. Actually there was no heterosexual activity between children, for there were no girls of appropriate age in the village. Thus, pre-pubescent sexual relations occurred between boys or between boys and men, and almost always it was the boys who were the instigators. Quain felt certain that Tay was the only member of the village who might be considered a homosexual. He was an orphan, and although he was fed and housed, he was identified with no family, and no one took any special interest in him. Tay, more than any boy, remained aloof from other children. His sexual advances were directed to a large extent toward the older males, who often cooperated with him. For example, he often wrapped his legs around Jakuma's hips, going through sexual motions. The older man would giggle when he did this and show signs of being mildly stimulated. Mayuva, among others, was less receptive, but his only mode of resistance was to arch his body away from the boy.

The sexual play of a young child might even include his father. Quain observed little Tsirikoan tugging at his father's penis. The father showed some annoyance, but only because he did not want to be bothered. Although children were rarely manipulated in this way by the men, Quain saw Yanahi, a young married man, amusing himself and some boys by pulling Tsirikoan's penis until the child had an erection. The boys whispered to Yanahi that Quain was watching, but this apparently made no difference to him, for he continued his activity.

The minor homosexual engagements that took place between the boys themselves were likewise in the nature of play. Quain saw no homosexuality between adults, and, contrary to Levi-Strauss' inference from Quain's notes, there was no kinship tie that implied permissible homosexual relations.[1]

The facts of sex were certainly no secret to the children. Living in undivided houses and sleeping with or adjacent to their parents, they were aware at an early age of the sexual activities of their elders. No effort was made to keep sexual knowledge from them, and they derived considerable amusement from the sexual affairs of the adults. Tsirikoan and some other boys raised a great hue and cry when they happened

[1] Levi-Strauss 1948, p. 337.

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upon his parents cohabiting; and they immediately told everyone in the village.

Puberty Rites

Male puberty rites were divided into two periods. The first, which was preparatory, covered about three or four years and consisted of the administration of certain medicines (*okeis*) and body-scraping. The second covered a much shorter period and constituted the actual initiation of the boy into the men's group. The observances, starting when a boy was between ten and twelve years of age, increased in frequency and intensity until his final initiation. The purposes, as expressed by the Trumaí, were to make him grow big and strong, give him courage and fortitude, and mark certain achievements on the road to manhood.

Body-scraping was one of the most important means used to accomplish these ends. Two different types of scarification instruments were in use. One was a sort of comb made of fish teeth imbedded in wood; the other was a polished armadillo claw. The former was used during the early phases of scarification, the latter, during the late phases when the whole body was scraped.

The first scraping was limited to the arms or legs. Kamkuti received his initial scarification on the biceps as an aftermath of shooting his first fish. The scraping, painful though it was, was a reward and a recognition of manly achievement. It was also a test of endurance and resistance to pain, and the boy was admonished against flinching or weeping. Such occasions were the first on which the child was exhorted to be manly and courageous.

When the boy reached biological puberty, the scraping became more severe. Arms, legs, flanks, chest, back, and stomach were all scraped, and the operation must have been most painful. Each boy could expect to have this happen to him a few times during the course of his initiation. Jawaku, Maibu's foster-son, had his first overall scarification while Quain was in residence. This was a prelude to the full initiation rites, through which he was soon to pass. Jawaku was a very timid boy, and significantly lacked the assertiveness that was so much a part of Trumaí personality. Katauka, who was officiating, scraped his legs first, then his back, flanks and arms, ending with a light treatment on his chest and stomach. Jawaku looked extremely unhappy, but he did not cry until Katauka began scraping his back. Maibu held him firmly and told him not to cry, while others scolded him for being a baby.

Before the scarification started Jawaku's body was moistened with water from a nearby pot. After it was finished, Katauka rubbed him completely with the bark of the *aruparukatem* tree. This or the bark of the *ifit'a* tree (the source of the fish poison previously referred to) were always used to treat the wounds made by scraping.

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always used to treat the wounds made by scraping. Jawaku walked away in a hurt and angry mood, his body covered with blood.

A few days later, in recognition of his advancement, Jawaku made the afternoon serving of food to the assembled men, a custom associated with the *ole* (manioc) ceremony. A further sign of his new position was the drinking of an herbaceous emetic before eating the first *piquí* fruit. Only boys who had not yet had their stomachs scraped could eat *piquí* without first taking the medicine.

One important purpose of body-scraping, the Trumaí thought, was to make the boy grow and give him strength. For this reason even the adult males occasionally scraped their arms. The scars themselves were very much admired. Of still greater value was the size of the muscles of the arms, chest, shoulder, and back of the neck, which the Trumaí believed to be the result of the scraping.

Another method of inducing growth was by drinking medicines made from herbs. All of the upper Xingú peoples were said to know of these preparations. The Suyá were said to have learned to make them also, but not the Yuruna. Adults drank these medicines, but they were especially important during the final phase of the puberty rites.

The perforation of the ear lobes was a distinct and separate part of the cycle of puberty rites, and the only one in which the boys went through a prescribed phase as a group. This observance took place during the equinoctial festive period which follows the rainy season and involved intertribal participation. At the next dry season festival, Quain was told, all the boys would have their ears pierced. Jawaku's ears, however, had been pierced before, whereas Autsuki, who was older and had entered the puberty cycle earlier, had not yet had his ears perforated. Manifestly, the time of the first perforation varied.

At the first piercing the young boy added the name of his mother's father to the name of his paternal grandfather, which he had been given previously. This was also an occasion for scarifying the arms.

Quain was informed that ear-piercing was done by all the upper Xingú area tribes. The Suyá, in common with other Gê-speaking peoples, made very large, and to the Trumaí, very unsightly, perforations in the lobes. Two Trumaí men who had been Suyá captives had such perforations and also pierced lower lips. The latter condition explained satisfactorily to the Trumaí why the Suyá "cannot speak properly."

The puberty ceremonies were climaxed by a final series of tests of strength and courage: wrestling with a small anaconda, a subsequent intensive drinking of *okeis*, and further body-scraping. After this the boy was kept in seclusion until his ears were again pierced.

Both Jawaku and Autsuki were at this stage. One day a snake was located in the lagoon, and Jawaku was urged to go after it. He and Makurawa ran through the brush to the lagoon and searched for it along

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the banks, while men crowded into a canoe. The reptile was located, but instead of the one-foot diameter that it was at first said to have, it turned out to be only three inches thick. But, as Quain laconically observed, it was hungry. The men shouted at Jawaku to jump in the water and grab it.

The boy approached the reptile cautiously and with obvious fear. The anaconda, aroused, slithered through the water to the other side of the lagoon. Jawaku's unwillingness to fight was now apparent. There were shouts that he was frightened. These goads temporarily overcame his reluctance, and he waded through the water and grabbed the snake around the middle, lifting it out of the water. The anaconda began throwing its coils, while striking at the boy. In a panic, Jawaku stumbled blindly for the shore, tripped over a log, and released his hold on the snake. All the men shouted, "He's afraid!" as the crestfallen boy dragged himself out of the water and silently walked home.

That night, Maibu made a lengthy speech in which he absolved himself from any responsibility for Jawaku's cowardice. The next day another reptile was sighted, but Jawaku did not even bother to look at it.

On the other hand, Autsuki measured up to what was expected of him, and thus was able to continue the ritual that marked his maturation. Immediately upon the successful outcome of his struggle with an anaconda, he went to his house. He had now entered the seclusion phase of his puberty rites. Tun, his mother's brother, who was acting as next of kin, built a partition screening him off from the rest of the house. He was allowed nothing to eat but a medicinal preparation called *wyryx*, and he could leave his confinement to defecate only when everyone was asleep.

The seclusion period was to last until the ear-piercing festival which was to be held several months later, but Autsuki was cheerful about it. In accordance with normal practice, he had his arms scraped shortly after he entered confinement, and he was also given the adult tonsure.

There remained only one more step in the cycle of initiation rites: initiation into the shamanistic art of curing. Completion of this final phase was necessary for full participation in the men's circle and for the privilege of smoking tobacco.[2] All of the uninitiated Trumaí youths knew how to smoke and occasionally did so, but the adults referred to this as "lying smoking." In order to "really" smoke it was necessary to have a ceremony performed by Matiwana. Exactly when this occurred is open to question, but ideally it was supposed to follow the final seclusion and ear-piercing. Aloari had not yet had the ceremony performed, although he was married and had a child. In his own words, he was still "too young." Aloari was evidently equating maturation with the puberty rites.

[2] Oberg (1953, p. 60) reports that uninitiated men may not smoke among the Kamayurá, either.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Changes in status and expected behavior were connected with the transition to manhood, and new modes of participation in the culture were open to the young man. It is necessary, however, to differentiate between the transition consequent upon increased age and that which resulted specifically from passage through the life crisis rites. Ideally, such a distinction should not have existed, as the achievement of physical maturity should have been heralded by the socio — religious observances. But there were two young married men, Yanahi and Aloari, who had not completed the ritual — the former because of disinclination, the latter due to the delay caused by his captivity among the Yuruna. Aloari, although both vocal and aggressive, and having the men's haircut, was definitely not one of the men's group yet. His smoking was only of the "lying" kind. He still needed the ritual admittance to the smoking group. Yanahi, on the other hand, still had the youthful haircut, but, for unknown reasons, was already a full-fledged member of the men's group. He was frequently seen with the adolescent boys, however, and his activities were characterized by a youthful lack of gravity. His history shows that there was no sudden break with boyhood among the Trumaí. The puberty rites were spread over a long enough time to allow a slow incorporation into the adult world.

Upon reaching man's estate, the young man became an integral part of the household and village economies. To be sure, property attitudes had been developed early, but he now had a greater opportunity to express them, inasmuch as he was able to participate in the upper Xingú trade system and thus accumulate more personal possessions. His entrance into the men's circle gave him a larger voice in community affairs, but at the same time it involved him in many village squabbles, which were intensified by his search for sexual partners or a wife. Also, among his added responsibilities was the defense of the village.

In short, the status of the newly arrived man brought greater economic independence and a fuller participation in the social and ceremonial life of the community. In return for his heightened importance he was expected to act with sobriety and self-reliance, to show courage and fortitude, and to be more aggressive in asserting his new rights and prerogatives. This last was largely a matter of degree, for Quain had been impressed at the extent to which children asserted themselves and shared the mannerisms and attitudes of adults.

Female Puberty

The only data available on female puberty observances concern the first menses (*wasipanes*), when the girl is confined for a period during which she wears her hair over her face. Rodrigues Ferreira, in commenting on a Trumaí girl in seclusion, states that she must remain in her

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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compartment in the house for six months, at the end of which time she is accepted as a young woman.[3]

Menstruation caused no special distress to the Trumaí women. They maintained personal cleanliness with the aid of leaves, going out into the brush behind the house to care for themselves. Although the relevant taboos were observed, the women talked frankly to Quain about menstruation, and were interested in learning what white women did during the period. The men, although expressing a fear of menstrual blood, did not shun the subject either. Most of them knew when women in the village were having their menses.

Everyone was extremely shocked when Quain told them that white people often had intercourse during the menstrual period, for such contact would make a Trumaí man fall ill and die. Aloari said that he would surely die of a cough if he copulated with his wife then. The blood itself was considered malignant, infecting whatever it touched. The whole village became very disturbed when Kuyafi dropped some menstrual blood on the path to the gardens. Aloari averred that he would not go for manioc until the rain washed it away.

Fear of polluting forced a menstruating woman to make frequent trips to the weeds, where nobody walked. The danger also extended to her person. During this time she was not allowed to cook, although she could sit around the fire when food was being prepared. (Quain's departure from the Trumaí village was delayed for a day as both the wife and sister-in-law of Aloari, who was to accompany him, were menstruating, and there was only one woman left in the household to make his *beijú* supply.) Nor could the menstruating woman carry water or take a bath. However, a prohibition on eating fish was the only food taboo that she had to observe.

Marriage

A man was ready to seek a mate within one or two years after his initiation, or at the corresponding age level. Women were suitable prospects soon after their puberty rites. It was common for marriages to be arranged by parents while their children were still infants. These infant betrothals were usually between cross-cousins. It is doubtful, however, whether many such arranged marriages were consummated, both because of the high mortality and the fact that most of the Trumaí women were ultimately fought for and won by verbal battles in the men's circle.

Courtships were neither long nor formalized. When a man developed an interest in a woman, he usually expressed it by attempting to seduce her. In most instances, amorous advances were made without any in-

[3] Rodrigues Ferreira 1946, p. 92.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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tention of marriage. But an intention of marriage did not insure exclusive sexual rights. The man usually continued to get gratification wherever he could find it. The knowledge of his other liaisons did not particularly disturb his bride-to-be, as she herself may well have been receiving attentions from other lovers. After marriage, such transgressions were not so readily tolerated.

The chief obstacles in the way of the marriage-bent Trumaí swain were the necessity to shout down his rivals and gain the approval and consent of the girl's kinsmen. The woman's consent was not necessary in making the marriage, and she usually remained aloof, waiting to see who won. If, however, she was not pleased with the mate to whom she was awarded, she was free to leave him. And this she often did. While Quain was in the village, there were marriages that lasted only a day or two due to the bride's dissatisfaction.

In addition to the arguments that precede most marriages, the man was expected to go through certain formalities. He went to the girl's mother and stated his intentions. If the girl had no mother, he approached the nearest male relative. In order to gain the favor of her kinsmen, he distributed gifts, the most important to the girl's mother, others to her father, siblings, and her mother's brother. The gift to the latter was especially important, as he was the one who formally gave the woman, or as the Trumaí phrase it, "spreads her legs." Gifts were also given the girl, culminating with a present of fish. In the meantime the girl made an especially fine hammock which she gave to the groom.

If everything was accepted, the man was free to take the girl to his house. The wedding was preceded by a fishing expedition in which nearly all the men participated, and by a wrestling match for which the groom was beautifully painted. The women held a trade game. The actual ceremony consisted of nothing more than the woman's moving into the house of her mate. A male relative carried her hammock to his home.

This was the way weddings should have been conducted in the Trumaí village. Actually, they were even less formal, especially in the case of second wives in polygamous unions. Marriage and sex preoccupied the Trumaí, for there were not enough women to go around; but even the few formal acts involved interested the Trumaí little. If the marriage was durable, the couple settled down and had children. After marriage and the birth of children no great change occurred in their positions in the community until they reached old age.

Old Age

Everyone in the village was classified as "younger" or "older." The men were either *axoek* (younger) or *tdakek* (older), while the terms for the women were, respectively, *axoekiza* and *tdakits*. These were not age

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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888 [561] [181] grades except in the broadest sense, as the term for "younger" covered everyone from infants to people in the prime of life. The terms, however, indicate a keen consciousness that those who have passed their prime are distinct from those who are still developing or are at the height of their physical powers.

The Trumaí believed that it was good to be young, vigorous, and strong, while advancing years were a stigma. Quain always met with a stout denial whenever he suggested to someone that he was older than someone else. An old person, they said with contempt, was one who did not bathe or shave the crown of his head any more. Mayuva did not bother to bathe one morning and was derided by Kerami, who accused him of being old. A short time later he reappeared freshly bathed. [626]

While several individuals were considered "older," the only ones who fell into the Trumaí category of true old age were Matiwana and Yahu. The latter's status was further lowered by the fact that he was considered to be a Kamayurá; his father was a member of that tribe and he had a son living with them. However, Yahu was still sexually potent and a full participant in the economy. [162] [563]

[195] A person of truly advanced old age was called *dewan*. This term, which has uncomplimentary connotations, was applied only to men "whose penis is dead" or to women past menopause. Matiwana was the only person of either sex who fitted the *dewan* category. The only tasks for which he was suited were light craft work, gathering firewood, and an occasional fishing trip. He was, however, the fount of nearly all Trumaí ceremonial knowledge. Matiwana was well cared for by his son and by his household. The son's affection and loyalty to his father were deep, and he was the old man's constant companion. The rest of the villagers remained aloof from Matiwana.

888 554 [756] The Trumaí abhorred the thought of their own future old age, and they transferred some of this fear to the persons of the aged. Status declined with age, and Matiwana had his ceremonial lore and shamanistic skill to thank for what position he still maintained.

Death

768 Neither the village site nor the house of the deceased had to be
764 abandoned following death. Burial took place in the village plaza. The corpse was interred lying on its back in an extended position, wrapped and bound in its hammock. Numerous cooking utensils, including a *ja'meo* (ceramic griddle for baking *beijú*) were buried with both male and female deceased.

765 No deaths occurred while Quain was in residence, but mourning was still going on for a man who had recently died. The burden of mourning fell on the female relatives of the deceased. The only observance in-

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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cumbent upon the males was a prohibition against wearing body paint for several months after the death. This ban extended to women, also. In addition, the female mourner could not sing in any of the ceremonies, and she cut her hair immediately after the death. Marriage was also forbidden her during the mourning period. (Autu came under censure as she had married her dead husband's sister's son — which at any time was reprehensible — even though her hair, cut when he died, had not yet grown back.) The woman was also required to wail occasionally for the dead person during the time of mourning, and she made flat mud discs, about one inch high, in the village center. Quain never found out the reason for this, although Kayaru made several of these markers for her dead brother. No special reverence or respect was given to the markers as they were usually demolished during the wrestling matches.

Recreation and Amusement

Trading sessions have been referred to as "games" because they are a form of amusement, but this appellation is in a way misleading, as the economic aspect of the "trade game" is very important. Actually, except for the intertribal spear-throwing contest, the only organized recreation is wrestling, and this is immensely popular throughout the whole upper Xingú area.[6] Wrestling matches were especially frequent during intertribal visits and ceremonials. These occasions aroused keen interest, and competitive spirits ran high, but the onlookers made it a point of etiquette to show no partisanship, and the contestants made every effort to conceal latent intertribal hostility. They were always friendly to each other, and at the end of the match they exchanged a friendly embrace. This was not necessary between fellow Trumaí or close kinsmen of different villages. The most effusive behavior was always shown toward those who were most disliked and mistrusted.

Wrestling matches always took place in the afternoon. All that was needed to start a match was a quorum of four or five men. These small bouts were usually informal and more in the nature of practice than competitive contests. When most of the men were in the village the contests attracted more attention and required more preparation. Bodies were painted and arm and leg bands were worn. The hair was usually combed and plastered down.

The men lined up on the log in the men's circle or brought stools. The women and young boys watched from the periphery. Uninitiated boys were not allowed to take part in the men's wrestling, but the older ones were generally permitted to sit with the men.

Each wrestler tried for a grip by grabbing at the body of the other. A variant of the half-Nelson was frequently attempted. The match

[6] Cf. Galvão 1949, p. 44.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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would be terminated by mutual consent and without the need for either contestant to concede defeat.[5] The wrestlers were often pushed around considerably, but except for grunts of effort, there were no expressions of pain or anger. However, when Quain tried to teach the Trumaí men to box, even the lightest punch caused them to retire. They claimed that the *karahiba* sport was much too rough.

Trumaí women do not "know how" to wrestle, but the Kamayurá women wrestled to entertain guests. It was common opinion in the region that Trumaí women did not compare favorably with Kamayurá women. Even the Trumaí men agreed on this point. After a visit to the Kamayurá village, the precocious young Yanahi was vociferous in his approval of them. His admiration was due chiefly to the *jamyrikuma*, a Kamayurá female song and dance in which the women flapped their breasts and went through other provocative motions. He also described how they had pushed their twine belts down low on their buttocks, which to him was a very suggestive act. After the dance the women wrestled. Jakwalu, a Mehinaku, was the only woman in the Trumaí village who could wrestle, a fact that suggests that the females of this group also practiced the sport. She demonstrated her ability only on intertribal visits.

The Trumaí women did not entertain guests, except insofar as visitors forced their attentions on the unmarried ones. The only occasions on which they were known to sing and dance were at certain ceremonies when they served as a chorus to the men.

Except for the use of pan-pipes, which the men played in the morning, all music was connected with religious ceremonial. The pan-pipes consisted of a half-dozen hollow reeds of different lengths laced together. Ceremonial singing was melodious, and the Trumaí enjoyed singing. They frequently requested Quain to sing in the men's circle. The requests were always phrased on behalf of the women and children. Visits from members of other tribes always called for a performance by the ethnographer.

Humor consisted mostly of practical jokes played at the expense of others. Jokes were always perpetrated by the men; the women served occasionally as butts. This does not mean that the men were gayer or more light-hearted than the women, for the contrary was actually the case. The women enjoyed each other's company more. They gossiped and laughed together, worked together, and generally wore a pleasanter expression. For the men, jokes were important as a means of recognition and assertion. They were always performed for an audience.

Teasing the women was also a popular male diversion. This was often done by ignoring them completely during a conversation. Yati was a

[5] This may be true only of bouts between Trumaí, as Oberg (1953, p. 50) notes that a man is defeated when he is thrown on his back.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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master at this dead-pan type of humor. When the women attempted to talk to him and Quain, he remained entirely disinterested, occasionally breaking in on them to address himself solely to the ethnographer. Although the women affected exasperation, they really enjoyed this negative attention.

The women were easy to frighten. Aloari teased his wife and sister-in-law by chasing them with a live snake in his hands. The women were also sensitive to touch (few men could resist brushing a hand lightly over an ever-exposed buttock when a crowd was present), and they became nervous when they saw that such teasing was impending. On a day when all the women had crowded into Quain's house, he pulled on the perineal cord of one of them. She immediately loosed a scream and ran out the door followed by the others, who laughed hilariously. Thereafter all the women expected to be teased by Quain, and they identified him somewhat more with the other men than they had before. The men often threatened rape in jest, but even when the women recognized the humorous intent, their basic anxiety was never completely allayed.

Pranks were frequent among the men. It was particularly amusing for a man to inform the others that Quain had given him a gift. Yati went to the trouble of filling a cartridge box with dirt and soberly telling all the men that the box was full of rifle shells. He was among the more popular jokers of the village. And pranks were played on him also. One night, in jest, Aloari shot at Yati's chicken with Quain's rifle on the pretext that it had been crowing. (The noise of the rifle report was also calculated to terrify the village.) Tun and Jakwanari occasionally tried to be funny by sitting alone and talking to themselves rapidly and incoherently. This was considered forced humor, and no one so much as chuckled.

A major source of diversion was gossip about who was cohabiting with whom. While this sometimes led to shouting arguments, it was more often merely playful talk, and it was treated as such. Accusations of sexual intercourse, sometimes true and sometimes false, were tossed back and forth between the men, usually with accompanying leers.

Manners and Morals

The Trumaí gossiped about sex, not because it was held to be morally wrong to do so, but because they had a frank and honest interest in it. Sex was considered a part of the "good life," but it was also thought to be a distraction from work. Thus, the chief made lengthy speeches castigating the men for being interested in nothing but sex when they should have been out planting. Similarly, Yanahi should have finished his puberty rites, but, as one of his kinsmen bluntly put it, all he wanted to do was "*tsidi*" (copulate). In reality the men took vicarious enjoyment in watching Yanahi exert his newly found sex prowess.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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577 831 833 156 123 Yanahi was less inhibited than any of the other men, but his behavior was not considered shocking or immoral. Quain had apparently arrived at the village just at the time that Yanahi was on the threshold of sexual experience. He appeared in Quain's house one night to show that he had an erection and announced that he would soon be having coitus. Thereafter, he rarely failed to tell Quain of his exploits. One night quite a crowd, including Yanahi and one of his paramours, Vatsiat, was gathered in Quain's house. The young man suddenly developed a longing for her and, as soon as all the visitors had left, satisfied his craving noisily amidst Quain's pots and pans. He was proud of his virility, as were most of the Trumaí men.

577 831 562 837 No discredit attached to the male involved in a love affair and very little to the woman. Oirupa merely scolded his sister for having copulated with Yanahi. Only where adultery was involved did promiscuity lower the status of a woman. Chastity before marriage was not expected, and there was not a single virgin in the village over the age of puberty. Older women without husbands or close relatives to protect them were often used for sexual purposes against their will. This was especially the case with unmarried foreign women. Some of them complained that they had to dispense their favors to too many men too often.

831 152 583 [123] This aggressiveness and the danger of bride-capture made the women extremely fearful of being raped, and, as noted above, they were uneasy even when the threats were made in fun. One morning Quain decided to get rid of his numerous female visitors by employing this device. They all fled except one, who, despite her seeming courage, looked worried. Without doubt, the women enjoyed visiting Quain, but a man told him that if he were to have intercourse with any one of them, they would all fear him. Over and above this fear of rape, there [578] was a definite hostility between the sexes, which was usually well controlled, but which on occasion might explode in open quarrels between the men and the women.

576 514 837 No cumbersome taboos surrounded physiological functions. Belching and the release of flatus were common in company, but generally disregarded. However, if an unusually unpleasant odor followed, those nearby spat on the ground as a mark of disgust. The men urinated near their houses or at the edge of the village plaza. The women went to the edge of the village clearing or behind the houses. Both sexes went a short distance into the brush to defecate, but at night elimination was permitted in the village plaza if a hole was first dug for this purpose and covered over.

There was no salacious attitude toward body processes. The Trumaí were puzzled by Quain's desire for privacy in his personal habits and his curiosity about other people's. One woman seriously asked if she could watch him eliminate.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The main motivation for going into the brush to defecate was not modesty, but a feeling of revulsion for body products. One did not eliminate in places frequented by people. Yanahi was disgusted when Quain defecated in his garden and claimed that the garden was ruined. Similarly, it was considered repulsive to defecate in the water. When Quain described the great ship that had brought him to Brazil, the only thing that the Trumaí found hard to believe was that the people aboard would have to eliminate in the water.

The rules of etiquette required a person entering or leaving company to make an appropriate statement. The salutation usually consisted of a phrase stating what the person being greeted was doing at the moment. Thus, typical greetings were, "You are eating," "You have returned from fishing," "You are sitting," and so on. When leaving a person or group it was proper to announce, "I am leaving," followed generally by a statement of what one was going to do. If this last was not observed, the departing person was usually asked where he was going. These formalities were not as regularly invoked in the larger gatherings as in house-visiting.

The rules of etiquette also required the emission of conventionalized cries on particular occasions, such as the bringing of food into the village or the offering of tobacco to guests. In the latter case the person making the presentation cried "*aha*," the recipient "*ha-a-a ha ha ha*." These amenities, which were observed between the Trumaí, were always louder when an outsider was involved.

Hospitality was extended to all upper Xingú Indians and white men who visited the village. In part this was inspired by a fear of their neighbors, in part by etiquette. The Trumaí had little reason to fear Quain; yet he was treated with the greatest kindness and consideration, and everyone was eager to converse with him. Indeed, their attentions were so constant that at times he wanted nothing more than to be left alone.

While the men were far more self-assertive than the women, they were also extremely sensitive. They were insulted at the refusal of a request, or at the denial of what they considered to be the recognition due them as individuals. They did not like to be treated as faceless members of a group. During the argument that followed Quain's complaint that some article of his had been stolen, Maibu criticized him for addressing them collectively as "Trumaí," while they always called him "*capitão*" or by his name.

The Trumaí were greatly interested in Western goods and their behavior toward whites was unrestrained. The following quotation from Quain's field notes describes this succinctly:

> The reason why it is so difficult to live with these people is that they are so "impolite." At least in their dealings with me, an outsider, and with the mission-

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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609 123 arics, they are unrestrained in physical contact and in the expression of their momentary sentiments. In many instances their motives are kind and helpful. But their complete lack of shyness makes their sometimes bungling efforts troublesome.

571 152 They were more reserved among themselves. Body contact and caresses were absent, as such demonstrations of friendship were unnecessary. The Trumaí were different people when outsiders were in the village.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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CHAPTER SIX

The Death of a Culture

Today there are but twenty-five remaining Trumaí. The fact that they disbanded once during the recent past shows that this small number approaches a critical point at which such a culture is no longer socially viable. If the present population trend continues, Trumaí society will definitely end, and, with the complete assimilation of the descendants of the Trumaí into other tribes, Trumaí culture, except for those elements of it that have been adopted by their neighbors, will belong to the past.

Primitive cultures and the populations that transmitted them are disappearing in many parts of the world today. In most instances, however, they are being destroyed by extended face-to-face contacts with Western society. This is not precisely the case with the Trumaí. Here, there was no large scale transmission of Western culture and no direct interaction with Brazilian society. But slight though the contact of the upper Xingú Indians with the whites was, it resulted in the introduction of respiratory infections that contributed greatly to their depopulation. In this sense, the white man is responsible for the impending death of the Trumaí.

Although the Trumaí were still carrying on their village life during Quain's residence and were to continue to do so, certain changes were taking place in their culture which were symptomatic of the fundamental instability induced by their low numbers.

It is immediately apparent that their weakness made the Trumaí vulnerable to other tribes, both the nominally friendly ones of the upper Xingú Basin, and the hostile ones of the surrounding country. In 1938 the Trumaí could not have successfully withstood a strong Suyá or Yuruna raid, nor could they have launched an attack upon the Suyá for women, as did the more vigorous Kamayurá. Indeed, the Trumaí had good reason to fear the least sound in the jungle at night.

Also, the Trumaí were held in low esteem by their immediate neighbors at the time of Quain's study. This was a severe blow to their *élan*, and it undoubtedly affected their self-image. It led, too, to more concrete results. As noted above, other tribes took Trumaí women during their most fertile years, and it is almost certain that the few "outside" women, who were brought into the Trumaí village through marriage, failed to restore the balance. Moreover, there were no "outside" men

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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105 182 648 in the Trumaí community, for, as Oberg notes, no adult male would choose to live with a people of such low status.[1]

105 162 It might be expected that the Trumaí could have compensated for this drain by raising their birth rate. However, in this population of 43 persons, there were only ten children, an extremely small number when the low average life span is considered. Furthermore, only two of the children were females. Of the approximately twelve women who 105 163 161 were capable of bearing children, only one was pregnant, and the others were urging her to abort her child. Thus, infanticide and abortion were taking a heavy toll in the Trumaí village.

847 845 [171] The custom of killing twins and of spacing births three or four years apart are reported by Oberg for the Kamayurá,[2] and these factors may well have been present in the Trumaí situation. The long post-natal taboo on sexual intercourse had the same effect. Wagley, who studied the dying but equally unacculturated Tapirapé, found that traditional practices were contributing to the complete depopulation of that group also.[3]

105 161 178 154 But among the Trumaí there is still another and less tangible dimension. Abortion may have been urged on a pregnant woman because she had no husband, but how is one to explain the killing of two of Aloari's children without his consent, or the fact that there were eight male and only two female children in the community? The limited information available suggests that the Trumaí were purposely restricting their number and committing suicide, perhaps unintentionally, in the process. Two reasons for this extreme behavior may be hypothesized: first, the impasse in which the Trumaí found themselves because of the steady depopulation made them so personally insecure and apathetic regarding both the present and the future that they were no longer willing to rear sizable families, despite their evident devotion to children; and second, they may not have thought it possible to produce the surplus necessary to support such families. Actually, however, even with their diminished numbers the Trumaí could have increased their food supply.

105 511 433 226 Their lowered standard of living was due to more than attitudes. Loss of population no doubt also decreased the yield of Trumaí fishing and therefore limited their chief source of protein. To be sure, bow and arrow fishing was little affected, but fish poisoning, the only communal subsistence technique practiced by them, was much less effective when employed by a small group, for a few people can adequately poison only smaller watercourses and branches of lagoons, while a greater number can cover larger streams and whole lagoons. In the latter circumstance, both the take would be larger and larger species would be available. Moreover, when the waters are heavily poisoned and enough people are present to reap the "harvest," there is less chance of fish escaping. Thus, up to

[1] Oberg 1953, p. 15. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 62. [3] Wagley 1940.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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a certain point at least, the take increases geometrically with the number of persons participating.

In gardening, also, which was not practiced collectively, their small number decreased Trumaí security. It was common for nearly all the village men to plant their gardens in clearings adjacent to those of their neighbors. Obviously, if one part of such a single, extended clearing was improperly fired, or if the crops were destroyed by armadillos or wild pigs, the whole village might be without food. Crop failure for a variety of causes is common in the tropical forests, but most aboriginal communities in South America have several separated garden clearings, each owned by an individual or extended family. If one garden fails, the family can, in a period of emergency, reap from others. Oberg relates that the Trumaí once had to turn for food to the Kamayura,[4] perhaps because of the failure of the village clearing.

It is, of course, possible that in the past the Trumaí organized their gardens along the more rational lines of the Kamayurá;[5] and it is also possible that they never made a proper ecological adaptation subsequent to their arrival in the upper Xingú region. But lacking information on their economy prior to their decimation, we cannot make any firm statement on these points. However, it is certain that, despite their small numbers, the individual Trumaí could have cleared and planted much more land. The average size of the gardens observed by Quain was one-half acre, and this area had to feed up to four people. Many men also had old gardens which were planted only to manioc. According to Quain's calculations, the total acreage of Trumaí gardens was only a little over thirteen. Since yields from forest soils are not high, it is evident that this very small area must have barely met the needs of a population of 43 persons. Manifestly, the Trumaí did not work hard enough; and it seems evident that their lack of application did more to impoverish them than any other single factor.

If the other upper Xingú tribes are used as criteria to establish what Trumaí society was like before its decline, some very serious dysfunctions within Trumaí social structure soon become apparent. To be sure, such a comparison is an arbitrary procedure; and it is only invoked here for its heuristic value. Since village and house patrilocality is the usual mode of residence among the Trumaí, a household similar to that of the Kamayurá, and with like functions, might be expected and might indeed have existed in the past. However, the Trumaí death rate in 1938 was so high that these units disintegrated before they had gone beyond the embryonic stage. House membership was shifting, the number of persons involved small, and leadership nebulous. And since kinship was the principal mechanism for structuring interpersonal relationships in Trumaí society, this lack of a stable, kin-structured unit probably did

[4] Oberg 1953, p. 42. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 48.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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105 174 571 602 serious damage to the individual personality. Also, many individuals could not enact whole sets of kin-determined roles because they had no relatives of the proper complementary status. For example, parents-in-law normally exerted considerable influence and control over younger married couples, but hardly anyone in the village had such relatives. Similarly, cross-cousin marriage was the preferred union, but cross-cousins were generally unavailable. Moreover, because of the shortage of women, marriage came to be more a cause of conflict than a consolidator of kinship bonds.

105 182 626 Not only was the family world of the Trumaí crumbling, but all lines of authority and social control were weak. The Trumaí seemed unable to unite for such culturally approved purposes as economic cooperation or hospitality. Trumaí leadership, like that of many primitive peoples, was predicated on the existence of strong bonds of kinship, economic interdependence, and a general agreement on goals and policies. These preconditions were no longer found among the Trumaí. In this structural vacuum, the Trumaí chief was less and less able to cope with the growing self-assertiveness of certain men, and was increasingly forced into a neutral role. As the community weakened, his position weakened.

105 182 578 A number of reasons account for the factionalism which developed within the Trumaí village. Some are a function of personality, others of the diminished population. Obviously women were at a premium and many men were compelled to do without mates. The resultant competition was, as we have seen, a festering sore in the body politic. Connected with it, but having further ramifications, the bonds of kinship and the expected behavior between kinsmen underwent attrition and upset what social balance could have been achieved under more normal conditions. Indeed fear of the outside world more than internal forces of cohesion held the Trumaí community together.

105 182 771 Other integrative mechanisms in Trumaí culture were also disappearing. Conspicuous among them was the gradual abandonment of many elements in the Trumaí ceremonial cycle. (Significantly this left the highly individual practice of shamanism as the most active religious expression in Trumaí culture). In part, this loss may have been due to the inability of the Trumaí to amass a sufficiently large food surplus for the feasting that was required when visitors from other tribes were present. Not enough is known about the ritual of the Trumaí to warrant any broad generalizations on the effects of depopulation on ceremonial participation, but their numbers may well have been approaching the minimum necessary to carry out the rites. Only a few men who had depended heavily on one old man for their instruction possessed the requisite ceremonial knowledge. When this old man died, Trumaí culture must have suffered a severe blow. Younger men were little interested in learning the ritual and lore. Moreover, the small number of bearers of

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Trumaí culture and the shortness of their average life span must have seriously interfered with the instruction of the young. In addition, the very eclecticism of Trumaí culture militated against conservatism and is indicative of the low value which they placed on their own culture.

In the chapter on religion, the disinterest of the people in their religious activities was often noted. Such behavior may appear paradoxical, but ethnographic literature provides many instances of the decline of traditional belief systems in the face of cultural crisis. In the case of the Trumaí, disinterest in the religious sphere was closely related to disinterest in other aspects of their culture. The Trumaí world view had become a philosophy of despair. While depopulation was causing social and cultural disintegration, cultural factors in their turn were furthering depopulation. The Trumaí were set in a steady downward spiral.

In summary it can be said that, on the basis of Quain's notes, the Trumaí were an anxiety ridden people. They were extremely sensitive and their feelings were easily hurt. They demanded individual recognition and attention. They were disinclined to work in their own interest or to join with each other in community projects. Apathetic towards their own world, they were distrustful of the world outside. These observations find considerable confirmation in de Lima's comments on the Trumaí:

> The behavior of this tribe which lives today in a state of humiliation and withdrawal in the face of the other peoples, is quite different from that of the Tupians. They are extremely distrustful Indians; they do not have a frank and happy expression and no matter how long one lives with them they remain always shut off. They do not have the dynamism, nor the disposition to work of the Kamayurá.[6]

It seems certain that this personality structure was not a survival of their more prosperous pre-contact period, when the Trumaí enjoyed some renown as warriors, but was a product of the growing distress which emerged during the period when the their whole security system of the individual — kinship and community — was breaking down. Under the new circumstances the individual Trumaí was no longer lodged in the matrix of the extended family. No longer did the rules of kinship that had formerly guided interpersonal relations operate smoothly for him. No longer did a vigorous community intervene between him and the outside world. There was no strong family, community, or tradition with which he could identify himself. The weakening of the socio-cultural structure precipitated him into conflict with his fellows; and it caused him to transfer some of his dependence to other and stronger groups. And in this effort also, he was unsuccessful, for other tribes looked down upon him as a member of an irredeemably inferior group.

[6] De Lima 1948, p. 25.

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105 187 The dilemma of the individual, itself a function of the deterioration of the group, strengthened the centripetal forces within the society. Similarly, the apathy induced by the process of ego-destruction rendered the Trumaí economically incompetent, and reduced the village to a marginal level of subsistence. Under these conditions, his failure to procreate is understandable.

But no one factor explains the passing of the Trumaí. This was not the result of an acculturative process, since the Trumaí were not adapting to anything new. Their recent history, however, underlines a development in which depopulation, cultural disintegration and personality disorganization engendered further depopulation, cultural disintegration, and personality disorganization. That such a development is catastrophic in a group as small as the Trumaí is shown by the marginality of the twenty-five survivors and the precarious position of their social identity only seventeen years after Quain left their midst.

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APPENDIX

Buell Quain, in a letter to the late Dr. Ruth Benedict written from Brazil on December 21, 1938, summarized several aspects of Trumaí culture which have a direct and immediate bearing on their decline. Following are excerpts of ethnological interest from this letter, which was discovered after this monograph was completed:

"They are a dying culture. Each generation improves its imitation of Kamayurá culture. Everyone in the village knows a few Kamayurá words. Almost all the songs in the manioc fertility ceremony are Kamayurá. Half the people in the village can carry on a conversation in Kamayurá with ease. One household (there are four) uses Kamayurá in preference to Trumaí. The mother of the house owner speaks no Trumaí; she is a Kamayurá woman who has lived with the Trumaí for about twenty-five years. The child of the household, a ten year old girl, confuses Kamayurá kinship terms with Trumaí in classifying the village. All Trumaí women between twenty and forty have been captive wives among the Kamayurá (which puts the Trumaí men in a peculiar position which they fully but fruitlessly resent) .... They have lots of disorganized leisure. They are sleepy (in part because of insects and fear throughout the night). They are ready to imitate not only the Kamayurá, but me, in petty daily habits. No outsider speaks Trumaí.

"There is nobody among them who volunteers information of ethnological value. For three months I dug for structure and got very little... Dullness cannot be attributed to the climate.

"The village is small .... Each of the four households — now five because of a recent split — are organized, or perhaps disorganized, according to different sociological principals. Three of the seventeen women are of foreign birth; one is Kamayurá, one is Mehinaku, and one is Suyá. The first two speak no Trumaí. A fourth woman with ringworm and two sick children is said to be Yaulapití, but she is well set in Trumaí culture. Nobody claims her as a relative (in part because of aversion toward her ringworm); hence she is used as a prostitute by every man in the village — she is the village joke. Among the men, I have found remarkably uniform responses to various 'tests'. (I said 'Draw a picture of a woman and a man.' Every man but one drew the woman first and oriented her in a distinctive way on the paper. The women showed no such regularity. One Kamayurá man tested also lacked this stereotyped response.)

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105 181 421 [578] 431 [855] "Tremendous interest in property, together with a simple and declining culture, results in my being a seriously disturbing element in their lives. Casual conversation always degenerates into a squabble about gift-giving .... There is intense pleasure in possession. Children get no sympathy when they are hurt, but objects are usually given to them. Every child has the right at least 'to see' anything he desires. In this respect children are pampered. Adults whine for things; withholding a desired object makes them intensely unhappy. Aggressive possession is admired.. Trade games make the exchange of property very fluid. [439] [524] Yet values in trade are well defined, and there is no prestige in giving more than one gets. Within the kinship circle, however, the old lavish [858] property on the young. A father's garden is spoken of as that of his five [431] year old son. There is a deliberate attempt to instill aggressive ownership attitudes in the young. A three year old girl is taught to claim objects in [965] a loud voice. This is done by shouting the possessive pronoun....

105 "These are a settled people who live within the strict limits of their village. Their small number has advantage in the study of individuals. [361] They have no knowledge of the world beyond the Kuluene-Kuliseu. It has no more real existence than the various inhabited regions of the heavens. The half dozen expeditions which have passed down the river have communicated with the natives only with signs. The one important result of such contact was division from peripheral tribes and the rise of [524] metal tools. The disappearance of the stone industry, on which a defunct [182] Trumaí moiety had a monopoly, has occurred within the last generation.[1] The increased leisure which probably resulted is not utilized economically.

105 123 156 "The complete lack of self-consciousness among these people makes behavior observation remarkably easy. Before I knew any of the language, I could sit by the hour in various households and time the actions of people while they paid no attention to me. For instance, one man during twenty minutes of leisure lay down to rest in his hammock fifteen different times, but each time disturbed himself with the remembrance of some petty chore undone....

[869] "The only restriction of behavior that I have seen in casual intra-village personal relations is that the children are told not to litter the 105 floor. The only positive rule is that the head of a household must sit [574] with a guest and converse while the guest is inside his house .... [833] Furthermore, extra-marital sexual intercourse has occurred in a shadowy corner of my house.. This lack of self-consciousness contrasts strongly with the Karajá, who are more prudish than the Fijians....

105 167 831 "Shortage of women, because of theft of young women, polygamy, lack of sexual interest in old wives (of which there are several), and

[1] Quain refers here to the moiety-like division of the Trumaí which has been [615] discussed in Chapter Three. This appears to be rather a result of the merger of the northern and southern Trumaí villages. The latter specialized in axe-making.

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post-natal sexual taboos is a serious social problem. A large group of not very pretty bachelors must use the woman with ringworm or the Suyá captive, whose present marriage is considered dishonorable. These women have no brothers or fathers. In contrast with Karajá, there is no stylized homosexuality. Yet the complete freedom of sexual play results in activities which might be considered overt homosexuality. But to the Trumaí such activity has little emotional content. It does not seem to set up special personal relationships.

"Women are in constant fear of attack. Yet a wife tyrannizes her husband by withholding her favors and pulling the hair of anyone whom she suspects her husband has used sexually. Between married people, sex occurs at night — preferably when everyone else is asleep — or while going to the forest on various gathering tasks. A man and his wife engage in many things together, such as afternoon relaxation, fishing, and gardening. There is companionship even between those spouses among whom the wife is much older and no longer of interest to the man sexually.

"Between themselves, the men are extremely individualistic. Cooperation rarely exceeds kin limits even at the explicit order of the chief. Only when outsiders are present do men band together in a mock display of solid cooperation.... There is only one old man, who is about seventy — all others are under 45 ..... All death is murder. Nobody expects to live longer than the next rainy season. Men always carry bows and arrows for protection. Shamans keep the village in constant fear of attack from the Suyá or Kamayurá.... There are imaginary attacks quite often. Men gather in terror at the center of the village — the most exposed spot — and wait to be shot at from the dark bushes at the margin of the village....

"Authority is lax. The patrilineally hereditary chief does no work and is a parasite on his household. He is self-conscious of the rank of his wife whose marriage has elevated her. He lounges in his hammock, but it is his duty to orate from the center of the village at night and sometimes in the morning, urging the men to undertake group projects. He is the only man who has the courage to be an executive. This contrasts with the Kamayurá where there are several chiefs who, uniquely in their culture, are shy and ashamed to speak and whose orders must be referred through special talkers. It also contrasts with the Karajá where the chief is the best worker .... When the season changes, the Trumaí chief urges the people to engage in the new work, which they would do anyway. An example of the complete independence of spirit is illustrated by the two brothers who would not help the brother-in-law of one build the house in which they all were living, because they thought the mosquitoes would be bad in that location during the rainy season. The brother-in-law built the tremendous house all by himself — the two brothers lived comfortably in it.

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105 626 578 [622] [123] [622] "Angry stylized quarreling is a legal device. The village hoots in derision at him whose argument is poor. The chief must be a master at this kind of argument, but all men and even women participate .... Though everyone makes speeches, it is only the chief who makes executive speeches. Quarrels have always been about women, with the exception of the one which occurred upon my arrival in the village (one party disapproved of me...). The chief does not interfere in personal quarrels. The other men sit quietly in the center of the village smoking and trying to disregard the quarrel, which may be going on over their very heads. When the contenders have retired from the village green, they are perfectly calm. The argument is suspended until it can be carried on publicly. There seem to be no secret alliances among the men.

105 182 771 796 "Another thing I must mention is the complete lack of emotional content in religious ceremonies. These are mildly pleasant chores. Although their structure is designed for a public pageant, nobody pays attention."

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Foreword

In 1938 Buell Quain spent four months, from August to November, among the Trumaí Indians of the upper Xingú River area of central Brazil. In December of 1938 he was recalled to Rio de Janeiro, and failing to obtain governmental permission for his return to the upper Xingú, at least under conditions allowing minimal possibilities for field research, he was unable to continue his studies among the Trumaí. He went instead to do ethnographic and linguistic work among the Gê-speaking Kraho in the state of Maranhão. There, in April 1939, he died.

Quain's research among the Trumaí was, therefore, interrupted and incomplete. He left it in the form of hand-written field notes and a diary. These were carefully and painstakingly arranged and typed by his mother, Dr. Fannie Dunn Quain. Several years after her son's death, Dr. Quain entrusted these notes to me with the understanding that if they proved to be of anthropological value, they would be prepared for publication or otherwise made available to scholars interested in the field. At one time I had hoped that another anthropologist might continue Quain's researches among the Trumaí, and that his notes might thus be incorporated into a more complete investigation of this little-known society. But, in 1946, I was informed by Eduardo Galvão, who had visited the upper Xingú River area, that the number of Trumaí had critically diminished and that Trumaí life was so seriously disorganized that it was doubtful whether they could exist as a tribal entity. It was apparent that little, if any, ethnographic data on the Trumaí beyond that contained in the scattered references of earlier anthropologists who had visited the region and the data in Buell Quain's notes would ever be available to us.

Robert F. Murphy therefore undertook to analyze, order, and prepare for publication the data gathered by Buell Quain. His task was first conceived as essentially that of an editor and a grant from the Buell Quain Fund was made to him for this purpose. It soon became clear that ordering and editing were not enough. While the notes were rich in detail and insights, there were many gaps which Quain certainly was aware of, and there were interpretations and generalizations about Trumaí culture which he undoubtedly would have inserted in his final report. Robert Murphy found that to understand Buell Quain's field work, he would have to immerse himself in the only available document-

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perienced. He told me of the effect of the tropical dawn on tropical forest peoples. Traveling in the dark, he noted, Indian canoemen tend to break the monotony by singing and talking, but just before the sun appears, they suddenly fall silent, as if in expectation of a sacred moment. Again and again, in camps and while traveling with Brazilian Indians, I was reminded of Quain's perception.

Although Robert Murphy rightly points out the decline of population and the trend toward disintegration of Trumaí culture even in 1938, the Trumaí were a functioning primitive society when Quain visited them. The upper Xingú River area was still very difficult to reach at that time. In 1938 access was by way of Cuyabá, the capital of Matto Grosso. Quain traveled from Cuyabá to the Indian post Simões Lopes by truck, then over savanna grasslands for six days on oxen, then down the Kuliseu River by canoe for seven days to a mission station maintained by Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Young. After a delay here of almost three weeks, he spent another three weeks reaching the Trumaí, traveling slowly and visiting several tribal groups *en route*. The Kamayurá, at whose village he stayed shortly, provided him with canoemen for the last lap of his journey. It took Quain 38 days to return up river and cross the savanna country to Simões Lopes on leaving the Trumaí in late 1938.

Quain's letters to his mother and to his colleagues describe his trip to the Trumaí vividly. To quote a passage telling of his experiences on the upper Kuliseu River on his way to the mission station:

> The river journey was pleasant, until we began to have trouble. Even then I enjoyed it thoroughly. I had too much baggage for two canoes as I had planned. We had to use three. Besides myself I have two Brazilian men and a boy to help with the canoes. I had to paddle one myself and I enjoyed it thoroughly — despite the fact that white men aren't supposed to do that kind of thing. I gave the largest canoe with the most valuable cargo to the Brazilian whom I thought was the best canoeist. He had the boy to help with the paddling and poling through the rapids. Nevertheless it was his canoe which filled with water on the second day. We had to stop on a rock ledge and spread the things out to dry. Lots of rice and beans, papers and books, etc. It was evening. Not until the next morning did we realize that the sun barely touched the rocky ledge that we had chosen for drying the cargo. There was a wind — the worst of the dampness was removed before nightfall. Everything went well until we struck some swift rapids on the fifth day, when the same large canoe wrapped itself around a rock and the cargo went sailing down the river about eight miles an hour. I managed to rescue everything but a bag of farinha, a frying pan, a fishline and a couple of cakes of the hard unrefined sugar, which forms an important part of the diet throughout Matto Grosso.[3]

And about the Indians he wrote from the missionary station:

> My work for the next month is going to be a jumble of languages. It may take a month to reach the Trumaí because the Indians like to rest all the time. This means that I will have ample time to contact several in each of three different linguistic families (Carib, Arawak, Tupí). The Trumaí are entirely unrelated. This

[3] Quain letter, July 13, 1938.

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Introduction

Many people do not read the prefaces to monographs. This one must be read in order to understand what follows.

The writer never met his co-author, Buell Quain, for Quain died sixteen years ago. Some six months before his death he had terminated a period of four months field research among the Trumaí Indians of the Xingú River in northern Matto Grosso, Brazil. Among his effects were his field notes, which represented the results of one of the most difficult investigations ever undertaken by an ethnologist.

In 1949, shortly after I commenced my graduate studies in anthropology, Professor Charles Wagley of Columbia University asked me to edit the Trumaí notes. After further consideration of the material, Professor Wagley and I concluded that the notes had been ordered as far as was possible by Quain's mother, Dr. Fannie Dunn Quain, and that they could best be presented in the form of a monograph, which I was to write.

First, let me describe Buell Quain's Trumaí notes. In essence they consist of a remarkably detailed field diary in which Quain had recorded the daily activities and events of the Trumaí village. If a woman walked from one house to another bearing food, it was duly stated. The play of the children, the facial expressions apparent during ceremonies, the slightest nuances of interpersonal behavior were all put into the notebook. Present also are charts showing the daily economic activities of every villager and a report, in all its minutiae, of what occurred in a household of an afternoon. Quain also set down in his daily log many comments made to him by his Trumaí informants and scraps of conversation which he overheard.

The notes are a triumph of participant observation. Quain understood very little Trumaí, although his diary shows that he was learning it rapidly by the time of his departure. He evidently maintained some communication with certain bilingual Trumaí by using Tupí, of which he appears to have had a fragmentary knowledge. Lacking the means to do detailed informant work, Quain leaned heavily on his observations of the behavior and activity of all the Trumaí, and he also learned much from his own personal interaction with them. He was deeply sensitive to the mutual relationships between himself and the subjects of his study, as he was completely alone in his sojourn; he did not even have a Brazilian backwoodsman for help and companionship. He entrusted

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Thirteenth Chapter

Meeting With the Trumaí

During the night Castro's canoe, the only one whose load was not brought to shore, floated away; in two hours it travels one legoa; Valentin and Satyr set out in pursuit.

●122 31 Aug. φ 11° 46'.5, λ 31'.6, km. 18.12, total 466.81.
132 4:10 A.M.: I 744.0, dry. 19.2.
6:45 A.M.: I 744.6, II 737.0, dry. 19.4, wet. 19.0, strc. 9°, water 25.8.
5:40 P.M.: I 744.4, II 735.6, dry. 24.8, wet. 21.9, horizon hazy 4, wind = 0, water 27.9.
9:45 P.M.: I 745.0, dry. 20.8.

484 "Vem os compadres! oh, quantas canoas!" suddenly rang
501 out around 10:00; "the compadres are coming; oh, how many
609 canoes!" The soldiers hastened from the nearby camp in the forest; everyone armed himself and watched the canoes drawing up picturesquely in a long row -- and a magnificent sight it was as one after another came around the bend and slowly drifted down the Kulisëu. Two Indians stood erect, with quiet composure, their bows in readiness; a third sat in the center and scarcely moved the oar. We counted 14 canoes and 43 persons.

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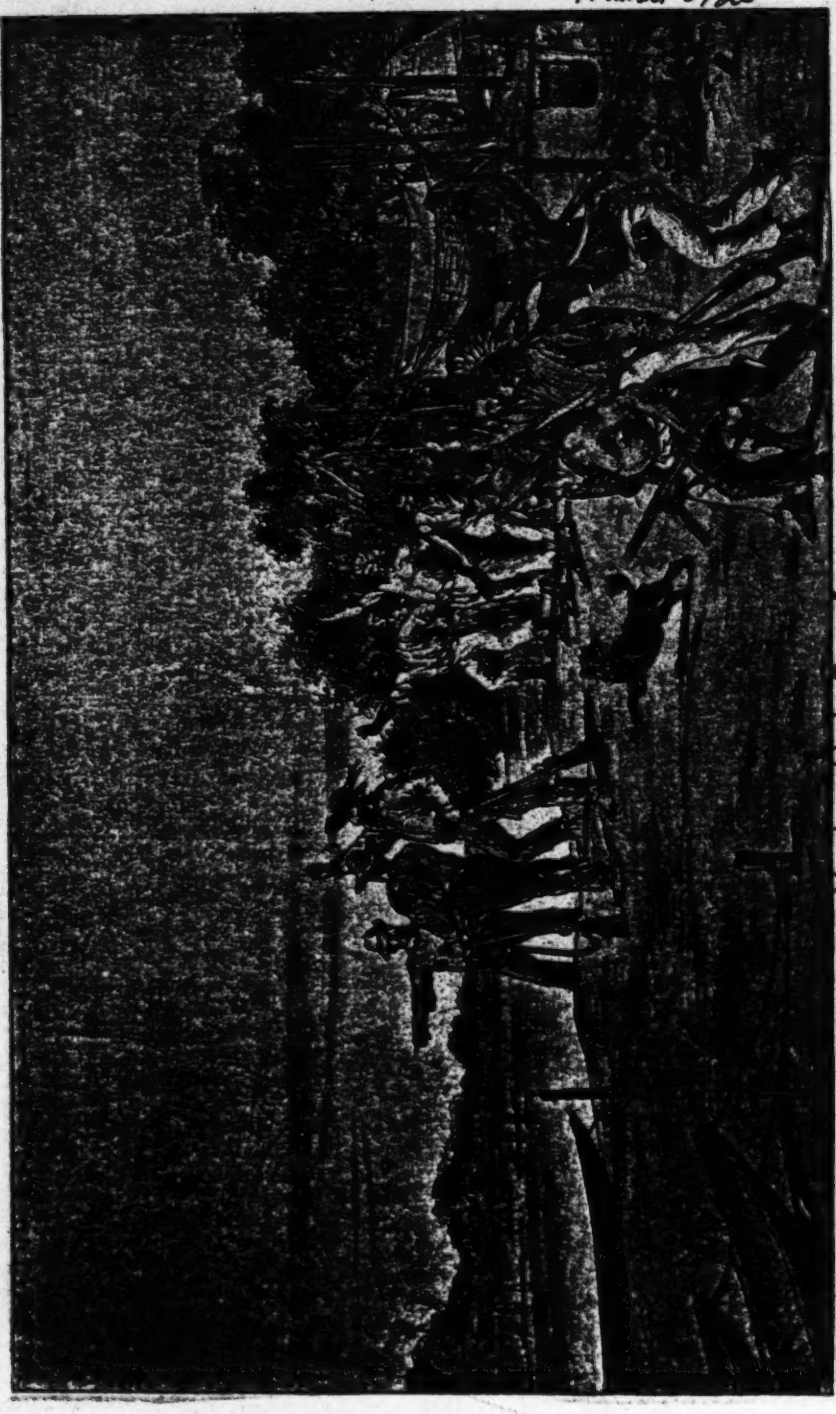

Meeting with the Trumaí.

T 123 /124 cont./ pocket along the way. A certain amount was obviously missing; I hope it was distributed among various fanciers and taken by them with some success for the skin diseases particularly common among the Yaulapiti.

T 126 Much as we were urged to depart, we still had to undertake at least the most important body measurements and would not relent; seven men were measured in haste, in between our packing, and the only photographic plate left was used for a group shot -- unfortunately ruined later.

T 122 At 9:45 we set out in two canoes, accompanied by four Trumaí. Three times one would have to sleep, they said, before reaching their villages. The Mehinakú could also be reached by way of the canals and only one day was needed to their second village. At 11:00 we landed near the Auetó village, at a place other than where we had left. In the damp T [136] leaves lay huge quantities of giant earthworms; wherever one put his foot, he stepped on them. The path led us to the two huts of the Yaulapiti-Auetǫ̃ families.

T 361 It is advisable to insert here what Vogel and Perrot reported about the Trumaí villages after their return home from Schingú-Koblenz. They had not caught sight of an Indian, but below the place where the Kulisehu empties into the Kuluëne, on a bank five meters high, they had found one Trumaí village of eight houses and, a kilometer farther east, a second one of five T 727 houses with buildings under construction among them. The Suyá had burned down all the houses and smashed whatever T 241 was left of large pots and utensils. There were plantings of remarkably large size and careful cultivation directly adjoining the T 764 villages. About ten fresh graves were noted; judging from the circular excavation, the corpses had been buried in a squatting position. They seemed to lie deep; at least they were /125/ not uncovered by some superficial subsequent digging. Antonio B 186 had been very alarmed when Perrot said to him: "o doutor Carlos precisa d'uma cabeça /Doctor Carlos wants a head/." It was only with great effort that Antonio had been persuaded to go along on the trip and expose himself to the possibility of meeting the detested Trumaí.

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Although Robert Murphy rightly points out the decline of population and the trend toward disintegration of Trumaí culture even in 1938, the Trumaí were a functioning primitive society when Quain visited them. The upper Xingú River area was still very difficult to reach at that time. In 1938 access was by way of Cuyabá, the capital of Matto Grosso. Quain traveled from Cuyabá to the Indian post Simões Lopes by truck, then over savanna grasslands for six days on oxen, then down the Kuliseu River by canoe for seven days to a mission station maintained by Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Young. After a delay here of almost three weeks, he spent another three weeks reaching the Trumaí, traveling slowly and visiting several tribal groups *en route*. The Kamayurá, at whose village he stayed shortly, provided him with canoemen for the last lap of his journey. It took Quain 38 days to return up river and cross the savanna country to Simões Lopes on leaving the Trumaí in late 1938.

Quain's letters to his mother and to his colleagues describe his trip to the Trumaí vividly. To quote a passage telling of his experiences on the upper Kuliseu River on his way to the mission station:

> The river journey was pleasant, until we began to have trouble. Even then I enjoyed it thoroughly. I had too much baggage for two canoes as I had planned. We had to use three. Besides myself I have two Brazilian men and a boy to help with the canoes. I had to paddle one myself and I enjoyed it thoroughly — despite the fact that white men aren't supposed to do that kind of thing. I gave the largest canoe with the most valuable cargo to the Brazilian whom I thought was the best canoeist. He had the boy to help with the paddling and poling through the rapids. Nevertheless it was his canoe which filled with water on the second day. We had to stop on a rock ledge and spread the things out to dry. Lots of rice and beans, papers and books, etc. It was evening. Not until the next morning did we realise that the sun barely touched the rocky ledge that we had chosen for drying the cargo. There was a wind — the worst of the dampness was removed before nightfall. Everything went well until we struck some swift rapids on the fifth day, when the same large canoe wrapped itself around a rock and the cargo went sailing down the river about eight miles an hour. I managed to rescue everything but a bag of farinha, a frying pan, a fishline and a couple of cakes of the hard unrefined sugar, which forms an important part of the diet throughout Matto Grosso.[9]

And about the Indians he wrote from the missionary station:

> My work for the next month is going to be a jumble of languages. It may take a month to reach the Trumaí because the Indians like to rest all the time. This means that I will have ample time to contact several in each of three different linguistic families (Carib, Arawak, Tupí). The Trumaí are entirely unrelated. This

[9] Quain letter, July 13, 1938.

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123 means that I simply must come back here soon, within the next five years — so I can take advantage of the long delay. I expect to know a lot of useful, but academically unimportant things about the Kuliseu before I get through. This is the place — if I ever heard of one — where a half-dozen ethnologists should be working. Friendly Indians as yet untouched; twenty or more villages within a radius of a month's travel — all of which are culturally different, one from the other. In fact nothing nicer can be imagined.[3]

114 Although several expeditions had penetrated the upper Xingú area before Quain's time, the greater part of the region was unexplored. Karl von den Steinen is perhaps the best known of the early investigators. Reports of his trips in 1884 and 1887 are given in *Durch Central-Brasilien: Erste Schingu Expedition*[4] and in *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*,[5] respectively. Together they provide us with the first ethnographic data on the tribes of the upper Xingú area. Von den Steinen was warned by the other tribes in the area not to visit the Trumaí, who were said to be dangerous warriors and antagonistic to all outsiders. But contact was made eventually, first with isolated individuals and later with two villages. Von den Steinen describes the small, thin people who received him and his colleagues with solicitous hospitality. [291] Some women still wore the traditional pubic covering, the *uluri*. The German ethnographer also noted the peculiar speech of the Trumaí, their excitability, their uneasy relationships and wars with neighboring tribes, and certain features of material culture.

Von den Steinen's expeditions were followed by numerous others, but only those of Hermann Meyer in 1896 and 1899,[6] Max Schmidt in 1901,[7] and Vincent Petrullo in 1931[8] had ethnological importance. Yet systematic knowledge of the upper Xingú tribes remained relatively scanty, limited to information mainly on material culture and word lists. In fact, until Quain's visit to the Trumaí, most of the ethnographic researches in the area were essentially in the nature of general surveys. Although Quain's data are incomplete, his was the first attempt to study with modern anthropological methods the life of an upper Xingú River tribe, and this at a time when the people of the area were still relatively undisturbed by outside influences.

197 Today, however, the long isolation of the upper Xingú River area is being broken. In 1945, an expedition of the Central Brazil Foundation, which aimed at opening a road through Brazil to the Amazon, penetrated the region, and constructed a landing strip. The Brazilian Indian Service now maintains a permanent post in the heart of this region, and several anthropologists (and numerous other scientists, journalists, and tourists) have traveled into the area by Brazilian Airforce planes.

[3] Quain letter, July 23, 1938.
[4] Von den Steinen 1897.
[5] Von den Steinen 1894.
[6] Meyer 1896—7 and 1900.
[7] Schmidt 1902—4.
[8] Petrullo 1932.

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Introduction

Many people do not read the prefaces to monographs. This one must 114
be read in order to understand what follows.

The writer never met his co-author, Buell Quain, for Quain died sixteen years ago. Some six months before his death he had terminated a period of four months field research among the Trumaí Indians of the Xingú River in northern Matto Grosso, Brazil. Among his effects were his field notes, which represented the results of one of the most difficult investigations ever undertaken by an ethnologist.

In 1949, shortly after I commenced my graduate studies in anthropology, Professor Charles Wagley of Columbia University asked me to edit the Trumaí notes. After further consideration of the material, Professor Wagley and I concluded that the notes had been ordered as far as was possible by Quain's mother, Dr. Fannie Dunn Quain, and that they could best be presented in the form of a monograph, which I was to write.

First, let me describe Buell Quain's Trumaí notes. In essence they 126
consist of a remarkably detailed field diary in which Quain had recorded the daily activities and events of the Trumaí village. If a woman walked from one house to another bearing food, it was duly stated. The play of the children, the facial expressions apparent during ceremonies, the slightest nuances of interpersonal behavior were all put into the notebook. Present also are charts showing the daily economic activities of every villager and a report, in all its minutiae, of what occurred in a household of an afternoon. Quain also set down in his daily log many comments made to him by his Trumaí informants and scraps of conversation which he overheard.

The notes are a triumph of participant observation. Quain understood 123
very little Trumaí, although his diary shows that he was learning it [122]
rapidly by the time of his departure. He evidently maintained some communication with certain bilingual Trumaí by using Tupí, of which he appears to have had a fragmentary knowledge. Lacking the means to do detailed informant work, Quain leaned heavily on his observations of the behavior and activity of all the Trumaí, and he also learned much from his own personal interaction with them. He was deeply sensitive to the mutual relationships between himself and the subjects of his study, as he was completely alone in his sojourn; he did not even have a Brazilian backwoodsman for help and companionship. He entrusted

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123 himself to the hospitality of the Indians and in return received their confidence.

A feeling of aloneness permeates the Quain notes. He was in the midst of people with whom he had limited communication, due not only to the obstacle of language, but to the cultural gulf separating him from them. The threat of enemy attack was at that time constant in the upper Xingú area; life was precarious and civilization far off. Perhaps this existence sharpened his observations and increased the depth of his insights, for these are fine notes. Buell Quain's Trumaí
114 field trip is part of a tradition of ethnographic field research of which the anthropological profession may well be proud. His story, told more fully by Dr. Charles Wagley in the Foreword, adds one more legend to the saga of primitivist studies.

114 My own role in the writing of this monograph was to assemble and order the facts collected by Quain and to evaluate the data in terms of
128 which behavior and attitudes are normative within Trumaí culture, which lie within the range of permissible variation, and how such traits are merged in the whole. Facts do not speak for themselves. The concept of culture implies an interrelatedness of the components, which, in turn, calls for interpretation on the part of the ethnologist. It might be said that the information is Quain's product; its ordering into a coherent description of Trumaí culture mine. It is impossible, however, to so neatly separate the Murphy from the Quain in this monograph, for Quain's interests and ideas have influenced my interpretation of the data. Conversely, the facts have no doubt been affected by the interpretation. For this reason, I have included as many illustrations and examples from the notes as was possible. I have also avoided generalizing statements in the actual description of Trumaí culture, and overall interpretations have been reserved for the conclusion. The final chapter, then, is my own view of the dynamics involved in the breakdown of Trumaí culture and society. The reader will by that time be in essential command of the data upon which the generalizations are based and free to make up his own mind.

128 Quain's most adequate information is on the closely interrelated subjects of personality, ethos, life cycle, and interpersonal behavior and attitudes. Material culture, technology, and religion are less thoroughly documented. Thus, the orientation of the monograph is the result of Quain's own interests. I have also visualized my task to be a description of the Trumaí Indians in 1938, and reference has been made to other sources only to place them in the context of history and the cultural landscape of the upper Xingú River region.

114 Quain's field work was never completed and the reader will find large gaps in this monograph. Undoubtedly, there are errors and much that is in disagreement with other data and other field workers. It is

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frighten Quain, too. One of their favorite stories was that the Nahukwa chief, Aloike, was coming to take Quain. Aloike was a powerful sorcerer and had a reputation for treachery among all the tribes, and the Nahukwa were probably feared more because of him than because of any traditional enmity.

Wild tales were also told out of sheer perversity. A party of Kamayurá came to visit and announced that Quain's father would arrive in an airplane with gifts for the Trumaí. On another occasion they said that a plane full of *karaíba* (white men) had landed at the house of Thomas Young, an American missionary who lived further up the Kuliseu.

The Trumaí, themselves, aggravated their own fears. One of them spoke at length in the men's circle on how the Kamayurá tortured their captives by piercing their arms and legs with arrow points. He also said that they beheaded them, stirred up their brains over a fire, and ate them. This was undoubtedly a false story born of fear and contrary to all the more reliable information on the treatment of captives. However, torture and ritual cannibalism of this sort once flourished in the tropical forest. It is, therefore, interesting that the Trumaí should know of such practices.

Due to the constant fear of surprise attack shared by all the tribes, it was considered bad policy to enter foreign territory without giving warning. This was done by building a fire. A party from the village then went out to investigate, unless it was definitely known who the intruders were. If a fire was seen by a traveling party, their canoes were beached and an answering fire was built.

Surprise meetings were to be avoided at all costs. When Quain was traveling on the Kuliseu with a Trumaí group, the sight of a Kamayurá canoe caused some concern. The chief was quite happy to note that Quain left his rifle in the bottom of the boat, thereby giving a peaceable appearance.

According to Dyott, an English explorer who descended the Xingú in 1938, arrows planted point first in the ground were "no trespassing" signs.[15] He also said that whistling arrows were shot in the air to warn strangers to stay away. The latter sign was, more accurately, an additional means of letting one's presence be known. Smoke spirals seen to the north or east always caused a great disturbance in the Trumaí village, as these were thought to be Suyá fires. Since the upper Xingú people approached from the south, fires seen in this direction caused little alarm unless there had been rumors of some aggressive act by the Kamayurá or Nahukwa.

Fear of attack at times approached the point of hysteria. The high tension might last a few days, after which it would decline to the normal

[15] Dyott 1930, pp. 283–84.

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Visits might be made to obtain a bride, engage in trade, participate in some intertribal ceremony, or for a combination of any of these reasons. Most visits were ostensibly of a purely social nature, but they were also used to frighten and impress. Stealing was frequent, especially when the host tribe, like the Trumaí, was weak. The Trumaí rarely protested against thefts while the visitors were still in the village, although they vehemently expressed their indignation later. Such discretion was due more to fear than etiquette.

The inferior position of the Trumaí was most evident when visitors were in the village. The Kamayurá, especially, treated the Trumaí with arrogance and contempt. At times they would enter the Trumaí village without having built the customary warning fire. The Trumaí, on the other hand, did everything possible to please their visitors and prove their generosity and good will toward them. Quain was berated by the Trumaí chief for being too niggardly toward the Kamayurá, and he found that greater respect was accorded to the Kamayurá chief than to either himself or the Trumaí chief. The Kamayurá felt slighted that Quain had not visited them instead of the contemptible Trumaí, and, when Quain went to meet the visiting Kamayurá chief, the latter turned away with an air of bored indifference.

The Kamayurá chief was immediately given a stool to sit on and was plied with cigarettes. When he threw one away after a few puffs, he was promptly given another. Deference was also paid to ordinary Kamayurá, although to a lesser degree. Once when such a member came to the Trumaí village alone, the man who received him rushed to Quain's house to borrow a chair in order to reach some tobacco which had been placed on a high shelf. He was in a great hurry, for it would not be good to keep his guest waiting.

This behavior stands in sharp contrast to a visit to the Kamayurá village made by Quain and a party of Trumaí. The chief delegated their reception to his brother. No special attention was paid to them, although the villagers were active and industrious in an apparent effort to impress. The Trumaí were not even asked to sit on the log in the village center.

Due to the extensive intertribal relations, command of a language besides one's own is common in the area generally. But since Trumaí is an independent tongue and the number of Trumaí small, it is probable that multilingual people were more frequent among them than in other tribes. Their "second" language was usually Kamayurá, but few outsiders spoke Trumaí, although more understood it. When Kamayurá came to visit, conversation was ordinarily in their tongue. Of the three foreign women in the Trumaí village, only the Suyá woman could speak even a broken Trumaí. Since the Suyá had no peaceful relations with the tribes of the headwaters, the Gê language was not widely known there. The other two foreign women merely understood Trumaí.

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although a Mehinaku woman and a Suyá woman who had dwelled among the Waurá were living there.

The origin of specialization apparently lies in the diversity of the original cultures of the upper Xingú tribes. While a great degree of cultural homogeneity was subsequently attained through interaction and diffusion, certain culturally specialized items became integral to the trade relationships that were a functional part of intertribal social life. Trade became standardized, and monopolies were thereby perpetuated. The Kamayurá-type bow and the Waurá pot were not only essential to the Trumaí economy, but trade in these items with these tribes was expected and served to reinforce the structure of the supra-village society.

In addition to trade in specialized products, there was active exchange of other items of Western and native manufacture, such as feathers, fishhooks, line, cotton yarn, cloth, paper, beads, and trinkets. This, however, did not require organized trading trips, as did the exchange of the specialized products. The Trumaí traveled for the specific purpose of trading salt or securing pots and bows, although such transactions were also carried out during ordinary visits and at intertribal ceremonials. The non-specialized items were taken along on all visits in anticipation of a lively afternoon of trading, but they were incidental to such expeditions.

Despite the economic foundation of upper Xingú trade, all exchanges were considered gifts. No aspect of trade was recognized as divorced from personal relations. Food was shared freely in the community and did not enter into trade. Quain was the only person in the Trumaí village who traded to obtain food.

Quain believed that there was a scale of values and a concept of equivalence in trade, as certain proffered articles were rejected by sellers as inadequate. The individual exchanges indicated some equivalence, and there was a tendency for particular categories of goods to be exchanged. Men traded arrows for fishhooks and gourds for small pots. Trinkets also formed a class. However, when dealing in specialized products, payment in another specialty was not required. Western goods were especially desired. Knives and axes were in great demand, and, once given to an Indian by a white man, they entered into active trade circulation. There was sufficient cross-cutting between the classes of articles to suggest the operation of a more comprehensive scale of values, but, unfortunately, Quain had to leave the Trumaí before this could be verified.

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Older boys and men went into the forest to cut down the trees and bring the boughs back to the village. The men then took turns in pounding the boughs into coarse fiber with the blunt end of an axe. Even men who did not participate in the gathering of the boughs helped in their reduction into fiber.

The group nature of the work is understandable in view of the communal labor and benefits involved in fish poisoning. Once the boughs were reduced, the fibers were cut into sheaves of about two and one-half feet in length. These sheaves were used to poison the water. Interestingly, both bark and wood were pounded up together, although, according to Quain, only the bark is poisonous.

The *buriti* palm supplied two raw materials, *isinke* and *isinke hut'*. *Isinke* was obtained from the heart of the young spike of the growing tip of the palm. The top was separated to give access to the heart, and long fibers were pulled out, which were then hung in the interior of the house to dry. When dry they resembled a heavy hemp, and were used to make cord. *Isinke hut'* is the leaf of the *buriti*, which was used in basketry.

Hunting

Hunting was not important at any time during Quain's stay. Tapir, peccary, deer, monkey, jaguar, squirrel and paca, a large rodent, are among the animals mentioned by Quain as being found in the vicinity, but only the monkey and paca were eaten. Birds were also eaten, and their feathers were used for ornamentation. Terrapin were caught by hand, either by creeping up on them or by swimming close to them under water and grabbing them by the shell. All other game was shot with the bow and arrow, except for the capybara, called *tsimo* by the Trumaí. Canoeists speared the swimming animals. The spear was used at no other time in hunting or fishing, although the Yaulapití speared fish.

Quain saw no organized hunting parties. One or two men sometimes set out with the express intention of hunting, but most animals were shot while on fishing or gathering expeditions. The Trumaí did not rely on meat, nor did they show a craving for it. Hunting seemed to be more a pastime and sport than a subsistence activity. When Quain hunted with the Trumaí he noticed that they wanted him to kill birds more for their feathers than for their meat. They also wanted him to kill several entirely worthless birds because, as two of the men expressed it, they wanted "to see it."

Foods

The horticulture, fishing and gathering economy of the Trumaí gave them a fair variety and adequate quantity of food during most of the year, barring crop failure. The Trumaí, however, had a considerably

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was working on the roof, the other thatched the wall facing the forest, and the house was subsequently occupied while work was still proceeding on that wall. The wall toward the village was temporarily hung with cloth drapes for privacy, although for purposes of protection from enemies the opposite side was thatched first. 342

Additional thatch was placed on the house at the beginning of the rainy season. At that time light poles were bound to the frame for greater support. The chief's house began to sag from the weight of the thatch, and braces had to be put under the ridge pole. Two posts, as heavy as the center posts, were crossed just below the ridge pole and bound together. A few men got behind each post and pushed so that the poles would assume a more nearly vertical position and give firmer support to the ridge poles. When this had been accomplished, the bases of the posts were set in holes. 342 335

Quain had the opportunity to observe two houses being constructed: his own and a fifth dwelling being built by two Trumaí men. His own small house took one week to build. The work started off with a great burst of effort, and in four hours all the wall posts, center posts and the ridge pole were in place. However, every day thereafter progress became increasingly slower. 123 342 461

House styles and construction were not rigidly conventionalized. The Trumaí helped build a house for the missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Young, and they thought that Quain, being a *kuxáibe* (white man), would like one such as the Youngs had designed for themselves. When they were half finished with the frame, Quain realized what was happening, and asked for a haystack house like theirs. The revision was made easily and the result was a hybrid. This, added to the fact that two of the houses in the village were much larger than the other two, indicated a certain flexibility and willingness to imitate. The Kamayurá classified the different posts and poles that went into house building, but the Trumaí had only very broad terms for the corresponding parts. 123 341 [347] [192] [335]

The heavy work of raising the ridge pole, stepping in braces, and carrying and inserting center posts was done cooperatively. These joint labors, although brief and infrequent, made for a festive occasion and gave rise to laughter and gaiety, an unusual thing among the men. With the exception of operations requiring the combined efforts of more men, the house was built by the males who were to occupy it. Women took no part in the building. Yanahi and Mayuva, who were building a new house, shared the work unequally, Yanahi doing the larger part. They did not always work at the same time, and, when they did, they worked on separate sections of the house. 335 342 476 [462]

Quain's house was built cooperatively because he was an outsider, and it was the obligation of the whole community to accommodate him. 123 342 476 574

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The situation[1] was comparable to the previously mentioned communal planting of the garden of the Kamayurá, Uluku.

Canoes

The standard bark canoe of the upper Xingú was made and used by the Trumaí.[4] Construction was simple and much less time was required to complete it than the typical dugout canoe of the tropical forest. A long, rectangular piece of bark was cut from the *jatobá* tree by men standing on platforms. The bark was then heated over a fire to soften it. The sides were bent up, and the top end of the bark, which narrowed slightly, was made into the bow by bending it upwards. The center of the stern was bent inwards, allowing the whole stern to be well above the water. Leaks were mended with patches of river mud or clay. Propulsion was by paddle, although occasionally poles were used.

There was also one small dugout in the village which belonged to Aloari, Quain's cook and helper. Aloari had been a Yuruna captive, and it was undoubtedly during this experience that he had learned to make this type craft. He also had a bark canoe and was the only Trumaí to own two canoes.

Basketry

The Trumaí men manufactured baskets that were variously shaped and served several purposes. In general, the Trumaí were less skilled in this art than their upper Xingú neighbors. Among the baskets described by Quain was a deep, round tray made of *buriti* fiber and another which was used to store manioc flour and, when equipped with shoulder and forehead tumplines, to carry loads. The latter was an openwork container made of bark strips. A smaller basket of this type was made of *buriti* fibers. The manioc sieve, or *tuafi*, was made of stiff *buriti* fronds and was also used to store small articles. It was made by the women. The women also made a bark cloth bag known as the *tdesnit*, a term that, in addition, designated the female pubic covering.

All of the baskets and similar containers described by Quain were made by other groups of the area, but the art of manufacturing certain varieties was known to only a few Trumaí. Some baskets were obtained in trade.

Textiles

All work in cotton was the exclusive province of the women. Hammocks of both twined and woven types were made. The loom consisted of two upright posts between which a warp of *buriti* fiber was extended.

[4] Cf. von den Steinen 1897, pp. 322–23.

[1] [i.e. building Quain's house -- Analyst]

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Necklaces were made by tying feathers to a cotton cord with *buriti* fibers. Headdresses included one consisting of a ring of cotton threads with colored feathers attached. The front feathers were long and formed a sort of plume. Another headdress, a feather topknot tied to a cotton headnet, was captured in warfare with the Caiabí. A third was a crown woven of bamboo splints traded from the Waurá for arrow feathers. There were probably many other kinds, as intertribal trade in headdresses was lively.

Belts and anklets were also traded between tribes. A few Brazilian type shirts and hats had found their way into the Trumaí village. They had been obtained from travelers in the region, and especially from the missionaries, Thomas Young and his wife.

The men wore their hair cut straight around the head on a line even with the tops of the ears. A small patch on the crown was plucked, but Quain noted that the Trumaí were much less careful about keeping these parts free of new growth than were the neighboring groups. The scissors which Quain gave to one of the men replaced the old method of hair cutting with an instrument made of *piranha* teeth. A composite comb (*kuwau*) was also used. The back was made of two parallel pieces of cane joined by cotton thread and the teeth of splints from the small roots of a palm-like shrub.

The Trumaí used several vegetable paints to decorate their bodies. This method of adornment was always invoked for ceremonies, and often for wrestling, or when there were guests. The paint most commonly used was the red *urucú* (*matdot*) which was grown in the gardens. The *urucú* was made into a paste by mixing it with oil from the visceral fat of a fish. The paste could be rolled into a ball and applied directly, or spread with the fingers or a spatula made from the middle rib of the *buriti* leaf.

Other body paints were *tawariri*, a black tree gum mixed with soot, and a preparation made from *piqui* fruit and fish oil. There was also a dye, *atdot*, which was not described, and one or two other paints which Quain was unable to identify. *Jany*, a non-decorative paste made from the liver of a fish, was used to ward off insects.

Designs included dots, crescents, zig-zags, circles, curves, straight lines, and combinations of these. Quain observed several standard patterns, many of which were symbolic; others were possibly symbolic representations also, but he was unable to learn their meanings.

One man painted crescents on his chest above either nipple which he said represented vaginas. A rattlesnake design consisted of a half ellipse on the flanks with dots in the center. Quain was told that a design of red spots, with two near the nipples ringed in black, was a boa constrictor. Another snake pattern, made by painting zig-zags down the sides and back, was used on one of the posts erected during the *ole* ceremony.

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the greatest time and effort into its building. Quain was reprimanded for speaking of the house in which Maibu lived as "Maibu's," for his brother-in-law, Mata'wai, had built it. This point of property was confirmed by others, despite the fact that Maibu was the head of the household and acted as host when guests entered.

To the Trumaí, the only important property was in the personal possession of transportable, material artifacts. These ranged from tools and weapons to ceremonial objects and trinkets obtained from Quain. The second class of property was probably cherished more than the first, which was viewed as consisting of everyday necessities. The combs, feathers, beads, European novelties, papers, and other such items that all men and women possessed were carefully kept in baskets and gourds near their hammocks. A man and wife would often keep some of their personal belongings in the same containers, but beyond this there was a special category of personal possessions called *wacta*. This highly valued personal property was kept by each individual in separate gourds, where it was safe from the gift claims of kinsmen and reasonably free from the danger of theft.

The privacy of this property was especially observed by opposite sexes, although not as strictly by mates. Quain was told by one man that it was "bad" for a man to look at a woman's *wacta*, although he rummaged at will through the personal belongings of the men. The taboo on male contact with women's *wacta* was due in part to inclusion within it of articles used during menstruation.

Accompanying the stress on personal and private ownership of certain material objects was a strong sense of acquisitiveness. Quain expressed this as follows: "There can be no doubt that property ownership is a paramount drive in this culture. Children are not content to see, as they are in Fiji, but things must be theirs. The possessive pronoun has an importance here which is striking. Once articles are received, they seem to disappear. They are probably carefully guarded among personal belongings." Significantly, the word for "gift-giving," literally translated, also means "to yield to a demand."

The Trumaí were tremendously interested in Quain's belongings and made continual attempts to acquire them. Adults as well as children whined in order to obtain objects from him. This attitude was manifested towards useful objects such as knives and axes, but they also pleaded and begged for articles having only curiosity value to them. As Quain said, to be curious about an object was to want it. Possession was desired for its own sake, for only slight prestige was gained by accumulating material objects, and utilitarian articles, such as knives, axes, and pots, were easily borrowed.

Despite the possessiveness described by Quain, the Trumaí were restricted by strong gift-giving ties. A true brother or a son had a claim

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These were noisy affairs. The seller threw his merchandise on the ground and loosed an exultant shout. All the participants cried out in response. Occasionally the goods were offered in the hope of acquiring a desired article from a certain person, but usually they were put up for barter with the general public. In this case, whoever wanted the item went back to his house and brought an article to exchange. He placed this on the floor and picked up his purchase. Often the seller refused the proffered exchange and waited for a better offer. If the trade was consummated, another loud shout was given by the audience. These exchanges went on until the participants lost interest, or until no more goods were offered.

All exchanges were considered to be gift-giving. This was especially true of trade between fellow-Trumaí. When members of other groups were involved, trade was at least formally so considered, although the behavior and attitudes in gift-giving, proper, were quite different. When Quain made exchanges he was always admonished to tell his wife who the donor of the "gift" was.

Within the Trumaí village gift-giving and not trade was the usual form of property distribution, especially between kinsmen. A man might trade with a person whom he called mother's brother, or father's brother, or some other relationship term, but this was almost always a kin bond reckoned by extension, and not a close blood tie.

Women participated little in the men's trade games. In part this was due to the sexual dichotomy that operated in social participation generally, in part to the nature of the goods involved. A woman did not want to buy a man's fish hooks any more than he wanted her cotton. Occasionally a woman might break into the male trade game to buy a particular object, but once this was accomplished she would withdraw. A few women might sit around the house where the trade game was being held, especially if their husbands were participating. Occasionally the women held their own trade games in which cotton and household utensils were commonly bartered. Conventional shouts accompanied their activities, but they were less boisterous than those of the men.

The women were especially eager to trade with Quain, to get his cloth and colored thread in exchange for food, which normally was given away. The chief was also a main instigator of trade games with Quain. At times Quain refused to participate to the great annoyance of the would-be second party.

The trade game reflected the Trumaí attitude towards property, in that it provided more enjoyment and excitement than any other form of social participation, except intertribal festivities. Each exchange was watched with bated breath, and the outcome greeted with happy cries and laughter. There was some indication that the most dominant and forward personalities were also the most energetic traders. It was

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Quain was told that the Kamayurá were "bad," because they permitted marriage with a sister's daughter.[8]

Cross-cousin marriage is correlated with sororal polygyny among the Trumaí and with the sexual privileges that a man may take with his wife's sister. No indication was found of the sororate, despite its probable acceptability. There was only one case of the levirate, and that was the marriage of the chief to his dead brother's wife. That the levirate is expected but not compulsory is apparent in the case of Yati and his brother's widow Vatsiat. She resided in Yati's house, and they performed many necessary, sexually specialized functions for each other. Although their hammocks were some distance apart, Vatsiat called him *ece* (husband) and became quite incensed at one of his paramours. However, Yati called her *apizi* (sibling), and apparently felt that there were no marital obligations between them. He had his love-life, which did not include her, and he showed no sign of annoyance at her escapades. It was a standing joke that every man in the village had sexual relations with Vatsiat, except where an incest taboo prohibited it.

Marriage between people of different generations, especially between older women and younger men, was frequent; but the rules governing such unions are obscure. It was specifically frowned upon for a man to marry his mother's brother's widow. However, when one young man did so, he was only mildly ridiculed and censured, and his status in the village was little affected.

Joking Relations

Cross-cousins were not the only acceptable marriage partners, but they were the only ones with whom marriage was expected and especially approved. Also, patterned and expected joking existed only between these kin. Cross-cousins of the same sex, especially males, bantered with each other, but most sexual joking occurred between men and women. Thus, Aloari enjoyed making suggestive remarks to the rather old and ugly Vatsiat and frequently accused her of improprieties with various men. On one occasion, partly for Quain's benefit, he threw her on her back and went through the motions of coitus.

Cross-cousins of the same sex confined their joking to pranks and good-natured raillery, *ami tarajau*, which Quain translates as "cross-cousin talk." Mayuva teased Yati, who had a phobia of frogs, by chasing after him with a frog hanging from a stick. Both men and women made great sport of urging Quain to throw their cross-cousins out of his house. On one occasion, Quain, experimentally, made sexual suggestions to several women who had congregated in his house. They all ran out laughing shrilly, but one came back later to be reassured that it was

[8] Cf. Oberg 1953, p. 44.

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only *ami tarajau*. *Ami tarajau* also took the form of mock name-calling contests between men.

The Trumaí found great amusement in minor accidents that befell others and in humorous gossip, without regard to kinship. Jokes played by one person on another, however, usually occurred between cross-cousins.

Avoidance and Respect

Taboos on the names or persons of affinal relatives were observed by the Trumaí, because, as they said, they felt *valty* (ashamed) toward them. The strongest prohibited a man from speaking the name of his parents-in-law or being in their presence. Thus, a man would not enter a house in which his father-in-law was visiting or join the men's circle if he were there. Parents-in-law were the only affinals whose persons were avoided, and this was most strictly observed between a man and his father-in-law. Due to the short life span, social intercourse was little interrupted by this practice; only one father-in-law and two mothers-in-law lived in the Trumaí village. However, they figured importantly in marital troubles, since parents always took the part of their own offspring in a conflict between mates. Aloari felt bitter about his dead mother-in-law, because she had helped his wife to kill their first two children at birth. The avoidance of a father-in-law's name was so strict that a Trumaí man could not mention his own son's second name, because it was inherited from his wife's father.

Name avoidance was also invoked to some degree with respect to the second ascending generation of affinals. A wife's grandparents could be referred to by name, but only in a whisper, while no such inhibitions were observed when addressing the wife herself by the name.[7]

The Trumaí were ashamed toward the wife's brother and the sister's husband. This was expressed by name avoidance and a respect relation. If there were children, a man could avoid the use of his brother-in-law's name by calling him *deta a'o* (sister's son's father) in the case of a sister's husband, or *apat'awe* (child's mother's brother), if he was the wife's brother. Respect was shown by offering the affinal a chair or by other small courtesies or gift-giving. Since an affinal of the same generation was often a cross-cousin, the joking and respect relationships overlapped rather curiously. While Yati and his cross-cousin and brother-in-law Mayuva played pranks on or feigned anger at one another, they showed great mutual deference at other times. Immediately after Yati told Quain to throw Mayuva out of his house, Mayuva rolled a cigarette for Yati and lit it for him. Manifestly, the two prescribed patterns caused no conflict.

[7] This probably illustrates some overlapping between name avoidance and the taboo on speaking the name of a dead person.

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pursue their individual affairs. Maibu made speeches in the evening men's circle or in the early morning, telling the men to plant their gardens or urging all to gather *piqui* fruit. Such proddings had little meaning, as they were usually made during the appropriate season for these activities, and most people would have planted or gathered as a matter of course.

Those who did not choose to do what Maibu suggested went their own way, whether it was to fish or sleep. Maibu was a gadfly; yet he was the conscience of the Trumaí. Perhaps more people would have procrastinated if it had not been for his admonitions. He was truly interested in the good of the village. He asked Quain for presents only for others, never for himself.

Cooperative work on the community level was usually organized by Maibu. The decision to perform such work was generally made by common agreement, but it was the chief's function to recruit the necessary labor and see that the task was done. This he did with varying degrees of success, for his power was limited.

The chief was accorded much more respect by his housemates and close kinsmen than by the rest of the villagers. The people resisted him in varying degrees, depending on their relationship to him and their individual personalities. His control over the women was particularly weak. When Quain first arrived, they refused to carry water for him, despite Maibu's orders. When they realized that they were to be given gifts for their trouble they grudgingly consented to do so, but, in the meantime, the chief had fetched the water, since the performance of such tasks for an outsider was the responsibility of the village as a whole, and no other man would do women's work.

Referring to the limitations on chiefly powers, Quain noted, "Maibu has to put up with a lot of booing and do a lot of talking. Obedience comes to him only after a long time. He seems to have no 'big stick.'" The Trumaí chief had no coercive power whatsoever. This particular headman was not a powerful shaman, although such a combination was possible and would undoubtedly have enhanced his position. The only act of a supernatural nature that he could perform was curing by sucking and blowing smoke, which was practiced by almost every adult Trumaí male.

Maibu was often completely ignored, and some of the men made a point of flouting his authority. The men of Aloari's house were extremely antagonistic toward him and told Quain that he was not a true "*aek*." These men rarely took part in the few group work projects and usually they were also absent from the wrestling matches. Their own prestige motives and individual inclinations brought them into frequent conflict with Maibu, both in his capacity as the man of highest status and as the village goad. Their resentment of authority never resulted in

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Aloari took over the post of *aek* by dint of personality and not by regular succession. Even if Jawaku had died, Aloari would not have been a logical heir. Manifestly, patrilineality was very fluid.

Conflict

In cases of interpersonal strife in the village, there was no mediator. The chief usually dissociated himself from these arguments and let the litigants shout it out. Maibu, described by Quain as a happy extrovert and a secure person, was involved in few personal quarrels. He did have occasional difficulties in discharging his office. For instance, Tun and Aloari refused to help build Quain's house on the grounds that he was only a *camara*, or person of low status. There then ensued a loud argument in the village plaza between Aloari and Maibu in which each tried to shout the other down. The men sat around and watched in bored amusement. Finally, to break it up, they tried to get Quain to sing. When Maibu grew weary and retired, Aloari continued to talk, but was greeted with hoots of derision.

Aloari was continually embroiled with the other villagers. He refused to finish thatching his house for the rainy season because he wanted the community to move to an old village site where there were fewer insects. His protests were to no avail. The village remained where it was.

Protests against the chief or the village as a whole did not often result in open conflict. For the most part, they were expressed by grumbling, non-compliance, and threats to leave. No action except ridicule was taken against dissidents. Disputes usually took the form of shouted arguments in the evening men's circle. The closest approximation to the use of force was a mock wrestling match between the disputants, in which light slaps and holds were mixed with talk. During one argument, a club was waved.

Unwarranted use of force was regarded as a serious offense. Quain learned this at first hand after he had been among the Trumaí for two and a half months and had established excellent relations with them. When Autsuki, an adolescent boy, who had been told not to take any flour from a sack in Quain's house, persisted in doing so, Quain knocked the flour from his hand. Autsuki left the house, laughing derisively. Instantly, however, the entire village was astir. The men gathered in the plaza for a serious discussion. The boy's *tawes* (mother's brothers) came to Quain's house to demand an explanation, as did the chief. Fortunately, except for his pride, Autsuki was not hurt, and the matter was allowed to drop. Maibu, however, seeing that Quain was still annoyed, invited him to come into the center of the village and make a speech in his native tongue, the standard Trumaí escape-valve.

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626 828 154 On these occasions the men usually unburdened themselves in the village center. Malice was expressed either by a verbal interchange with the opponent or an angry speech. The substance of the latter type of demonstration often was not related to the cause of the dispute or to the speaker's discontent. Manifestly, the function of the harangue was to provide an emotional outlet rather than a forum. Maibu's suggestion that Quain should make a speech in his own language underlines the fact that the externalization of anger was the paramount purpose.

154 626 123 Emotional release could also be found in contrived performances. Quain, feeling depressed one evening, refused to sing when the Trumaí asked him to. However, when Maibu proposed a mock argument, Quain, being a good ethnologist, complied. Facing each other in the village center, the two men hurled epithets and insults at each other at the top of their voices. When Quain was at a loss for something to say, Maibu suggested that he repeat a speech he had made about the theft of his supplies. At the conclusion Quain reported, "I felt very good when I shouted at him for a while, and I was quite willing to sing."

683 692 In cases of physical harm, settlement could be obtained by paying the injured person. Quain was told that after the spear-throwing contest, the Kamayurá and the Trumaí each paid indemnities for bruises inflicted.[9] No case of physical violence was observed by Quain, but when [123] he slapped the flour from the boy's hand, and again when he stepped on a child's foot, the Trumaí suggested that he pay something. The latter case was an obvious attempt at petty extortion, for a week later the same child had his foot stepped on by a Trumaí, but this time the only result was an admonition from his father to be quiet.

626 754 [186] Still another alternative to violence was found in witchcraft. Only one or two Trumaí knew the practice of sorcery, and these men were said to have learned it from the Nahukwa, who were much feared because of their dangerous skill. Sorcery was usually invoked covertly, but at least once in an argument its use was openly threatened. This, however, was regarded as a most reprehensible action.

578 154 The chief source of conflict in the village was sex. Quarrels over who was to marry the three available women raged throughout Quain's stay. Bride-capture, the large percentage of older women, and polygamy combined to make the allotment of women an extremely sore point. The story of the battle over one woman is worth reporting, as it illustrates both patterned interpersonal relationships and the ways in which anger could be expressed and channeled.

578 584 154 Three men wanted to marry Kuyafi, a widow with a child. They were Oirupa the sorcerer, Mayuva, her sister's husband, and Nitvary. Kuyafi, it was said, had once had a child by Nitvary, so his claim was a strong one. So also was Mayuva's, as he had recognized sexual rights over her

[9] Cf. Galvão 1950, p. 363.

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with prestige. Aloari, who later became chief, was classified as a *camara* at the time of Quain's visit.

At the top of the Trumaí prestige scale was the chief. His authority was limited, but he was more respected than any other man. The two sub-chiefs enjoyed some, but not much, prestige. Matiwana was an old man, and old age decreases status among the Trumaí. He took the lead in group curing ceremonies, however, and was the repository of much Trumaí lore and learning. Nor was Katauka, the other sub-chief, very influential. And neither official had the privilege of "talking" to the people as Maibu did. That Katauka was a shaman and Matiwana the chief curer of the village contributed more to their prestige than did their position as sub-chiefs or their membership in the *aek* class. Tun, the shaman, and Oirupa, the sorcerer, ranked just below the chief in importance. The former enjoyed some standing as his prognostications of enemy movements were relied upon and respected by everybody. Oirupa had added power only because he was feared.

The only other criteria of status were youth and aggressiveness. Property was not a point of prestige, but those whose assertive attitudes gave them some status and influence were also those who manifested an accumulative attitude toward property. Youth and sexual prowess were highly regarded. Boasting about sexual exploits was usually done privately, but great pride was taken in them. This was related to the general esteem in which youth, size and vigor were held. To be a successful wrestler, therefore, enhanced a man's position. The Trumaí were also impressed by Quain's height and wanted to know what kind of medicines white men used to make them so tall. There was no warrior class and no special status for success in combat, except insofar as it was an indication of strength and courage.

As noted above, the status of old men was very low, except when they had special knowledge or office. Yet these attributes did not protect Matiwana from being contemptuously referred to as an old man. Moreover, Quain was severely criticized for giving presents to old Yahu, most of whose property had already been claimed by others, since the Trumaí did not think it proper that one so old should have any possessions beyond fishing and hunting equipment and other necessities. A favorite insult among the Trumaí was to tell someone he was old, and by implication that he no longer bathed or was able to fornicate.

Prestige variations, on the whole, were not great in the Trumaí village. The community had no clearly defined social groupings based on status, nor were there social mechanisms for human exploitation. Variations in wealth were slight, and their only significance was that one man might have more tools and trinkets than another. It is possible, however, that before the Trumaí had declined to their present low estate, prestige and authority were more clearly patterned, as they still were in the Kamayurá village.

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Diagnosis and Treatment of Disease

Illness was believed to be caused primarily by witchcraft and, secondarily, by the breaking of a taboo or by contagion. Headaches, bloated stomach (*pihl*) and stomach aches were among the common symptoms of bewitchment. The tremendous fear of black magic probably added greatly to the severity of these afflictions. During Quain's stay the women appeared to complain more of sorcery as a cause of their illnesses than did the men, but this self-diagnosis was not always accepted.

Trumaí concepts regarding contagion were generally loose, and they often fused with witchcraft beliefs. Contagion was acknowledged to be a possible cause of illness, but if death followed, it would in all probability be laid to sorcery. The Trumaí knew that epidemics of pulmonary diseases were associated with the coming of white men, and they were especially worried that when the rainy season arrived Quain would give them coughs and fevers. Indeed, one night when Quain complained of illness and retired to his hammock with a headache, this eventuality was vigorously discussed.

The Trumaí called such a threat *tun*, a word that can be translated only as a malignant influence causing disease. *Tun* was said to exist around sick people or in places where there was known to be danger of contamination. Thus, when several of the people of Jakwanari's household were sick, everyone avoided the house, for it was full of *tun*. Aloari said that the waterfront, also, was full of *tun*. He preferred to bathe from a pottery vessel outside his house. Ringworm, however, was known to be caused by natural means.

The word *okei*, while referring to sorcery under certain conditions, was also a general term for medicinal preparations. Thus, *okei* of various kinds were used in different stages of the life crisis rituals and also in the treatment of various ailments. Roots were extensively used for medicinal purposes. Maibu rubbed his wife's head with the extract of a root (*ipox*) when she had a headache. Another root (*murukuyu*) supplied the basic ingredient for eye drops, and still another was prescribed for ringworm.

The Trumaí were subject to severe boils which were treated by piercing. This was a woman's specialty, and it was usually done by the wife or a close relative of the afflicted person. All other curing, both secular and supernatural, was done by men. Herbal medicines were used exclusively for such ailments as ringworm, but most cures involved both botanical and supernatural means used in conjunction.

Illness was treated by both individual curers and group ceremonies. The practice of individual shamanistic curing, known as *jau'kath*, had much in common with similar arts throughout South America. The main techniques employed were tobacco smoke and sucking. Great

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clouds of tobacco smoke were first blown over the affected area by the curer who then, with noisy inhalations, sucked that part of the body in which the ailment appeared to be localized. Insofar as Quain was able to determine, no foreign objects were "extracted," and he was not given any explanation as to why the treatment worked.

Knowledge of curing was widespread among the men. All the men knew how to use botanicals, and over half, all said to have been taught by Matiwana, knew the art of *jau'kath*. Men cured their wives, children, or other close blood relatives. When Aloari was treating his son's ringworm he was asked by Quain whether he would also treat a young boy who was only indirectly related. Aloari refused because the boy had closer kinsmen who could perform this act. Kayaru developed a swollen breast, and it was Yanahi, her sister's son, who performed *jau'kath* on it. All men treated the members of their biological families with medicines, but those who did not know the shamanistic cure relied on a practitioner from outside the immediate family.

Matiwana treated his son Yati without recompense, but when his daughter's husband became ill, the latter paid him for the cure with a pot. The kinship ties by which curing was free to certain relatives probably corresponded closely to the pattern of gift-giving obligations. Payments for medical treatment were called *okei pop* (medicine gift). Quain was usually given small payments for the many cures he performed for the Trumaí. In no case could it be said that any curer derived a significant income from his services.

Group Curing Ceremony

The only time that Quain witnessed the group curing ceremony (*kevere*) was on an occasion two weeks after his arrival. He noted the formal aspects carefully, but he was unable to ascertain their meanings, since his command of the language at that time was so meagre.

Maibu's wife, Matavitsa, was sick and wasted when Quain arrived in the village. Her husband had been treating her for some time by the shamanistic means of tobacco smoke and sucking, but with little success. It was decided to hold a ceremonial cure, although shamanistic techniques were not ruled out. Nearly all the adult men of the village gathered in Maibu's house for the ritual, which lasted for three hours. No women were admitted, and the door was kept closed. The *kevere* was strictly prohibited to females, and the men would not even talk of it in their presence. The women seemed to regard Quain's status as doubtful, for Maibu's sister told him that he would die if he entered. He refused to be dissuaded, and upon entering was motioned to a seat.

The men were ranged in a broad semi-circle along the side of the house opposite the sick woman's hammock. Matiwana, who was in charge of

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Crow appeared as a trickster and, although not a creator deity, managed to bring forth new things in the process of his machinations. Waniwani, the name of an abandoned Trumaí village site, was also a village in the heavens — the home of a mythical person of the same name. Jemenary, Kelenewary, and Nane were three other mythological characters. The second was the sister's son (*deta*) of the first, and an inveterate trickster. Although they appear in a Trumaí tale of mythological times, they had no part in the creative process.

Rain (Ka'wixu) was apparently the only Trumaí deity capable of interfering with the world in its present form. Although he appeared as a character in the mythology, he was also believed to be the active agent behind rains and storms. The Trumaí were extremely frightened of thunder and lightning, and thought storms to be the result of someone's having antagonized Rain. During a violent equinoctial thunder storm, Aloari came rushing into Quain's house, imploring him to turn out his light and stop working as he was angering Rain. Despite their fear of displeasing Rain, the Trumaí on a few occasions tried to drive away the clouds. One man blew at the clouds to push them back, while Quain was told to fire his rifle to frighten Rain away.

There was also a class of malignant beings that were important as omens. The Trumaí could not look at a snake called *lesilesi*, seemingly the rattlesnake. Aloari said that shortly after he saw one, two of his brothers died. Jakwalu saw one while she was harvesting manioc in the garden, and it was generally believed that for this reason she would not live long. Quain was uncertain whether this was the immediate result of seeing the snake, or whether the snake was an omen that the Kamayurá were practicing witchcraft on her. Similarly, anyone seeing the *le*, a bird with a red forehead, would die. And finally there were sirens inhabiting the woods to the northeast of the Trumaí village. Their call exerted an attraction, and anyone seeing them or cohabiting with them would surely die. These women had long hair, wore bark cloth pubic coverings, and did not depilate. Significantly, the direction of their abode and their appearance correspond to those of Suyá women. Omens, such as cloud formations and canine howls, indicate the imminence of an enemy attack.

The Origin of Things

Most of the Trumaí mythology is devoted to explaining the origin of the natural world, people, and culture. The chief creator deities are Sun and Wamutsini.

In the beginning there was only Wamutsini. His origin is not explained, and he is probably thought to have always existed. He made daughters out of wood. One of them married Panther, who lived in the

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868 867 way the child was taught the kinship terms applying to his immediate family and age mates. He did not, however, learn to classify the whole village until much later.

Pre-Pubescence

593 866 A good deal of a youngster's time was spent around his house, and his attachment to his parents first, and then to other members of his household, was very strong. Dependence on the parent was expressed in a variety of ways. When the motherless Matsiripi's father, Oirupa, left the village for a few days, the boy was dispirited. When someone approached from the canoe landing, he would run anxiously to see who it was. His joy was obvious as he clung to the hand of his returned father. This pattern was repeated, but with less intensity, by children having both a father and mother.

152 855 Night terrors were common among the children. They were afraid of the dark and, if they awakened in the night, sought immediately for their father or mother, or howled if both were absent. The early pattern of sleeping with a parent undoubtedly had much to do with these fears, but ample justification for them can be found in other aspects of the culture. Adults communicated to the children their own nocturnal anxieties, which were stimulated by fears of enemy attack. The young made [186] frequent references to the Suyá. One little boy, after an especially uneasy night, marched around the village chanting the word "Suyá" in a deep, serious voice. A frightened child's cries were immediately answered by his parents, who recognized it by tone. Tay, an orphan boy, often awakened with loud howls, but the people of his house paid little attention, and listened instead for their own children.

857 The children played and lolled about in the house, and had closer ties with co-residents than with others bearing the same kin relationships. When Kuyafi shifted her hammock to the house of her new spouse, her child cried lustily at the change of residence. The boys frequently visited in other houses, and there were no restrictions on lying in the nearest hammock, no matter to whom it belonged. This liberty was taken by the adults also. To keep visitors out of his hammock, Quain [123] had to tell everyone that his "wife would be angry" if anyone used it. This was the standard excuse for turning down such requests.

867 Children were given considerable freedom. Adults were interested in them, but made little effort to direct their activities. Encouragement was given, but the child was never forced to do anything. There were few "do nots." However, the child learned that he did not have an unlimited claim to all property, and sometimes he was punished for his transgressions. He also learned that he should not disturb older people unduly. The adults had a high tolerance for the noises of children, but

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All other play was more spontaneous and uncoordinated. Amusement and education were derived from using small bows and arrows which all boys possessed and the older ones knew how to make. Much of their time was spent shooting at insects and other targets in the village, but three or four children might occasionally go together to the lagoon and shoot fish from the banks. Sometimes they would wander off to the clearings when planting was in progress, or travel through the woods to gather guava. Few restraints were placed on their movements.

Nor was the sex play of children greatly inhibited by their elders. Actually there was no heterosexual activity between children, for there were no girls of appropriate age in the village. Thus, pre-pubescent sexual relations occurred between boys or between boys and men, and almost always it was the boys who were the instigators. Quain felt certain that Tay was the only member of the village who might be considered a homosexual. He was an orphan, and although he was fed and housed, he was identified with no family, and no one took any special interest in him. Tay, more than any boy, remained aloof from other children. His sexual advances were directed to a large extent toward the older males, who often cooperated with him. For example, he often wrapped his legs around Jakuma's hips, going through sexual motions. The older man would giggle when he did this and show signs of being mildly stimulated. Mayuva, among others, was less receptive, but his only mode of resistance was to arch his body away from the boy.

The sexual play of a young child might even include his father. Quain observed little Tsirikoan tugging at his father's penis. The father showed some annoyance, but only because he did not want to be bothered. Although children were rarely manipulated in this way by the men, Quain saw Yanahi, a young married man, amusing himself and some boys by pulling Tsirikoan's penis until the child had an erection. The boys whispered to Yanahi that Quain was watching, but this apparently made no difference to him, for he continued his activity.

The minor homosexual engagements that took place between the boys themselves were likewise in the nature of play. Quain saw no homosexuality between adults, and, contrary to Levi-Strauss' inference from Quain's notes, there was no kinship tie that implied permissible homosexual relations.[1]

The facts of sex were certainly no secret to the children. Living in undivided houses and sleeping with or adjacent to their parents, they were aware at an early age of the sexual activities of their elders. No effort was made to keep sexual knowledge from them, and they derived considerable amusement from the sexual affairs of the adults. Tsirikoan and some other boys raised a great hue and cry when they happened

[1] Levi-Strauss 1948, p. 337.

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526 would be terminated by mutual consent and without the need for either contestant to concede defeat.[4] The wrestlers were often pushed around [152] considerably, but except for grunts of effort, there were no expressions of pain or anger. However, when Quain tried to teach the Trumaí men to box, even the lightest punch caused them to retire. They claimed that the *karahiba* sport was much too rough.

562 Trumaí women do not "know how" to wrestle, but the Kamayurá 526 women wrestled to entertain guests. It was common opinion in the region 186 that Trumaí women did not compare favorably with Kamayurá women. 649 Even the Trumaí men agreed on this point. After a visit to the Kama- yurá village, the precocious young Yanahi was vociferous in his approval 171 of them. His admiration was due chiefly to the *jamyrikuma*, a Kamayurá female song and dance in which the women flapped their breasts and went through other provocative motions. He also described how they had pushed their twine belts down low on their buttocks, which to him was a very suggestive act. After the dance the women wrestled. Jakwalu, a Mehinaku, was the only woman in the Trumaí village who could wrestle, a fact that suggests that the females of this group also practiced the sport. She demonstrated her ability only on intertribal visits.

574 The Trumaí women did not entertain guests, except insofar as visitors 535 forced their attentions on the unmarried ones. The only occasions on which they were known to sing and dance were at certain ceremonies when they served as a chorus to the men.

533 Except for the use of pan-pipes, which the men played in the morning, [534] all music was connected with religious ceremonial. The pan-pipes con- [196] sisted of a half-dozen hollow reeds of different lengths laced together. Ceremonial singing was melodious, and the Trumaí enjoyed singing. They frequently requested Quain to sing in the men's circle. The requests were always phrased on behalf of the women and children. [123] Visits from members of other tribes always called for a performance by the ethnographer.

522 Humor consisted mostly of practical jokes played at the expense of 571 others. Jokes were always perpetrated by the men; the women served occasionally as butts. This does not mean that the men were gayer or more light-hearted than the women, for the contrary was actually the case. The women enjoyed each other's company more. They gossiped and laughed together, worked together, and generally wore a pleasanter expression. For the men, jokes were important as a means of recognition and assertion. They were always performed for an audience.

Teasing the women was also a popular male diversion. This was often done by ignoring them completely during a conversation. Yati was a

[4] This may be true only of bouts between Trumaí, as Oberg (1953, p. 80) notes that a man is defeated when he is thrown on his back.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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master at this dead-pan type of humor. When the women attempted to talk to him and Quain, he remained entirely disinterested, occasionally breaking in on them to address himself solely to the ethnographer. Although the women affected exasperation, they really enjoyed this negative attention.

The women were easy to frighten. Aloari teased his wife and sister-in-law by chasing them with a live snake in his hands. The women were also sensitive to touch (few men could resist brushing a hand lightly over an ever-exposed buttock when a crowd was present), and they became nervous when they saw that such teasing was impending. On a day when all the women had crowded into Quain's house, he pulled on the perineal cord of one of them. She immediately loosed a scream and ran out the door followed by the others, who laughed hilariously. Thereafter all the women expected to be teased by Quain, and they identified him somewhat more with the other men than they had before. The men often threatened rape in jest, but even when the women recognized the humorous intent, their basic anxiety was never completely allayed.

Pranks were frequent among the men. It was particularly amusing for a man to inform the others that Quain had given him a gift. Yati went to the trouble of filling a cartridge box with dirt and soberly telling all the men that the box was full of rifle shells. He was among the more popular jokers of the village. And pranks were played on him also. One night, in jest, Aloari shot at Yati's chicken with Quain's rifle on the pretext that it had been crowing. (The noise of the rifle report was also calculated to terrify the village.) Tun and Jakwanari occasionally tried to be funny by sitting alone and talking to themselves rapidly and incoherently. This was considered forced humor, and no one so much as chuckled.

A major source of diversion was gossip about who was cohabiting with whom. While this sometimes led to shouting arguments, it was more often merely playful talk, and it was treated as such. Accusations of sexual intercourse, sometimes true and sometimes false, were tossed back and forth between the men, usually with accompanying leers.

Manners and Morals

The Trumaí gossiped about sex, not because it was held to be morally wrong to do so, but because they had a frank and honest interest in it. Sex was considered a part of the "good life," but it was also thought to be a distraction from work. Thus, the chief made lengthy speeches castigating the men for being interested in nothing but sex when they should have been out planting. Similarly, Yanahi should have finished his puberty rites, but, as one of his kinsmen bluntly put it, all he wanted to do was "*tsidi*" (copulate). In reality the men took vicarious enjoyment in watching Yanahi exert his newly found sex prowess.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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577 831 833 156 123 Yanahi was less inhibited than any of the other men, but his behavior was not considered shocking or immoral. Quain had apparently arrived at the village just at the time that Yanahi was on the threshold of sexual experience. He appeared in Quain's house one night to show that he had an erection and announced that he would soon be having coitus. Thereafter, he rarely failed to tell Quain of his exploits. One night quite a crowd, including Yanahi and one of his paramours, Vatsiat, was gathered in Quain's house. The young man suddenly developed a longing for her and, as soon as all the visitors had left, satisfied his craving noisily amidst Quain's pots and pans. He was proud of his virility, as were most of the Trumaí men.

577 831 562 837 No discredit attached to the male involved in a love affair and very little to the woman. Oirupa merely scolded his sister for having copulated with Yanahi. Only where adultery was involved did promiscuity lower the status of a woman. Chastity before marriage was not expected, and there was not a single virgin in the village over the age of puberty. Older women without husbands or close relatives to protect them were often used for sexual purposes against their will. This was especially the case with unmarried foreign women. Some of them complained that they had to dispense their favors to too many men too often.

831 152 583 [123] This aggressiveness and the danger of bride-capture made the women extremely fearful of being raped, and, as noted above, they were uneasy even when the threats were made in fun. One morning Quain decided to get rid of his numerous female visitors by employing this device. They all fled except one, who, despite her seeming courage, looked worried. Without doubt, the women enjoyed visiting Quain, but a man told him that if he were to have intercourse with any one of them, they would all fear him. Over and above this fear of rape, there [578] was a definite hostility between the sexes, which was usually well controlled, but which on occasion might explode in open quarrels between the men and the women.

576 514 827 No cumbersome taboos surrounded physiological functions. Belching and the release of flatus were common in company, but generally disregarded. However, if an unusually unpleasant odor followed, those nearby spat on the ground as a mark of disgust. The men urinated near their houses or at the edge of the village plaza. The women went to the edge of the village clearing or behind the houses. Both sexes went a short distance into the brush to defecate, but at night elimination was permitted in the village plaza if a hole was first dug for this purpose and covered over.

There was no salacious attitude toward body processes. The Trumaí were puzzled by Quain's desire for privacy in his personal habits and his curiosity about other people's. One woman seriously asked if she could watch him eliminate.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4;5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

The main motivation for going into the brush to defecate was not modesty, but a feeling of revulsion for body products. One did not eliminate in places frequented by people. Yanahi was disgusted when Quain defecated in his garden and claimed that the garden was ruined. Similarly, it was considered repulsive to defecate in the water. When Quain described the great ship that had brought him to Brazil, the only thing that the Trumaí found hard to believe was that the people aboard would have to eliminate in the water.

The rules of etiquette required a person entering or leaving company to make an appropriate statement. The salutation usually consisted of a phrase stating what the person being greeted was doing at the moment. Thus, typical greetings were, "You are eating," "You have returned from fishing," "You are sitting," and so on. When leaving a person or group it was proper to announce, "I am leaving," followed generally by a statement of what one was going to do. If this last was not observed, the departing person was usually asked where he was going. These formalities were not as regularly invoked in the larger gatherings as in house-visiting.

The rules of etiquette also required the emission of conventionalized cries on particular occasions, such as the bringing of food into the village or the offering of tobacco to guests. In the latter case the person making the presentation cried "*aha*," the recipient "*ha-a-a ha ha ha*." These amenities, which were observed between the Trumaí, were always louder when an outsider was involved.

Hospitality was extended to all upper Xingú Indians and white men who visited the village. In part this was inspired by a fear of their neighbors, in part by etiquette. The Trumaí had little reason to fear Quain; yet he was treated with the greatest kindness and consideration, and everyone was eager to converse with him. Indeed, their attentions were so constant that at times he wanted nothing more than to be left alone.

While the men were far more self-assertive than the women, they were also extremely sensitive. They were insulted at the refusal of a request, or at the denial of what they considered to be the recognition due them as individuals. They did not like to be treated as faceless members of a group. During the argument that followed Quain's complaint that some article of his had been stolen, Maibu criticized him for addressing them collectively as "Trumaí," while they always called him "*capitão*" or by his name.

The Trumaí were greatly interested in Western goods and their behavior toward whites was unrestrained. The following quotation from Quain's field notes describes this succinctly:

> The reason why it is so difficult to live with these people is that they are so "impolite." At least in their dealings with me, an outsider, and with the mission-

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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aries, they are unrestrained in physical contact and in the expression of their momentary sentiments. In many instances their motives are kind and helpful. But their complete lack of shyness makes their sometimes bungling efforts troublesome.

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They were more reserved among themselves. Body contact and caresses were absent, as such demonstrations of friendship were unnecessary. The Trumaí were different people when outsiders were in the village.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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APPENDIX

Buell Quain, in a letter to the late Dr. Ruth Benedict written from Brazil on December 21, 1938, summarized several aspects of Trumaí culture which have a direct and immediate bearing on their decline. Following are excerpts of ethnological interest from this letter, which was discovered after this monograph was completed:

"They are a dying culture. Each generation improves its imitation of Kamayurá culture. Everyone in the village knows a few Kamayurá words. Almost all the songs in the manioc fertility ceremony are Kamayurá. Half the people in the village can carry on a conversation in Kamayurá with ease. One household (there are four) uses Kamayurá in preference to Trumaí. The mother of the house owner speaks no Trumaí; she is a Kamayurá woman who has lived with the Trumaí for about twenty-five years. The child of the household, a ten year old girl, confuses Kamayurá kinship terms with Trumaí in classifying the village. All Trumaí women between twenty and forty have been captive wives among the Kamayurá (which puts the Trumaí men in a peculiar position which they fully but fruitlessly resent) .... They have lots of disorganized leisure. They are sleepy (in part because of insects and fear throughout the night). They are ready to imitate not only the Kamayurá, but me, in petty daily habits. No outsider speaks Trumaí.

"There is nobody among them who volunteers information of ethnological value. For three months I dug for structure and got very little... Dullness cannot be attributed to the climate.

"The village is small .... Each of the four households — now five because of a recent split — are organized, or perhaps disorganized, according to different sociological principals. Three of the seventeen women are of foreign birth; one is Kamayurá, one is Mehinaku, and one is Suyá. The first two speak no Trumaí. A fourth woman with ringworm and two sick children is said to be Yaulapití, but she is well set in Trumaí culture. Nobody claims her as a relative (in part because of aversion toward her ringworm); hence she is used as a prostitute by every man in the village — she is the village joke. Among the men, I have found remarkably uniform responses to various 'tests'. (I said 'Draw a picture of a woman and a man.' Every man but one drew the woman first and oriented her in a distinctive way on the paper. The women showed no such regularity. One Kamayurá man tested also lacked this stereotyped response.)

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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"Tremendous interest in property, together with a simple and declining culture, results in my being a seriously disturbing element in their lives. Casual conversation always degenerates into a squabble about gift-giving .... There is intense pleasure in possession. Children get no sympathy when they are hurt, but objects are usually given to them. Every child has the right at least 'to see' anything he desires. In this respect children are pampered. Adults whine for things; withholding a desired object makes them intensely unhappy. Aggressive possession is admired.. Trade games make the exchange of property very fluid. Yet values in trade are well defined, and there is no prestige in giving more than one gets. Within the kinship circle, however, the old lavish property on the young. A father's garden is spoken of as that of his five year old son. There is a deliberate attempt to instill aggressive ownership attitudes in the young. A three year old girl is taught to claim objects in a loud voice. This is done by shouting the possessive pronoun....

"These are a settled people who live within the strict limits of their village. Their small number has advantage in the study of individuals. They have no knowledge of the world beyond the Kuluene-Kuliseu. It has no more real existence than the various inhabited regions of the heavens. The half dozen expeditions which have passed down the river have communicated with the natives only with signs. The one important result of such contact was division from peripheral tribes and the rise of metal tools. The disappearance of the stone industry, on which a defunct Trumaí moiety had a monopoly, has occurred within the last generation.[1] The increased leisure which probably resulted is not utilized economically.

"The complete lack of self-consciousness among these people makes behavior observation remarkably easy. Before I knew any of the language, I could sit by the hour in various households and time the actions of people while they paid no attention to me. For instance, one man during twenty minutes of leisure lay down to rest in his hammock fifteen different times, but each time disturbed himself with the remembrance of some petty chore undone....

"The only restriction of behavior that I have seen in casual intra-village personal relations is that the children are told not to litter the floor. The only positive rule is that the head of a household must sit with a guest and converse while the guest is inside his house .... Furthermore, extra-marital sexual intercourse has occurred in a shadowy corner of my house.. This lack of self-consciousness contrasts strongly with the Karajá, who are more prudish than the Fijians....

"Shortage of women, because of theft of young women, polygamy, lack of sexual interest in old wives (of which there are several), and

[1] Quain refers here to the moiety-like division of the Trumaí which has been discussed in Chapter Three. This appears to be rather a result of the merger of the northern and southern Trumaí villages. The latter specialized in axe-making.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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"Angry stylized quarreling is a legal device. The village hoots in derision at him whose argument is poor. The chief must be a master at this kind of argument, but all men and even women participate .... Though everyone makes speeches, it is only the chief who makes executive speeches. Quarrels have always been about women, with the exception of the one which occurred upon my arrival in the village (one party disapproved of me...). The chief does not interfere in personal quarrels. The other men sit quietly in the center of the village smoking and trying to disregard the quarrel, which may be going on over their very heads. When the contenders have retired from the village green, they are perfectly calm. The argument is suspended until it can be carried on publicly. There seem to be no secret alliances among the men.

"Another thing I must mention is the complete lack of emotional content in religious ceremonies. These are mildly pleasant chores. Although their structure is designed for a public pageant, nobody pays attention."

/191 cont./

484 In perfect order, as though this were a carefully rehearsed theatri-
501 cal performance /192/ supported by very successful scenery, the
609 long, narrow craft glided silently along, a considerable distance from our praia /sandy shore; see the glossary, p. 172 /, closer to
[291] the opposite wooded shore; no command sounded. Almost all
[302] the naked occupants were painted black and bright red on faces
[289] and bodies, many simply blackened all over with soot; on their heads they wore white feather caps, the hair was cut short all
[141] around, as among the Bakaïrí; the standing ones were overtopped by the bows, almost two and a half meters long, and in the left hand held a thick bundle of colorfully feathered arrows.

609 Gradually they came to a stop and the stillness was followed
576 by a dreadful noise, a fanatical howling and bellowing. There
[101] could be no doubt but that they were Trumaí, for they shouted this word incessantly as though their lives depended on it, beat their fists against their chests, and at the same time made bows with their upper bodies all the more violently since their legs had little room for lively gesticulation. Nevertheless, if any of us had behaved half as excitedly in the canoe, we would surely have fallen hopelessly into the water at the very beginning of the imitation. But we were on firm ground, and the example is contagious. We, too, howled; we, too, bellowed; we, too, beat our chests. Everybody shouted whatever he happened to remember of an Indian language: "Katú, hekatú Trumaí, Bakaïrí, Kustenaú," interspersed with an occasional lusty "diavo," heiliges Donnerwetter /hang it all/ in German, "don't these fellows have any sense?"

[123] But far from it! No matter how invitingly we waved to them, how affably we clapped our hands, how graciously we pointed to our campsite, as though we were speaking to the Spaniard, "Sir, this house is your house," it did not help in the least. It was clear that this performance is official on the Schingú; we should be committing a breach of etiquette were we to speak of other things before we had thoroughly introduced ourselves to each other for half an hour.

/192 cont./

123 609 It was necessary to make another attempt; since our Indian was apparently not adequate, Antonio was induced to make a speech in Bakaïrí. After a little shy resistance, he took heart and shouted across energetically that he was a Bakaïrí, and that the Bakaïrí are good, and that the Trumaí are also good, and that the Bakaïrí were friendly to the Trumaí, that therefore the Trumaí should also be friendly to the Bakaïrí. Actually, he made himself heard for a moment, but the Trumaí realized at once that they did not understand him and outshouted the poor soul, whose voice died away. Hold on, I remember two Trumaí words which the Kustenaú chief had told me: apirí, /Illustration appears here/ /193/ "friend," and meijú, our beijú, the mandioca bread. With a truly stentorian voice I therefore cry: "Apirí Trumaí, meijú Trumaí, apirí." If my purpose had been to fan the storm, I could have been satisfied. The effect was dazzling. My words came back in the loudest echo; I had definitely spoken [262] good Trumaí. From the bottom of the canoe they fetched the beijús, which have the shape of large pancakes baked in a pan, [302] and waved this token of peace in the air. Particularly the chief shouter, a young man painted brick-red from head to toe, talked with great enthusiasm about such a cake which he seemed to be demonstrating and explaining like a professor in a classroom.

Some success was noticeable, however; they were quarreling among themselves. The brick-red one was obviously inclined to [302] break off the preliminaries and to enter into closer acquaintance; but one canoe in particular, with three tall, uncanny, coal-black ones, decidedly refused and implored the other heroes not to listen to the words of that demagogue. But the opposition was overruled. Three of our men climbed into a canoe and rowed into the midst of the hostile fleet, laughing kindly and talking; that won their hearts. Still parleying a bit, they approached the shore and [152] finally landed. The black or red, ugly faces, whether the more so by artifice or by nature I do not know, grinned happily in our direction; each of us took one of the fellows by the arm, whereupon a second man of theirs quickly took his other arm; thus we strode, fraternally united, to our campsite.

[Text continues on p. 176]

1: Steinen--75 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi
Trumai SP28

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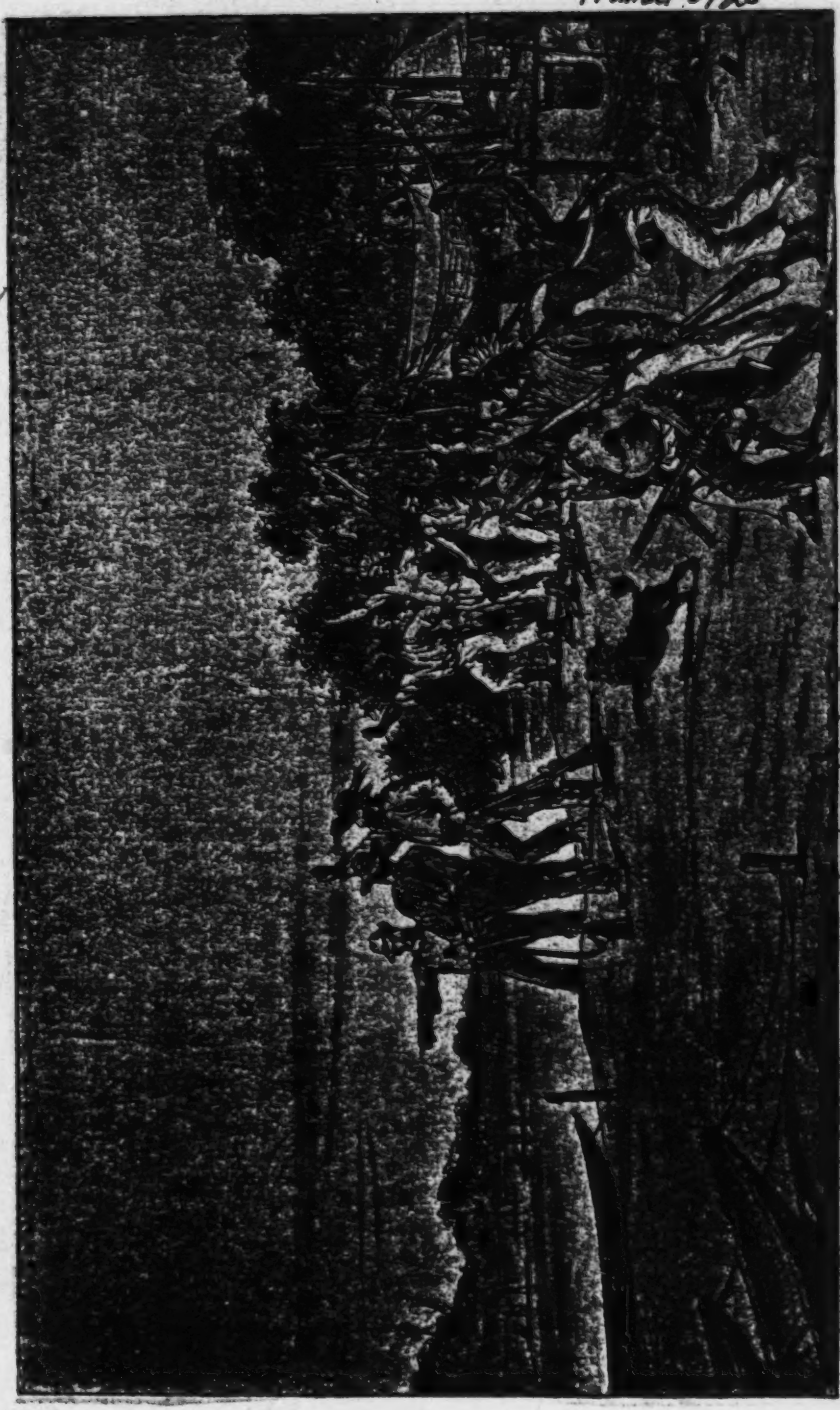

Meeting with the Trumai.

/193 cont./

123 576 609 Most of them proffered a piece of beijú as a present and at the same time said "má." My companion took my hat, but I respectfully demanded it back. Everything seemed to be going smoothly; I was among the last, and in front they had already reached our hammocks.

609 152 123 Suddenly I hear a shot behind me; Cousin Wilhelm is standing there, without his hat, gesticulating, his Indian guest is sitting in the sand and kicking and striking with all fours; already he leaps up. What panic! Are they afraid that the earth will open up and swallow them? This is primitive fear; there is no question but that we have thunder and lightning at our command. With a few leaps all are in the canoes; they push off; screaming, they row with all their might and do not begin to calm down a bit until they are in the middle of the river. No pleading, no peace demonstrations -- we put down the guns and walk unarmed across the beach -- can persuade them to return.

609 123 /194/ A boat with four of our men is in their midst, I thought at first with the intention of calming the excited compadres; but it soon became evident that they wanted some of their things back, Manoel's pistol, the hats of Castro, Wilhelm, and Antonio, Quintilian's gun, the ax used for the soundings -- I don't know what all; it is incredible how they could have taken possession of all this in the short time.

609 921 123 The entire fleet is already on the left side of the Kulisëu. Suddenly a Trumaí shoots an arrow toward our canoes, and in a moment the guns of the soldiers are rattling. They assert that they only fired into the air. A wild scene ensues; all the Indians leap head over heels out of the canoes, abandon these and their weapons, swim to the nearby shore, and disappear among the trees. The soldiers, once having been seized by the furor of battle, continue to shoot eagerly, no matter how much Castro, from the shore, tries to order them: rest arms! Finally it is quiet; they rummage and hunt in all the canoes and start coming back. There is not a Trumaí to be seen anywhere in the forest; like peaceful staffage, their canoes lie peacefully along the shore, and only here and there, like a dead bird, a feather ornament floats on the waves.

/194 cont./

609 123 437 262 It was only then that we recovered our senses and were able to understand the reason for the incident. Apparently the Trumaí had been animated by the urgent desire to barter as soon as possible and with as little ceremony as possible for some of our treasures in exchange for their miserable beijûs, which looked gray as though made with buckwheat flour, were coarse-grained, and tasted slightly sour. With this in mind they had been active everywhere. Of Wilhelm's companions, one had been busy with the hunting knife and the other with the gun at the same time, and the latter, while my cousin was trying in the friendliest way to keep them off, had unfortunately pressed the cock. In any case the culprit was the most surprised by the effect; otherwise he would not have been kicking so frightenedly on the ground.

In spite of the miraculous speed with which they dashed to the boats, however, the Trumaí had not lost all presence of mind. The two who had just been trying on Castro's and Antonio's hats did not forget in their hasty running to put them on well down over their heads. Another old hand had still found time on his flight to snatch up quickly one of the large fish lying on the beach.

Antonio's behavior when he was so unexpectedly deprived of his precious hat was characteristic. Without further ado he shot his pistol at the thief, but in his rage fortunately missed. And when we /Illustration appears here/ /195/ asked him whether he really wanted to kill the man, he nodded with the greatest composure, "Yes, he had my hat."

126 411 The returning men brought back a rich ethnological collection, at least in terms of the number of objects. The bows were very fine and strong; one was shot to pieces, proof that the shots had not been fired entirely happazardly. The arrows provided with pointed pieces of bamboo were plentiful; these bamboo blades, which, as could be easily seen, had been freshly sharpened, are only loosely inserted in the shaft with a little resin; after the arrow has reached its mark, they break off and remain embedded in the body. There was a single club, crudely worked, flat, 86 301 237 centimeters long. One feather ornament was particularly pretty; the green, orange-colored, and white feathers were mounted on

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 79]

/195 cont./

301 a head-net, above which they pointed upwards, sticking out on
237 all sides, and into which they could be bent back to protect them
415 after use. There was also a dainty little pot with a notched edge,
283 and red cotton strings which several Trumaí wore around the waist
276 or around the lower leg. There was some tobacco wrapped in
415 green leaves; on the beach there were also a few gourd vessels
292 containing insipid, pasty mingau[1] which was just as poor as the mandioca bread.

142 There was no indication that the Trumaí are on a higher level than the Bakaïrí; as far as their body structure is concerned, I did not notice anything peculiar during the brief encounter; in size they did not differ from the Bakaïrí and Kustenaú. The fact that they appeared so ugly in the face may have been due to the
291 disfigurement. They protect themselves against penetrating in-
825 sects in the strangest and most primitive manner -- <u>präputium filo gossypii rubro ante glandem farciminis instar constringunt</u> /the foreskin is bound with red cotton thread in front of the glans in such a manner as to look like farcy/. This arrangement may also be useful in the water against the prying candiru fish.

● 123 What now? A closer study of the Trumaí is, of course, inconceivable. War has been declared; we have no choice but to disappear from the scene of action as quickly as possible. We are forced to forego all further soundings and measurements and bid the Kulisëu farewell. We can still draw one advantage from the awkward situation, however. Since we have departed this far from the path of virtue, we need not have any scruples about transgressing still more. After all, we did not get back our fine ax (two canoes capsized and sank when the Trumaí fled to land). Why should we hesitate to exchange the most warped and defective canoes for those abandoned there, which are well built and excellently dried out?

501 /196/ Several men are sent out and return with three canoes
171 and a few oars, which do not differ from those of the Bakaïrí; one of them is for Valentin and me, a second will be pulled
000 along as a reserve, the third goes to the sergeant. Meanwhile Castro's craft has also been brought home.

[1] [i.e. a drink mixed with manioc flour--Analyst]

/196 cont./

114 The incident, which basically has put me in a bad humor, is all the more unpleasant since the soldiers are very delighted about it; they regard it as a sort of easy victory about which they would like to boast. Many also do not consider the "bravo," the savage, worth better treatment, and those who are full-blooded Indians themselves judge most severely. Antonio is still very dissatisfied, although the feather ornament that he procured for himself in place of the unfortunate hat looks much better on him.

● [123] We need not doubt but that none of the Trumaí was hit by a bullet; all the men agree about this. They are very good-hearted by nature; they pulled out of the water one boy who, they say, could not swim.

609 721 Now and then the view is expressed that the Trumaí had a secret disarmament plan. To be sure, the Bakaïrí had warned us in this respect; they described in detail how the Trumaí would receive strangers in a friendly manner, wheedle their weapons from them, and then attack the unsuspecting ones; they would wrench their arms out of their shoulder joints -- "pok, pok, pok," the narrators graphically described it -- tie their hands together, and toss the thus mutilated bodies into the river.

000 Thanks be to the gods if we have escaped such a fate. For the time being, however, I shall deeply regret this day. In popular Brazilian belief, August is an unlucky month. Well, at least we are already at the thirty-first.

And the poor Trumaí are worse off than we are. When they arrive home in their miserable array, deprived of all their weapons and yet none wounded, what will their beloved wives say? Has anything like that ever happened on the Schingú? It will be difficult for the heroes to report their deeds in such a way that praise and honor will be due them; the two trophies so bravely salvaged will play an important role. If not two heads, at least they are bringing home two hats. One of them plaited out of straw, can be understood, explained, but the other, a gray felt -- where are there forest animals whose skin bears hair not only on the outside, but also on the inside? Oh, riddle of life!

/122 cont./

All

123 doubts vanished at the end of the trail. Two women there were 192 crossing the path, let out a dreadful scream, and disappeared with lightning speed into the bushes. A chorus of confused, shrill cries and suddenly between the trees figures running excitedly hither and thither everywhere. We were in the midst of the Trumaí!

An unpleasant situation. To go back was, of course, impossible. Therefore, straight ahead. I have never heard more insane noise. In the background women and children dashed [411] away with ear-splitting howls; the men gathered up their weapons here and there and, swinging bows, arrows, darts, they drew together into a screaming, dancing, raging knot, toward which we resolutely strode, one behind the other. I fixed my eye on a short gentleman who seemed to be the chief, stepped straight up to him, placed my hand on his shoulder, and did what is always best on such occasions, I laughed. Nor did I omit a forcefully expressed "katú katú karáiba, kúra kúra karáiba." In fact, I addressed several short sentences to him in a language which he had most probably never heard, but the sounds of which readily spring to my lips at critical moments and then always help to triumph over the gravity of the situation; it is my beloved Düsseldorf dialect, reinforced with a few carnivalistic catchwords that are appropriate for any situation. They had their effect on the Trumaí as well; the little old chief was, to be sure, too horrified to be able to laugh with me, but he nevertheless greeted me as graciously as he could.

[352] Two stools were hastily dragged up and the straw in which [532] they were packed was torn off; they were bird-shaped, and one, which represented a vulture, was distinguished by two necks and heads, like a double eagle. We sat down in the forest camp, and the company, looking quite wild in their terror, surged and pressed all around us among the trees. When I declared with jovial mien that I wanted to sleep among them, twenty hands moved at once clearing away the brush and making room -- more attentive service could not be imagined. After

/122 cont./

123 152 half an hour renewed howling and women's screams announced the arrival of Wilhelm and Carlos, who were led up and likewise gave expression to their friendly intentions with words and gestures.

142 /123/ There were mostly small, frail figures with small heads, receding chins, and ugly faces; among the old women there were truly magnificent specimens of witch-models. The 291 women in part wore the triangular uluri, in part a wardrobe garment new to us, a grayish-white bast loop that was drawn over 194 the hips and thickened into a small roll. The language in its cadence reminded us not a little of that of the Suyá, with which it had in common the nagging, squeezed habitus and could be immediately distinguished from all the Kulisehu languages by the frequent terminal sound of ts and by the f.

727 It was strange that the Trumaí had let themselves be taken by surprise in this way. Probably they had fled from the Suyá who had plundered their villages and from us at the same time. Their scouts, who were roving about among the Auetó, Yaulapiti, and Kamayurá, probably believed that we would not return directly to the Auetó from the Kamayurá, but would go to Schingú-Koblenz in order to join Perrot and Vogel, whose trip was already known to them, and reach the Auetó harbor on the river. The camp of the fugitives presented a spectacle of [162] disorder and confusion. There were about 50 persons in all; [352] numerous small fires were burning beside the brown hammocks, bundles of all kinds lay about and hung from the trees; the shelter-huts of the Auetó plantation remained unused. The [501] Indians had come in part by way of the canals: a small flotilla of canoes had drawn up in the swampy water nearby, many of them in bad shape and where necessary pasted up merely with lumps of loam.

437 The beijús, the filled gourd bowls, and the cigars were necessarily lacking at this reception. They brought small balls of cotton and asked for beads. Unfortunately, we had given away almost everything to the Kamayurá and could therefore not offer much. With the remains, however, a few

/123 cont./

437 knives and some sacrifices from our personal belongings, we acquired a small, not unattractive collection. The people had protected from the Suyá and carried along with them the
126 things that were most important for us. There were feather
437 ornaments, necklaces of stone beads, a stone ax, valuable as
[439] an example of local manufacture, for the other Kulisehu tribes obtain their stone axes from the Trumaí, throwing sticks, a club, ten masks, dance clubs, large flutes, and various trifles.
411 To our astonishment, we did not see the large arrows with long, pointed pieces of bamboo, which the Trumaí had carried in 1884, a number of which they lost in their flight, and which we noticed had been sharpened for the encounter with us. They had probably been used up in the battle with the Suyá.

126 I spent as much time as possible during the evening writing beside a candle stub, in order to obtain a vocabulary. A
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123 Inquisitively the men squatted nearby, the witches were /124/
[601] busy at the fires, the children cried atsíu for mother and papá for father, through the branches magic moonlight poured over the strange camp scene, and soon the peace of night embraced the sleeping and the awake. We could sleep undisturbed, but were well aware that a few men remained sitting beside the fire.

The next morning, 26 October, there was great confusion. A large glass of arsenic pills had been stolen from me. Under the peculiar circumstances I would gladly have overlooked any kind of theft, but I could neither be without this arsenic for my part, nor let the Indians poison themselves with it. I was forced to suspect the Yaulapiti who had accompanied us, after our experiences in their village, and demanded that they give it back. They, of course, professed their innocence, the Trumaí became terribly afraid, the women, children, and part of the men escaped into the bushes and did not return even when one of the Yaulapiti actually brought the glass with the arsenic pills. According to his humble opinion, it had dropped out of my

T /124 cont./
T 123 pocket along the way. A certain amount was obviously missing; I hope it was distributed among various fanciers and taken by them with some success for the skin diseases particularly common among the Yaulapiti.

T 126 Much as we were urged to depart, we still had to undertake at least the most important body measurements and would not relent; seven men were measured in haste, in between our packing, and the only photographic plate left was used for a group shot -- unfortunately ruined later.

T 122 At 9:45 we set out in two canoes, accompanied by four Trumaí. Three times one would have to sleep, they said, before reaching their villages. The Mehinakú could also be reached by way of the canals and only one day was needed to their second village. At 11:00 we landed near the Auetó village, at a place other than where we had left. In the damp T [136] leaves lay huge quantities of giant earthworms; wherever one put his foot, he stepped on them. The path led us to the two huts of the Yaulapiti-Auetó families.

T 361 It is advisable to insert here what Vogel and Perrot reported about the Trumaí villages after their return home from Schingú-Koblenz. They had not caught sight of an Indian, but below the place where the Kulisehu empties into the Kuluëne, on a bank five meters high, they had found one Trumaí village of eight houses and, a kilometer farther east, a second one of five T houses with buildings under construction among them. The 727 Suyá had burned down all the houses and smashed whatever T was left of large pots and utensils. There were plantings of re- 241 markably large size and careful cultivation directly adjoining the T villages. About ten fresh graves were noted; judging from the 764 circular excavation, the corpses had been buried in a squatting position. They seemed to lie deep; at least they were /125/ B not uncovered by some superficial subsequent digging. Antonio 186 had been very alarmed when Perrot said to him: "o doutor Carlos precisa d'uma cabeça /Doctor Carlos wants a head/." It was only with great effort that Antonio had been persuaded to go along on the trip and expose himself to the possibility of meeting the detested Trumaí.

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Matiwana, who was in charge of
the proceedings, was seated somewhere near the center; Maibu, the husband of the sick woman, at one end of the line. Matiwana was chanting while the others merely shouted words at irregular intervals. Each man held a rattle in one hand and a branch with leaves in the other, except for two who held a branch in each hand. Approaching Matavitsa's hammock in succession, and, with arms extended, each stamped on his heels, causing his rattle and leaves to shake, as he moved up and down the length of the sick woman's body several times. This done, he passed the rattle and leaves from her head to her feet, and then clapped the two objects together so as to suggest that he was brushing off something undesirable. He repeated this sequence two to four times, and before taking his seat, he carefully picked up all the leaves that had fallen to the floor.

While awaiting their turns, the other men rubbed their rattles against their forearms and kept up a steady, disorganized chant. They also smoked, but this apparently was not part of the ceremony.

Turns started at one end of the line and, when the other end was reached, the next series began there. A pause was observed between each series. Some variation was to be noted. One man passed his leaves under Matavitsa's hammock, while another gave special attention to her head. Maibu, during one turn, sucked in the area of her navel.

Quain noted that during the ceremony "there was an amazing lack of affective tension. The men seemed inattentive and disinterested." He was able to ask questions about the ceremony while it was going on, for not everyone participated. Paradoxically, one of the active performers was Oirupa, who was suspected of having brought about Matavitsa's condition through witchcraft.

The Ole Ceremony

In the Trumaí village no ritual was more important or consumed more time than the *ole* (manioc) ceremony.[5] Its purpose was essentially to insure an abundant manioc crop, and much of the symbolism involved was clearly oriented around the concept of fertility. The supernatural techniques that were employed were practiced almost daily from the middle of August to the end of September. (It will be remembered that planting lasted from mid-September until early October.) The whole ceremony was loosely knit. After it started it reached no special climax,

[5] Oberg (1953, p. 56) describes a Kamayurá ceremony which also takes place at the beginning of the rainy season and, in form, closely resembles the Trumaí *ole* ritual. He calls it, however, the *Kwarip*, a "special ceremony in commemoration of the dead," and states that the Kamayurá manioc ceremony was not held during his stay in the field. If the ceremonies observed by Quain in the Trumaí village and by Oberg among the Kamayurá are not the same, a great similarity of ritual forms for different religious purposes is indicated.

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APPENDIX

Buell Quain, in a letter to the late Dr. Ruth Benedict written from Brazil on December 21, 1938, summarized several aspects of Trumaí culture which have a direct and immediate bearing on their decline. Following are excerpts of ethnological interest from this letter, which was discovered after this monograph was completed:

"They are a dying culture. Each generation improves its imitation of Kamayurá culture. Everyone in the village knows a few Kamayurá words. Almost all the songs in the manioc fertility ceremony are Kamayurá. Half the people in the village can carry on a conversation in Kamayurá with ease. One household (there are four) uses Kamayurá in preference to Trumaí. The mother of the house owner speaks no Trumaí; she is a Kamayurá woman who has lived with the Trumaí for about twenty-five years. The child of the household, a ten year old girl, confuses Kamayurá kinship terms with Trumaí in classifying the village. All Trumaí women between twenty and forty have been captive wives among the Kamayurá (which puts the Trumaí men in a peculiar position which they fully but fruitlessly resent) .... They have lots of disorganized leisure. They are sleepy (in part because of insects and fear throughout the night). They are ready to imitate not only the Kamayurá, but me, in petty daily habits. No outsider speaks Trumaí.

"There is nobody among them who volunteers information of ethnological value. For three months I dug for structure and got very little... Dullness cannot be attributed to the climate.

"The village is small .... Each of the four households — now five because of a recent split — are organized, or perhaps disorganized, according to different sociological principals. Three of the seventeen women are of foreign birth; one is Kamayurá, one is Mehinaku, and one is Suyá. The first two speak no Trumaí. A fourth woman with ringworm and two sick children is said to be Yaulapití, but she is well set in Trumaí culture. Nobody claims her as a relative (in part because of aversion toward her ringworm); hence she is used as a prostitute by every man in the village — she is the village joke. Among the men, I have found remarkably uniform responses to various 'tests'. (I said 'Draw a picture of a woman and a man.' Every man but one drew the woman first and oriented her in a distinctive way on the paper. The women showed no such regularity. One Kamayurá man tested also lacked this stereotyped response.)

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Introduction

Many people do not read the prefaces to monographs. This one must be read in order to understand what follows. 114

The writer never met his co-author, Buell Quain, for Quain died sixteen years ago. Some six months before his death he had terminated a period of four months field research among the Trumaí Indians of the Xingú River in northern Matto Grosso, Brazil. Among his effects were his field notes, which represented the results of one of the most difficult investigations ever undertaken by an ethnologist.

In 1949, shortly after I commenced my graduate studies in anthropology, Professor Charles Wagley of Columbia University asked me to edit the Trumaí notes. After further consideration of the material, Professor Wagley and I concluded that the notes had been ordered as far as was possible by Quain's mother, Dr. Fannie Dunn Quain, and that they could best be presented in the form of a monograph, which I was to write.

First, let me describe Buell Quain's Trumaí notes. In essence they consist of a remarkably detailed field diary in which Quain had recorded the daily activities and events of the Trumaí village. If a woman walked from one house to another bearing food, it was duly stated. The play of the children, the facial expressions apparent during ceremonies, the slightest nuances of interpersonal behavior were all put into the notebook. Present also are charts showing the daily economic activities of every villager and a report, in all its minutiae, of what occurred in a household of an afternoon. Quain also set down in his daily log many comments made to him by his Trumaí informants and scraps of conversation which he overheard. 126

The notes are a triumph of participant observation. Quain understood very little Trumaí, although his diary shows that he was learning it rapidly by the time of his departure. He evidently maintained some communication with certain bilingual Trumaí by using Tupí, of which he appears to have had a fragmentary knowledge. Lacking the means to do detailed informant work, Quain leaned heavily on his observations of the behavior and activity of all the Trumaí, and he also learned much from his own personal interaction with them. He was deeply sensitive to the mutual relationships between himself and the subjects of his study, as he was completely alone in his sojourn; he did not even have a Brazilian backwoodsman for help and companionship. He entrusted 123 [127]

/194 cont./

609 123 [437] [262] It was only then that we recovered our senses and were able to understand the reason for the incident. Apparently the Trumaí had been animated by the urgent desire to barter as soon as possible and with as little ceremony as possible for some of our treasures in exchange for their miserable beijûs, which looked gray as though made with buckwheat flour, were coarse-grained, and tasted slightly sour. With this in mind they had been active everywhere. Of Wilhelm's companions, one had been busy with the hunting knife and the other with the gun at the same time, and the latter, while my cousin was trying in the friendliest way to keep them off, had unfortunately pressed the cock. In any case the culprit was the most surprised by the effect; otherwise he would not have been kicking so frightenedly on the ground.

In spite of the miraculous speed with which they dashed to the boats, however, the Trumaí had not lost all presence of mind. The two who had just been trying on Castro's and Antonio's hats did not forget in their hasty running to put them on well down over their heads. Another old hand had still found time on his flight to snatch up quickly one of the large fish lying on the beach.

Antonio's behavior when he was so unexpectedly deprived of his precious hat was characteristic. Without further ado he shot his pistol at the thief, but in his rage fortunately missed. And when we /Illustration appears here/ /195/ asked him whether he really wanted to kill the man, he nodded with the greatest composure, "Yes, he had my hat."

● 126 411 The returning men brought back a rich ethnological collection, at least in terms of the number of objects. The bows were very fine and strong; one was shot to pieces, proof that the shots had not been fired entirely happazardly. The arrows provided with pointed pieces of bamboo were plentiful; these bamboo blades, which, as could be easily seen, had been freshly sharpened, are only loosely inserted in the shaft with a little resin; after the arrow has reached its mark, they break off and remain embedded in the body. There was a single club, crudely worked, flat, 86 301 237 centimeters long. One feather ornament was particularly pretty; the green, orange-colored, and white feathers were mounted on

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 79]

/123 cont./

437 knives and some sacrifices from our personal belongings, we acquired a small, not unattractive collection. The people had protected from the Suyá and carried along with them the
● 126 things that were most important for us. There were feather
437 ornaments, necklaces of stone beads, a stone ax, valuable as
[439] an example of local manufacture, for the other Kulisehu tribes obtain their stone axes from the Trumaí, throwing sticks, a club, ten masks, dance clubs, large flutes, and various trifles.
411 To our astonishment, we did not see the large arrows with long, pointed pieces of bamboo, which the Trumaí had carried in 1884, a number of which they lost in their flight, and which we noticed had been sharpened for the encounter with us. They had probably been used up in the battle with the Suyá.

126 I spent as much time as possible during the evening writing beside a candle stub, in order to obtain a vocabulary. A
[115] younger chief proved very capable, except that in his enthusiasm he shouted with a loud voice, as though I were stone deaf.
123 Inquisitively the men squatted nearby, the witches were /124/
[601] busy at the fires, the children cried atsíu for mother and papá for father, through the branches magic moonlight poured over the strange camp scene, and soon the peace of night embraced the sleeping and the awake. We could sleep undisturbed, but were well aware that a few men remained sitting beside the fire.

The next morning, 26 October, there was great confusion. A large glass of arsenic pills had been stolen from me. Under the peculiar circumstances I would gladly have overlooked any kind of theft, but I could neither be without this arsenic for my part, nor let the Indians poison themselves with it. I was forced to suspect the Yaulapiti who had accompanied us, after our experiences in their village, and demanded that they give it back. They, of course, professed their innocence, the Trumaí became terribly afraid, the women, children, and part of the men escaped into the bushes and did not return even when one of the Yaulapiti actually brought the glass with the arsenic pills. According to his humble opinion, it had dropped out of my

T /124 cont./
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B /159 cont./
101 and, in order not to do violence to the perfectly justified tribal
191 names, as actually happened in the case of the Nahuquá, we
197 may call them, where we need a comprehensive term, the potter tribes, according to their most important ethnological characteristic. Beside them stand the Yaulapiti as a closely related Nu-Aruak tribe, but one already clearly different in
B dialect and revealing other influences.
T
101 Thus the arithmetical problem has been simplified to the
197 extent that we have before us Karaiben in the Bakaïrí and Nahuquá, Nu-Aruak in the potter tribes and the Yaulapiti, Tupí in the Auetö and the Kamayurá, and, as an indivisible remainder, the Trumaí.

II. Anthropological.

B In order to have a record of the physical appearance of the
T
126 Kulisehu Indians, insofar as was possible during our brief acquaint-
128 ance with the individual tribes, a series of measurements were
141 taken, which did not turn out to be very numerous and are not evenly distributed according to the different tribes or the two sexes, yet nevertheless offer interesting material. Possible sources of error on the part of the observer may be put down as constant, since the measurements were all taken by Ehrenreich. He also took a far greater number of photographs than could be reproduced here; some of them, however, became very spotty and difficult
B to reproduce.* He expects to make further use of the illustrative
T
128
141

* As is shown in detail in the list of illustrations, the following are reproduced here in photographs: both sexes of the Bakaïrí, Mehinakú and Kamayurá, as well as only men of the Nahuquá and Auetö, while Yaulapiti and Trumaí are missing altogether.

material and to deal with the collected material of the measurements in detail and according to its comparative value for the

/170 cont./

B T 141 The Trumaí have the lowest figure of all for stature, breadth of outspread arms, head circumference, hand length, the highest for head height, length-breadth and length-height index of the skull, navel height, the Mehinakú the lowest figure for the length-breadth index of the skull, for height of navel, symphysis, iliac crest, and trochanter, the highest, on the other hand, for stature, shoulder breadth (just as they are also rather outstanding for breadth of outspread arms and chest circumference), for zygomatic-arch breadth, and, although arms and legs are short, for the length of foot and hand. The Nahuquá do not have a 6 for any measure, but show relatively many 1's and 2's.

B T 142 ●126 /171/ The skin color is characterized by yellow-gray loam shades in all gradations; sunburn, dirt, and painting made it extremely difficult to determine the original color, and it was only under the cotton bindings on the upper arms or lower legs that one realized how light the Indians actually were. Wilhelm made a little color chart on the spot; according to it, the average shade falls between No. 30 and 33 of the Broca chart; the darker tones had a definite lilac-violet admixture, especially on chest and abdomen, the lighter tones a somewhat yellow one. We also used the Radde charts and found the greatest similarity for forehead and cheek with 33 m to n or also 33 o, the upper arms approximately 33 m.

B T 142 The head hair was black; especially among the Bakaïrí, Nahuquá, and Auetó, brownish black. The bluish-black shade did not occur. On the other hand, the hair, especially of the Bakaïrí children, looked strangely light and faded if the light struck it obliquely; at times it had a dark red shimmer. We never encountered "horsehair." The head hair was moderately thick and straight or, especially among the Bakaïrí and Nahuquá, decidedly wavy. To our surprise, we saw out-and-out curly heads among the Bakaïrí, such as, for example, the type shown on Plate 13. How much of it was nature, how much art, is difficult to say. At any rate, old Paleko in Maigéri, who had long since become superior to the vanity of youth, had short, curly hair. Among the Bakaïrí, the hair is wavy without artificial treatment. Sometimes the forehead was hairy almost to the eyebrows.

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ation — he would have to read and re-read the notes, learn the names of the numerous informants and other individuals mentioned there and in the diaries, identify them as to age, sex, status, family membership, etc., familiarize himself with place names and Trumaí terms just as a field investigator would have to do. In addition, Murphy was able to utilize publications on the tribes of the upper Xingú region and of the tropical forest. He was able to consult with Dr. Eduardo Galvão who had worked in the upper Xingú area. And, after the first draft of this manuscript was completed, he was able to make many corrections on the basis of his own experiences among the tropical forest Mundurucú.

Throughout this account, Murphy has adhered to Quain's formulations as closely as possible, but to make them more comprehensible, he has carried analysis further and often added his own interpretations. And his knowledge of Quain's material authorized him to do so. Thus he gives us, not a complete monograph on the Trumaí, but as systematic and intelligible a picture of Trumaí culture and society as his limited data permitted. This monograph is presented for what it is — the field observations of a highly competent research anthropologist analyzed and interpreted by a capable and sympathetic fellow-anthropologist.

Something should be said about the general conditions of field research and about Buell Quain as an anthropologist. All anthropologists who knew Quain personally, and those who have read his *Fijian Village*,[1] are impressed by his skill as a field research worker and by his feeling for peoples and cultures not his own. Among the Trumaí, as earlier in a Fijian community, he participated as fully as any outsider could in the culture under study. He was scientifically rigorous, verifying his observations and hypotheses again and again, and when possible giving verbatim statements.

But, above all, Buell Quain liked people, and everywhere he saw them as whole human beings. This was apparent in 1938 in his great concern for the Trumaí canoemen who waited for him at an Indian post near the Xingú headwaters and who were forced to cross "enemy" territory on their return trip to their village. This was apparent in his field notes and diary and in his search to understand the complex motivations of his friends (and enemies). This was apparent in the reactions of the people themselves: in 1946 the few Trumaí whom Eduardo Galvão encountered on the Xingú asked for "Capitão Quain" and spoke of him in glowing terms. And when Galvão camped with the remaining Trumaí in 1952, young people who were but very small children in 1938 knew stories of "Capitão Quain" told them by their parents.

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[1] Quain 1942.

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Foreword

In 1938 Buell Quain spent four months, from August to November, among the Trumaí Indians of the upper Xingú River area of central Brazil. In December of 1938 he was recalled to Rio de Janeiro, and failing to obtain governmental permission for his return to the upper Xingú, at least under conditions allowing minimal possibilities for field research, he was unable to continue his studies among the Trumaí. He went instead to do ethnographic and linguistic work among the Gê-speaking Kraho in the state of Maranhão. There, in April 1939, he died.

Quain's research among the Trumaí was, therefore, interrupted and incomplete. He left it in the form of hand-written field notes and a diary. These were carefully and painstakingly arranged and typed by his mother, Dr. Fannie Dunn Quain. Several years after her son's death, Dr. Quain entrusted these notes to me with the understanding that if they proved to be of anthropological value, they would be prepared for publication or otherwise made available to scholars interested in the field. At one time I had hoped that another anthropologist might continue Quain's researches among the Trumaí, and that his notes might thus be incorporated into a more complete investigation of this little-known society. But, in 1946, I was informed by Eduardo Galvão, who had visited the upper Xingú River area, that the number of Trumaí had critically diminished and that Trumaí life was so seriously disorganized that it was doubtful whether they could exist as a tribal entity. It was apparent that little, if any, ethnographic data on the Trumaí beyond that contained in the scattered references of earlier anthropologists who had visited the region and the data in Buell Quain's notes would ever be available to us.

Robert F. Murphy therefore undertook to analyze, order, and prepare for publication the data gathered by Buell Quain. His task was first conceived as essentially that of an editor and a grant from the Buell Quain Fund was made to him for this purpose. It soon became clear that ordering and editing were not enough. While the notes were rich in detail and insights, there were many gaps which Quain certainly was aware of, and there were interpretations and generalizations about Trumaí culture which he undoubtedly would have inserted in his final report. Robert Murphy found that to understand Buell Quain's field work, he would have to immerse himself in the only available document-

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123 himself to the hospitality of the Indians and in return received their confidence.

A feeling of aloneness permeates the Quain notes. He was in the midst of people with whom he had limited communication, due not only to the obstacle of language, but to the cultural gulf separating him from them. The threat of enemy attack was at that time constant in the upper Xingú area; life was precarious and civilization far off. Perhaps this existence sharpened his observations and increased the depth of his insights, for these are fine notes. Buell Quain's Trumaí
114 field trip is part of a tradition of ethnographic field research of which the anthropological profession may well be proud. His story, told more fully by Dr. Charles Wagley in the Foreword, adds one more legend to the saga of primitivist studies.

114 My own role in the writing of this monograph was to assemble and order the facts collected by Quain and to evaluate the data in terms of
128 which behavior and attitudes are normative within Trumaí culture, which lie within the range of permissible variation, and how such traits are merged in the whole. Facts do not speak for themselves. The concept of culture implies an interrelatedness of the components, which, in turn, calls for interpretation on the part of the ethnologist. It might be said that the information is Quain's product; its ordering into a coherent description of Trumaí culture mine. It is impossible, however, to so neatly separate the Murphy from the Quain in this monograph, for Quain's interests and ideas have influenced my interpretation of the data. Conversely, the facts have no doubt been affected by the interpretation. For this reason, I have included as many illustrations and examples from the notes as was possible. I have also avoided generalizing statements in the actual description of Trumaí culture, and overall interpretations have been reserved for the conclusion. The final chapter, then, is my own view of the dynamics involved in the breakdown of Trumaí culture and society. The reader will by that time be in essential command of the data upon which the generalizations are based and free to make up his own mind.

128 Quain's most adequate information is on the closely interrelated subjects of personality, ethos, life cycle, and interpersonal behavior and attitudes. Material culture, technology, and religion are less thoroughly documented. Thus, the orientation of the monograph is the result of Quain's own interests. I have also visualized my task to be a description of the Trumaí Indians in 1938, and reference has been made to other sources only to place them in the context of history and the cultural landscape of the upper Xingú River region.

114 Quain's field work was never completed and the reader will find large gaps in this monograph. Undoubtedly, there are errors and much that is in disagreement with other data and other field workers. It is

B /159 cont./
101 and, in order not to do violence to the perfectly justified tribal
171 names, as actually happened in the case of the Nahuquá, we
197 may call them, where we need a comprehensive term, the potter tribes, according to their most important ethnological characteristic. Beside them stand the Yaulapiti as a closely related Nu-Aruak tribe, but one already clearly different in dialect and revealing other influences.

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101 Thus the arithmetical problem has been simplified to the
197 extent that we have before us Karaiben in the Bakaïrí and Nahuquá, Nu-Aruak in the potter tribes and the Yaulapiti, Tupí in the Auetó and the Kamayurá, and, as an indivisible remainder, the Trumaí.

II. Anthropological.

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126 In order to have a record of the physical appearance of the
128 Kulisehu Indians, insofar as was possible during our brief acquaint-
141 ance with the individual tribes, a series of measurements were taken, which did not turn out to be very numerous and are not evenly distributed according to the different tribes or the two sexes, yet nevertheless offer interesting material. Possible sources of error on the part of the observer may be put down as constant, since the measurements were all taken by Ehrenreich. He also took a far greater number of photographs than could be reproduced here; some of them, however, became very spotty and difficult
B to reproduce.* He expects to make further use of the illustrative
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* As is shown in detail in the list of illustrations, the following are reproduced here in photographs: both sexes of the Bakaïrí, Mehinakú and Kamayurá, as well as only men of the Nahuquá and Auetó, while Yaulapiti and Trumaí are missing altogether.

material and to deal with the collected material of the measurements in detail and according to its comparative value for the

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other South American Indians; I shall limit myself here to a few preliminary studies and from the chief measurements give at least the bulk reduced to maximum, minimum, and arithmetical mean, in order to show merely in rough outlines the proportions of the Indian physique.

Virchow's instrumental equipment was used for the measurements: measuring staff with folding foot-board, calipers and beam compasses, as well as a steel /160/ tape measure. The measurements were entered on a printed Virchow form (cf. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie XVII, p. 100). The following were measured: Bakaïrí men 10, women 6; Nahuqua men 15, women 12; Mehinakú men 6, women 5; Kustenaú women 1; Waurá men 1, women 1; Auetó men 14, women 2; Kamayurá men 14, women 4; Trumaí men 8; a total of 68 men and 31 women. I shall always list the tribes in such a way that the arithmetical mean of the figures for the men increase from top to bottom.

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Body height.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Trumaí	8	163.0	155.0	159.1	–	–	–	–
Auetö	14	171.6	155.5	159.9	16	156.5	139.5	148.0
Kustenaú	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	150.0
Bakaïrí	10	166.3	154.5	160.8	6	161.2	140.5	151.6
Nahuquá	14	166.7	155.5	162.3	12	161.0	145.0	152.2
Mehinakú	6	168.2	159.0	164.1	5	153.7	145.3	151.4
Kamayurá	14	172.0	159.0	164.1	4	155.7	152.0	153.8
Waurá	1	–	–	165.7	1	–	–	147.5

The arithmetical mean of the body heights of all these 67 men, irrespective of tribe, amounts of 161.9.

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Without doubt, however, the number is too low. If we exclude all younger persons up to the estimated age of 25 and include the Nahuquá estimated at "50" years who represents the minimum of 155.5, as well as the "60"-year-old Kamayurá with a minimum height of 159.0, we obtain the following rearrangement of tribes and alteration of figures. The maxima remain unaffected.

Trumai SP23
Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25
Waura SP18
Mato Grosso SP1

102, 131

/For a sketch map of the state of Mato Grosso showing the location of various ethnic groups, see 3:Petrullo, SP8 Bororo, category 116, map facing p. 180./

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

CHAPTER ONE

The Upper Xingú Area

Previous Field Surveys

114 Buell Quain's research among the Trumaí Indians of the upper Xingú River in Brazil was accomplished during the months of August to November of 1938. There have been expeditions since then, and several preceded it. The best known of the early ethnographers is Karl von den Steinen, who was the first white man to explore the tributaries of the Xingú and to contact and report upon the tribes there. His trips of 1884 and 1887 were followed by those of Hermann Meyer in 1897 and 1899, Max Schmidt in 1901, and Vincent Petrullo in 1931. Since Quain's trip, Oberg in 1948, Galvão in 1947 and 1950, de Lima in 1947 and 1948, and Robert Carneiro and Gertrude E. Dole in 1953–54 have worked among the "tribes" of the upper Xingú.* Most of the earlier research was in the form of surveys, which did not concentrate on the culture of any one group. Intensive studies can only be done through continuous residence among and careful observation of a tribe. Quain did exactly this for several months, filling a gap of much-needed information from the upper Xingú. He has also treated social, political, and religious structure much more thoroughly than the surveys, which have given especial attention to material culture. Since the other sources have treated this aspect of culture more completely than did Quain, and as Quain himself was more interested in non-material culture, the present work will follow his emphasis.

Geographical Features

131 The tributaries of the Xingú River have particularly attracted ethnologists, because the inaccessibility of the region has made it a fortress against the inroads of Brazilian civilization. There were probably few places in Brazil harder to reach. Entry from the north is virtually impossible as the main stream of the Xingú is blocked by falls, and transportation by river boat is therefore precluded. Travel above the fall

* The term "tribe" is commonly accepted by anthropologists to mean a multi-community group unified within a common social structure or by continuous political controls, the people of which share the same language and culture and feel themselves to be one. This is not true of the upper Xingú groups, and the term is used herein for purposes of convenience and in its broadest sense only.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

line by canoe would involve a journey of several hundred miles through mostly uninhabited country. The southern approach is the only feasible one for surface transportation. Even this is difficult as canoes and pack animals are needed after leaving Cuyabá. Between that city and the upper Xingú, the Planalto de Matto Grosso intervenes. This is an extremely rugged upland, hard to traverse. The isolation of the area made difficulties for ethnologists, but these were more than compensated for by the intactness of the native cultures. The establishment in 1947 of an outpost and airstrip of the Fundação Brasil Central, located below the juncture of the Kuluene and Kuliseu rivers, has done much to overcome the physical obstacles. The near future should see a considerable increase in ethnographic data from the headwaters of the Xingú.

In 1938 the Trumaí village was situated on the Kuluene River near its juncture with the Kuliseu. The Kuluene is the easternmost of the six parallel rivers that form the headwaters of the Xingú. The Xingú, itself, is one of the largest of the rivers tributary to the Amazon. It joins the Amazon about two hundred miles from the mouth of that river, after flowing from south to north for approximately one thousand miles. The six rivers which flow parallel to each other for over two hundred miles and then join to form the Xingú are, from east to west, the Kuluene, Kuliseu, Batoví, Jatobá, Ronuro, and Steinen rivers. They rise in the uplands, flowing through plains country and gallery forest. Further downstream they widen out and begin their descent into the tropical rain forest. The open country between the streams diminishes and the area covered by forest increases. The terrain is flat with but slight elevations between the rivers. Opening on the rivers are marshy subsidiary streams and large systems of lagoons which extend for several miles. Adjacent to the Kuluene and Kuliseu are broad sections of periodically inundated savannah lands, which are little used by the Indian population.

The heavy rains from October to April have the same profound effect upon the annual cycle of life here as they do in other sections of the Brazilian rain forest. Of great importance, also, is the effect of the rains upon the soil. The rains are too heavy to allow the surface soil to retain them. The water runs off or sinks deeply into the loose earth, leaching the surface of minerals and making it poor for agriculture. Since no form of mineral replenishment is used, a garden plot becomes exhausted in about two or three years, or after two plantings.

Nevertheless, the rain forest is suitable for primitive agriculture, since the looseness of the soil makes it ideally adapted to the primitive tools in use. As the open grasslands in this section of South America have extremely poor soil and cannot be tilled with simple hand tools, the Trumaí, like other tropical forest peoples, are forced to make their gardens in forest clearings in locations that are not flooded annually.

[text continues on p. 7]

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

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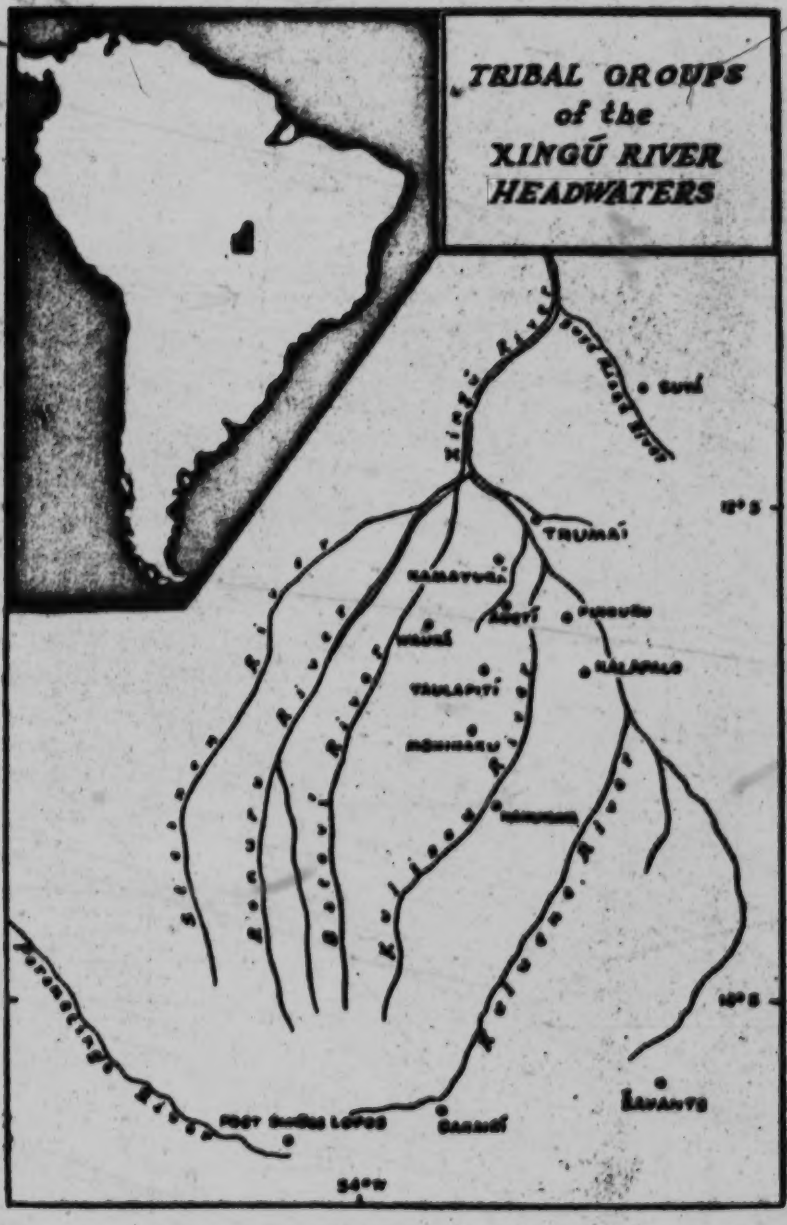

/127 cont./

B T 103 133 T [361] luggage. They reached the place where the Kulisehu empties /128/ into the beautiful wide Kuluëne in seven hours, passed a tributary on the left, a canal of the Mariapé-Nahuquá on the right, found on the right bank the Trumaí villages in the condition described on page 114, and from here were able in all of four hours -- in eight hours from the emptying of the Kulisehu -- to reach Schingú-Koblenz at the junction of the Kuluëne and Ronuro, that large sandy beach where our meeting with the Trumaí was enacted in 1884.

At that time the Trumaí had thus come down on their Kuluëne, and this large river, of which we knew only the mouth, was designated for us as the "Kulisehu." A strange development! On our new expedition we had sought the "Kulisehu" and had found and traveled the Kulisehu as well, but we had meant the Kuluëne. Even the Trumaí live below the Kulisehu mouth; farther up on the Kuluëne lived the Nahuquá tribes, which fortunately, however, were also settled on the Kulisehu in the village visited by us.

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1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

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[Text continues on p. 7]

1: Steinen--72 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi
Trumai SP23

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Thirteenth Chapter

Meeting With the Trumaí

During the night Castro's canoe, the only one whose load was not brought to shore, floated away; in two hours it travels one legoa; Valentin and Satyr set out in pursuit.

122 31 Aug. φ 11° 46'.5, λ 31'.6, km. 18.12, total 466.81.
132 4:10 A.M.: I 744.0, dry. 19.2.
6:45 A.M.: I 744.6, II 737.0, dry. 19.4, wet. 19.0, strc. 9°, water 25.8.
5:40 P.M.: I 744.4, II 735.6, dry. 24.8, wet. 21.9, horizon hazy 4, wind = 0, water 27.9.
9:45 P.M.: I 745.0, dry. 20.8.

484 "Vem os compadres! oh, quantas canoas!" suddenly rang
501 out around 10:00; "the compadres are coming; oh, how many
609 canoes!" The soldiers hastened from the nearby camp in the forest; everyone armed himself and watched the canoes drawing up picturesquely in a long row -- and a magnificent sight it was as one after another came around the bend and slowly drifted down the Kuliseu. Two Indians stood erect, with quiet composure, their bows in readiness; a third sat in the center and scarcely moved the oar. We counted 14 canoes and 43 persons.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

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[Text continues on p. 7]

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

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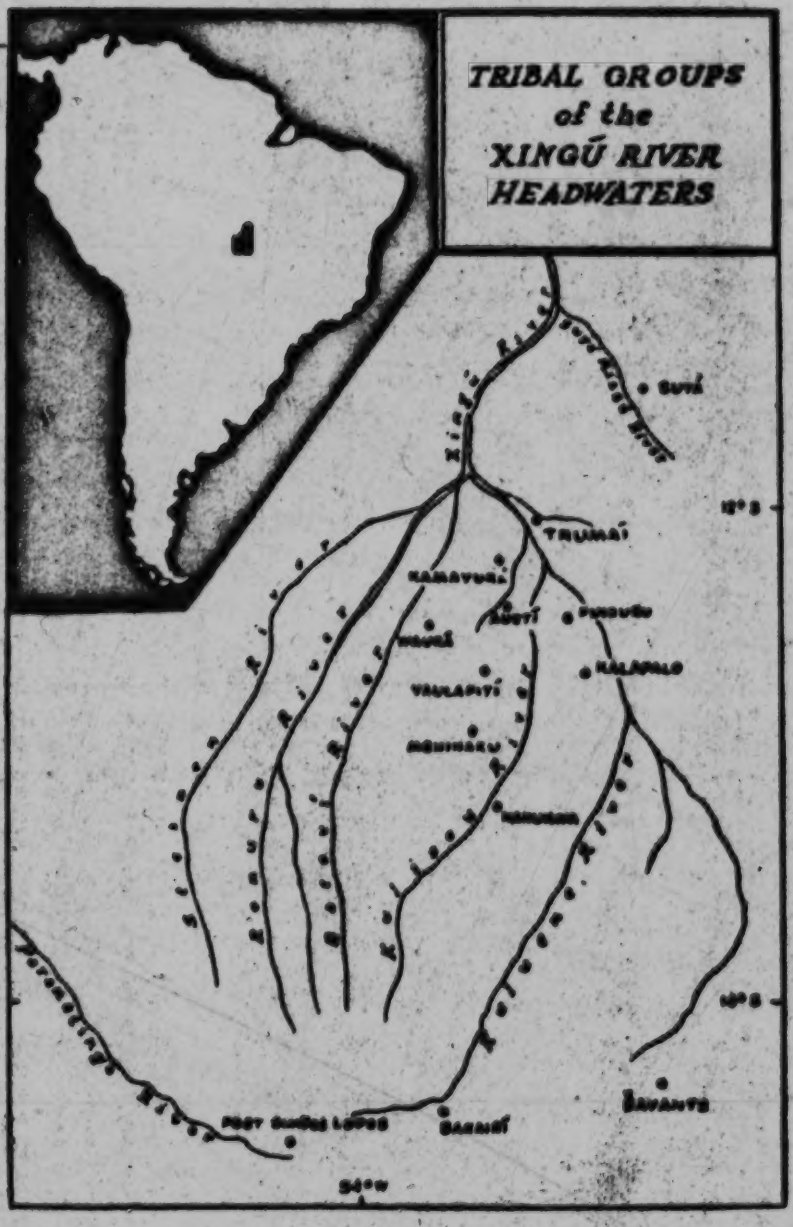

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

CHAPTER TWO

Trumaí Subsistence and Technology

Vital Statistics

162 The population of the Trumaí village in 1938 was 43. This figure includes the 3 foreign women in residence and excludes those few Trumaí who were living with other groups. There were 17 men, 16 women, and 10 pre-pubescent children, of whom 8 were male and only 2 were female. [737] Due to the previously mentioned capture and forced marriage of Trumaí women, the average age of females seems to have been considerably greater than that of males. Two men were considered by the Trumaí [163] as old, while four women were placed in that category. This disparity of age undoubtedly had an influence on the Trumaí birth rate.

165 849 Infant mortality seems to have been high, and Quain was of the opinion that it was further aggravated by abortion and infanticide. The fact that there were eight male children and but two girls suggests that infanticide must have been practiced only upon females. Quain's notes, however, give no indication that this was the fact. Pulmonary diseases 164 have devastated all the groups of the upper Xingú, but the drop in the 161 Trumaí population from 43 in 1938 to 25 in 1948 is probably not paralleled in the other villages during that time.

Village and Gardens

361 The Trumaí settlement was located a scant half-mile from a lagoon 133 that opened directly upon the east shore of the Kuluene just a few miles away. The mouth of the lagoon was narrow, but it broadened out into a lake of moderate size with many small bays and was ringed with [36] swamps. Proximity to the river made insects a continual nuisance during the rainy season. The Kamayurá village, located near the sandy beaches of a lagoon lined with *buriti* palms, was relatively free of insects.

361 The village consisted of four houses and another under construction. Between the houses and the surrounding forest lay an area of weeds and low underbrush into which refuse was thrown. The ground within the ring of houses was kept comparatively free of weeds and litter. The village "plaza" was about 200 feet wide. In the center were the log [231] bench and fireplace of the men's gathering place. Nearby was a conical wicker cage in which the village harpy eagle was kept for its feathers, which were used in ceremonies.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

Plate I

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[P. 32-A]

On the Kuluene River

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

PLATE II

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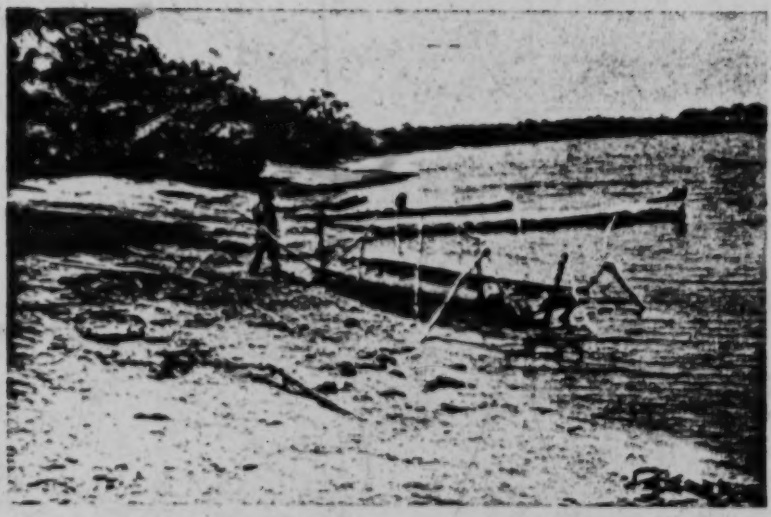

Trumai camping at Karajaja

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Working Manioc

1: Steinen--75 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi
Trumai SP23

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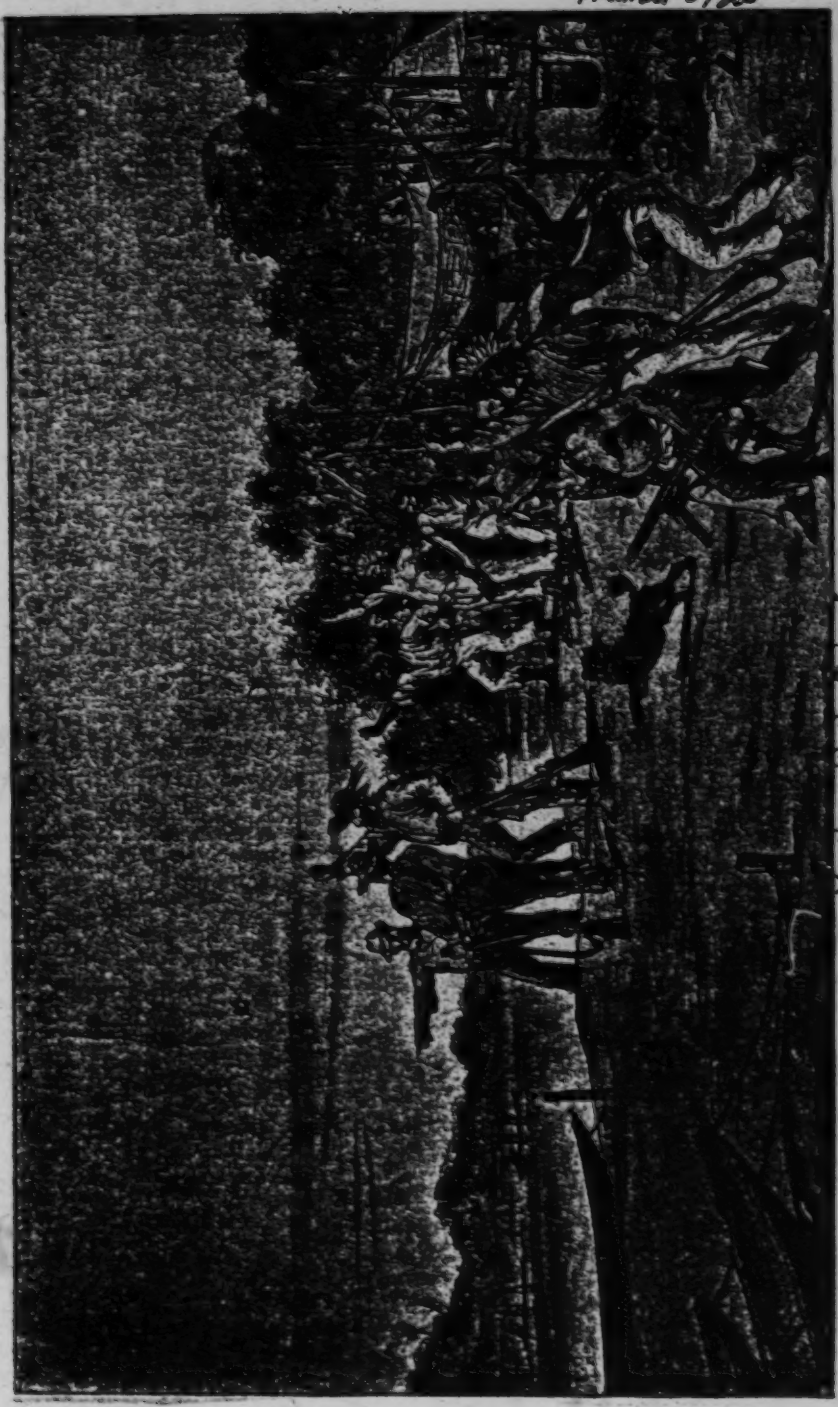

Meeting with the Trumai.

/127 cont./

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SP23 Trumai SP23

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[text continues on p. 7]

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

The rapid exhaustion of the soil forces them into a life which, although not nomadic, involves frequent moves. As the soil in old plots is exhausted, new ones have to be opened up. The area of exploitable land around the village is limited by the need to transport the produce and protect the villagers from their enemies. Thus, after the land available to the village has been used, the group moves.

The main subsistence of the nine village groups now living in the upper Xingú area is derived from this typically Amazonian shifting horticulture coupled with fishing in the extensive streams, lagoons, and estuaries. Apparently, the population of the region was never great enough to cause any pressure on land or other resources. Each village maintained exclusive rights of exploitation over certain waterways and areas of land within which the village always moved. There evidently were not, and still are not, any clearly defined territorial boundaries; but village rights are implicitly recognized.

The Neighbors of the Trumai

Although there is considerable uniformity in the cultures of the upper Xingú tribes, their linguistic affiliations are diverse. The main language stocks of aboriginal Brazil are represented. On the Kuluene River are the linguistically independent Trumaí and the Cariban Kuikuru, Kalapalo, Tsuva, and Naravute. Near the waters of the Kuliseu River live the Tupian Kamayurá and Auetí, the Arawakan Mehinaku and Yaulapití, and the Cariban Nahukwa. The Batoví River is inhabited by the Arawakan Waurá and Kustenaú.[1] All these villages maintain a rather distrustful peace among themselves, but live in fear of their hostile Gê- and Tupian-speaking neighbors on the perimeters of the upper Xingú drainage area.

The upper Xingú "tribes" consist of one village each. It seems evident from the linguistic heterogeneity of the region that it is a *cul de sac* — one of the aboriginal refuge areas which characterize the cultural landscape of the headwaters of the Amazon and its tributaries.

The cultural uniformity of the above peoples has impressed all observers, as has the extensive contact that they maintain with each other. Descriptions of this homogeneity are to be found in von den Steinen[2] and, latterly, in Galvão[3] and Oberg.[4] Among the principal material traits which distinguish the area as opposed to neighboring, but outside, groups are: haystack-shaped houses arranged in a circle around a central plaza; bark canoes; dependence upon fish for protein;

[1] Oberg (1953, p. 4) states that the Yaulapití, Kustenaú, Tsuva, and Naravute no longer live in independent villages, but reside among other groups, usually of the same linguistic family.

[2] Von den Steinen 1886. [3] Galvão 1949. [4] Oberg 1953.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The path which led from the village to Nariatan, the northwestern garden clearing, passed through the previously mentioned ceremonial clearing north of the village. A short distance beyond this point, a branch took off to the east and led to Waniwanitan, the northeastern and second largest clearing, which contained nine garden plots totaling approximately five acres. Each garden was tilled by a different man, but two men had plots in both Nariatan and Waniwanitan. The size of the average garden was one-half acre. There was no newly cleared land, and, in contrast to Nariatan which was still yielding, nearly all of the crop (mostly manioc) had either died or been harvested. Quain noticed that the soil in Nariatan had a gray tone, whereas that of Waniwanitan was reddish in hue. This difference in color was due to the ashes deposited by the more recent burning over of the former site.

Nariatan was a newer garden than Waniwanitan, and the former was planted to a variety of crops while the latter was nearly all in manioc. This is indicative of the common tropical forest slash and burn system whereby second year gardens are used only for manioc growing, and new areas in which the soil is still comparatively rich are used for other vegetables in addition to manioc. The Trumaí are unique, however, in that the garden clearing was divided into individually owned plots. Smaller individual gardens or large gardens cleared and cultivated collectively are the general rule in the rain forests of South America.

The three other clearings were small, and each contained one garden plot. One was one-quarter acre in size, while the other two each comprised one-half acre. These small gardens were connected with the village by separate paths and were closer to it than the two larger clearings. Anariatan, Nariatan and Waniwanitan were named after old village sites, but Quain knew of no abandoned locations from which the names Tan Toreake and Tandatake could have been derived.

Horticultural Techniques

It is difficult to assess the relative importance of horticulture, fishing and gathering in the subsistence economy of the Trumaí. At different times of the year each made the major contribution to the diet. Most garden products became available at about the middle of the rainy season, but manioc was dug up when needed throughout the year. Fish and manioc were staples the year-round, although fishing was poorer during the rains. Each was more important in the total diet than were the products of gathering. However, the subsistence of the Trumaí at certain times of the year, especially in the early part of the rainy season, would have been seriously threatened without the wild foods.

The agricultural cycle started in the early part of the dry season when the clearings needed for the next rainy season's gardens were made.

T 123 /124 cont./ pocket along the way. A certain amount was obviously missing; I hope it was distributed among various fanciers and taken by them with some success for the skin diseases particularly common among the Yaulapiti.

T 126 Much as we were urged to depart, we still had to undertake at least the most important body measurements and would not relent; seven men were measured in haste, in between our packing, and the only photographic plate left was used for a group shot -- unfortunately ruined later.

T 122 At 9:45 we set out in two canoes, accompanied by four Trumaí. Three times one would have to sleep, they said, before reaching their villages. The Mehinakú could also be reached by way of the canals and only one day was needed to their second village. At 11:00 we landed near the Auetó́ village, at a place other than where we had left. In the damp
T ●[136] leaves lay huge quantities of giant earthworms; wherever one put his foot, he stepped on them. The path led us to the two huts of the Yaulapiti-Auetó́ families.

T 361 It is advisable to insert here what Vogel and Perrot reported about the Trumaí villages after their return home from Schingú-Koblenz. They had not caught sight of an Indian, but below the place where the Kulisehu empties into the Kuluëne, on a bank five meters high, they had found one Trumaí village of eight houses and, a kilometer farther east, a second one of five
T T 727 houses with buildings under construction among them. The Suyá had burned down all the houses and smashed whatever
T 241 was left of large pots and utensils. There were plantings of remarkably large size and careful cultivation directly adjoining the
T 764 villages. About ten fresh graves were noted; judging from the circular excavation, the corpses had been buried in a squatting position. They seemed to lie deep; at least they were /125/
B 186 not uncovered by some superficial subsequent digging. Antonio had been very alarmed when Perrot said to him: "o doutor Carlos precisa d'uma cabeça /Doctor Carlos wants a head/." It was only with great effort that Antonio had been persuaded to go along on the trip and expose himself to the possibility of meeting the detested Trumaí.

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naked Suyá women washed their sexual parts at the river in our presence.

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If the glans constantly threatens to become exposed through erections and sexual intercourse, could the wish arise on the part of maturing men to keep it covered for protection? There is much to be said in favor of this. To be sure this need for protection might least of all be related to underbrush and thorns.

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More seriously to be considered are the assaults of the animal kingdom. If the Trumaí, as was maintained of them, were animals who lived in the water and slept on the bottom of the river, they would be urgently required to close off the urethral opening against the little candiru fish (Cetopsis candiru). This transparent, span-long little monster, whose occurrence we noted in the Batovy in 1884, has the peculiar habit of penetrating the body openings accessible to it when human beings are in the water; it slips into the urethra, cannot get back because of its fins, and may easily cause the death of the unfortunate one who has no other recourse but, willy-nilly, to perform the urethrotomia externa with his knife.*

> *The Brazilians' fear of this fish, so harmless in and of itself, is thus probably justified; it is best characterized by a Munchausenism which an officer, with a perfectly straight face, reported to us as true: in the waters beside Villa Cáceres the candiru is so vicious and so consumed with its passion that even when a person relieves himself on the shore it quickly goes up in the jet of water.

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Since, however, the amphibian nature of the Trumaí will justifiably encounter skepticism, and the stay in the water, even for the fisherman or the rower hauling his canoe through the cataracts, plays only an insignificant role, it is /196/ not necessary to grasp at the only occasional danger from the candiru. On

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

CHAPTER TWO

Trumaí Subsistence and Technology

Vital Statistics

The population of the Trumaí village in 1938 was 43. This figure includes the 3 foreign women in residence and excludes those few Trumaí who were living with other groups. There were 17 men, 16 women, and 10 pre-pubescent children, of whom 8 were male and only 2 were female. Due to the previously mentioned capture and forced marriage of Trumaí women, the average age of females seems to have been considerably greater than that of males. Two men were considered by the Trumaí as old, while four women were placed in that category. This disparity of age undoubtedly had an influence on the Trumaí birth rate.

Infant mortality seems to have been high, and Quain was of the opinion that it was further aggravated by abortion and infanticide. The fact that there were eight male children and but two girls suggests that infanticide must have been practiced only upon females. Quain's notes, however, give no indication that this was the fact. Pulmonary diseases have devastated all the groups of the upper Xingú, but the drop in the Trumaí population from 43 in 1938 to 25 in 1948 is probably not paralleled in the other villages during that time.

Village and Gardens

The Trumaí settlement was located a scant half-mile from a lagoon that opened directly upon the east shore of the Kuluene just a few miles away. The mouth of the lagoon was narrow, but it broadened out into a lake of moderate size with many small bays and was ringed with swamps. Proximity to the river made insects a continual nuisance during the rainy season. The Kamayurá village, located near the sandy beaches of a lagoon lined with *buriti* palms, was relatively free of insects.

The village consisted of four houses and another under construction. Between the houses and the surrounding forest lay an area of weeds and low underbrush into which refuse was thrown. The ground within the ring of houses was kept comparatively free of weeds and litter. The village "plaza" was about 200 feet wide. In the center were the log bench and fireplace of the men's gathering place. Nearby was a conical wicker cage in which the village harpy eagle was kept for its feathers, which were used in ceremonies.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Older boys and men went into the forest to cut down the trees and bring the boughs back to the village. The men then took turns in pounding the boughs into coarse fiber with the blunt end of an axe. Even men who did not participate in the gathering of the boughs helped in their reduction into fiber.

The group nature of the work is understandable in view of the communal labor and benefits involved in fish poisoning. Once the boughs were reduced, the fibers were cut into sheaves of about two and one-half feet in length. These sheaves were used to poison the water. Interestingly, both bark and wood were pounded up together, although, according to Quain, only the bark is poisonous.

The *buriti* palm supplied two raw materials, *isinke* and *isinke hut'*. *Isinke* was obtained from the heart of the young spike of the growing tip of the palm. The top was separated to give access to the heart, and long fibers were pulled out, which were then hung in the interior of the house to dry. When dry they resembled a heavy hemp, and were used to make cord. *Isinke hut'* is the leaf of the *buriti*, which was used in basketry.

Hunting

Hunting was not important at any time during Quain's stay. Tapir, peccary, deer, monkey, jaguar, squirrel and paca, a large rodent, are among the animals mentioned by Quain as being found in the vicinity, but only the monkey and paca were eaten. Birds were also eaten, and their feathers were used for ornamentation. Terrapin were caught by hand, either by creeping up on them or by swimming close to them under water and grabbing them by the shell. All other game was shot with the bow and arrow, except for the capybara, called *tsimo* by the Trumaí. Canoeists speared the swimming animals. The spear was used at no other time in hunting or fishing, although the Yaulapití speared fish.

Quain saw no organized hunting parties. One or two men sometimes set out with the express intention of hunting, but most animals were shot while on fishing or gathering expeditions. The Trumaí did not rely on meat, nor did they show a craving for it. Hunting seemed to be more a pastime and sport than a subsistence activity. When Quain hunted with the Trumaí he noticed that they wanted him to kill birds more for their feathers than for their meat. They also wanted him to kill several entirely worthless birds because, as two of the men expressed it, they wanted "to see it."

Foods

The horticulture, fishing and gathering economy of the Trumaí gave them a fair variety and adequate quantity of food during most of the year, barring crop failure. The Trumaí, however, had a considerably

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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it before it rots. The Trumaí worked hard at this, and Quain heard the sounds of women boiling and stirring the *ke'jau* far into the night. Some of the *ke'jau* was placed in gourds for immediate use. It was mixed with water, making a rich yellow drink, and was frequently stirred into the manioc gruel, or *ats aek*. *Ke'jau* was considered an excellent food for canoe trips, and was carried by fishermen and travelers.

The *piquí* fruit when roasted whole "tastes like egg yolk, or, vaguely, like deviled eggs," Quain wrote. In addition to cooking the pulp of the fruit, the kernel of the *piquí* pit was used. It was sometimes eaten raw, but usually it was cooked. The kernel has a fragrant, coconut-like flavor. A pudding was made by boiling down *piquí* kernels to the consistency of paste and, to Quain, the flavor was much like that of the caramelized coconut sauce prepared in Fiji. Another preparation called *t'ak*, which resembled *beijú*, was made from a flour prepared from *piquí* kernels. Fish and various other foods were piled on top of the *t'ak* and eaten with it, or pieces of the cake were broken off and eaten plain.

Maize, beans, and squash were grown in the Trumaí gardens, but due to the season none of these was eaten during Quain's stay. While making house inventories he saw small amounts of maize and beans stored in gourds sealed with tree gum, undoubtedly to be used as seed. Two varieties of maize were eaten. The more common type was called *xotet*; the other was a red species known as *hy kapsik*.

Pineapples and bananas did not figure importantly in the diet. Although the Trumaí grew sugar cane (*kanaviya*), there is no information on its use. Sweet potatoes were roasted by the men, but were probably prepared in other ways also. A paste was made from cotton seeds by pounding them in a mortar and then boiling the mashed seeds. The paste was kept in a gourd and eaten by scooping it up with the fingers.

Quain's notes contain little on the preparation of wild foods other than *piquí* fruit. Guava were eaten raw, but there is no information on how the various kinds of palm fruits were prepared.

The abdomen of a large ant called *xokoldomat'ek* was considered a delicacy, and flying ants were popped into the mouth like peanuts. A tremendous green grasshopper with long horns (*tawarero*) was roasted and eaten. A small red tick (*tekwu*) was also consumed, but a fuzzy caterpillar known as the *ma'yryr* was looked upon with revulsion. The Trumaí claimed contemptuously that only the Suyá ate them.

It would appear that the Trumaí seldom drank plain water. Instead, beverages such as the manioc or *piquí* drinks were used. A gourdful of one of these drinks was usually available in the houses, and a supply was taken on canoe trips. No intoxicating beverages were made, but Quain was told by a former captive of the Yuruna that the Yuruna brew "kills you for a day or two, and they stay up all night shouting and singing." The informant did not approve of its taste or effects.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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881 the banks, while men crowded into a canoe. The reptile was located, but
866 instead of the one-foot diameter that it was at first said to have, it turned out to be only three inches thick. But, as Quain laconically observed, it was hungry. The men shouted at Jawaku to jump in the water and grab it.

The boy approached the reptile cautiously and with obvious fear. The
[136] anaconda, aroused, slithered through the water to the other side of the lagoon. Jawaku's unwillingness to fight was now apparent. There were shouts that he was frightened. These goads temporarily overcame his reluctance, and he waded through the water and grabbed the snake around the middle, lifting it out of the water. The anaconda began throwing its coils, while striking at the boy. In a panic, Jawaku stumbled blindly for the shore, tripped over a log, and released his hold on the snake. All the men shouted, "He's afraid!" as the crestfallen boy dragged himself out of the water and silently walked home.

That night, Maibu made a lengthy speech in which he absolved himself from any responsibility for Jawaku's cowardice. The next day another reptile was sighted, but Jawaku did not even bother to look at it.

881 On the other hand, Autsuki measured up to what was expected of him, and thus was able to continue the ritual that marked his maturation. Immediately upon the successful outcome of his struggle with an anaconda, he went to his house. He had now entered the seclusion phase
[604] of his puberty rites. Tun, his mother's brother, who was acting as next of kin, built a partition screening him off from the rest of the house. He was allowed nothing to eat but a medicinal preparation called *wyryx*, and he could leave his confinement to defecate only when everyone was asleep.

881 The seclusion period was to last until the ear-piercing festival which
304 was to be held several months later, but Autsuki was cheerful about it. In accordance with normal practice, he had his arms scraped shortly after he entered confinement, and he was also given the adult tonsure.

881 There remained only one more step in the cycle of initiation rites:
868 initiation into the shamanistic art of curing. Completion of this final
756 phase was necessary for full participation in the men's circle and for the privilege of smoking tobacco.[1] All of the uninitiated Trumaí youths
[876] knew how to smoke and occasionally did so, but the adults referred to
[195] this as "lying smoking." In order to "really" smoke it was necessary to have a ceremony performed by Matiwana. Exactly when this occurred is open to question, but ideally it was supposed to follow the final seclusion and ear-piercing. Aloari had not yet had the ceremony performed, although he was married and had a child. In his own words, he was still "too young." Aloari was evidently equating maturation with the puberty rites.

[1] Oberg (1953, p. 60) reports that uninitiated men may not smoke among the Kamayurá, either.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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were the teams always the same. Old Matiwana and his son Yati fished together most of the time, as did Aloari and his true brother Tun. Other true brothers often fished together, but, with the exception of the two above-mentioned steadfast teams, men chose their fishing companions according to their mutual needs or plans for the day. Since such agreements occurred most often between members of the same household, co-residents often cooperated. One man, Jakuma, spent much of his time fishing as the *tau* of different canoe owners or borrowers. He had no wife, and his garden, which he did not till very diligently, was very small. His fishing partners included men from every household, who were related to him in various degrees.

Although the position of *tau* was a temporarily subordinate one, it caused no loss of status. Even the Trumaí chief, since he owned no canoe, went fishing as a *tau*. Occasionally men took their wives along, but fishing was a man's specialty, and the woman's function was restricted to paddling.

Gathering

The two most important food products that the Trumaí gathered were turtle eggs and the fruit of the *piquí* tree, or *tsinon*. Throughout the dry season, turtle eggs were gathered in great quantity on the banks and sandbars of the rivers. By September they were no longer available and, in the following month, *piquí* became the main objective of the gathering parties. The harvest of this fruit was stored and lasted nearly to the end of the rainy season. *Piquí* was an important staple, especially in the period before crops ripened. Most of the *piquí* trees grow wild, but there is a suggestion in Quain's notes that they might also have been transplanted when young. All of the *piquí* trees were individually owned, and proprietary rights of individuals to groups of trees were clearly understood by all. In order to make the fruit ripen fast, the owner of the trees built a slow-burning fire of grass underneath them at night. The early rainy season was a rather lean period, so that there was great joy when the *piquí* was heard falling in the forest. Everyone broke into shouts of "*kaha kaha kaha-a-a*," which was the conventional cry for greeting the first *piquí*. These shouts were slightly different from those welcoming fish brought into the village.

The first fruit was usually gathered by the owner of the trees and his family. However, when the fruit began to fall in great quantity there was a general harvest which was shared without regard for tree ownership.

Piquí gathering started in the middle of October, when the planting season had ended and the men were free to help in the gathering. However, men still fished frequently, and the burden of the gathering fell on the women and older boys. Women from the same household

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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often gathered together, and at times all of the women of a house would work together in *piquí* collecting. Parties of boys and men sometimes picked up the fruit, and a man often went gathering with his wife to protect her from possible enemies, especially if there had been recent threats or omens. He took his bow and arrows, and frequently did not help in carrying the fruit back to the village. The *piquí* was brought to the village in basket containers, and then made into a variety of dishes.

Guava (*warawaru*) grows wild in the forest, ripening a short time before *piquí* does, but extending into the season of the latter. Quain believed it to be a valuable vitamin C supplement to the diet, but it was a far less important food than *piquí*. Men participated little in guava collecting, although they accompanied their wives for sociability and protection. Quain described these connubial gathering expeditions as being largely pleasant jaunts through the wood. Children often went out for the fruit, which they brought back to the village strung on straws.

The water lily from which salt was made was another important item gathered during the period of Quain's residence among the Trumaí. The water lilies were collected in the Trumaí lagoon, and the complete salt-making process was carried on there. Each Trumaí built a rack over the waters of the lagoon. The lilies were pulled up, spread out on the rack to dry, and later burned. The ashes were sifted to obtain the salt. Quain did not mention any women's salt racks, but the women prepared their own supply of salt, too. Quain saw salt-making only in the early part of September, although it is possible that it occurred prior to this time as well. However, salt was not made after the middle of September, due to the rains and the exigencies of planting.

Ants were eaten by the Trumaí, and, according to an informant, by all groups in the area. A little boy demonstrated the correct way to consume them when he joyously brought in a fat one, plucked off its abdomen and swallowed it. Quain was told that later in the season the women and children would go out and collect them in large quantities. Other insects were in heavy demand for feeding the harpy eagle and other pet birds. Crickets were considered especially good for this purpose, and the boys made great sport of shooting these insects with their miniature bows and arrows.

A few other wild foods were eaten, but these were relatively insignificant. Among them was the fruit of the *awa'o* palm. Another fruit called *lamux*, resembling the crabapple in taste and superficial appearance, had a gelatinous interior. An unnamed plant is described by Quain as resembling grass, but having a quality like algae. It was eaten only in times of a manioc shortage. *Komu'u* is a parasitic plant that looks and tastes like the date. The *atoh* is a berry that tastes like the chokecherry.

Fift'a and *tuwasi*, the fish poisons, were gathered in the locale. The gathering and preparation of *tuwasi* boughs was a cooperative venture.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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[P. 32-A]

On the Kuluene River

2: Steinen--135 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Trumai SP23

B /159 cont./
101 and, in order not to do violence to the perfectly justified tribal
171 names, as actually happened in the case of the Nahuquá, we
197 may call them, where we need a comprehensive term, the potter tribes, according to their most important ethnological characteristic. Beside them stand the Yaulapiti as a closely related Nu-Aruak tribe, but one already clearly different in dialect and revealing other influences.

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101 Thus the arithmetical problem has been simplified to the
197 extent that we have before us Karaiben in the Bakaïrí and Nahuquá, Nu-Aruak in the potter tribes and the Yaulapiti, Tupí in the Auetö and the Kamayurá, and, as an indivisible remainder, the Trumaí.

II. Anthropological.

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126 In order to have a record of the physical appearance of the
128 Kulisehu Indians, insofar as was possible during our brief acquaint-
141 ance with the individual tribes, a series of measurements were taken, which did not turn out to be very numerous and are not evenly distributed according to the different tribes or the two sexes, yet nevertheless offer interesting material. Possible sources of error on the part of the observer may be put down as constant, since the measurements were all taken by Ehrenreich. He also took a far greater number of photographs than could be reproduced here; some of them, however, became very spotty and difficult to reproduce.* He expects to make further use of the illustrative

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* As is shown in detail in the list of illustrations, the following are reproduced here in photographs: both sexes of the Bakaïrí, Mehinakú and Kamayurá, as well as only men of the Nahuquá and Auetö, while Yaulapiti and Trumaí are missing altogether.

material and to deal with the collected material of the measurements in detail and according to its comparative value for the

B T 128 141 /159 cont./

other South American Indians; I shall limit myself here to a few preliminary studies and from the chief measurements give at least the bulk reduced to maximum, minimum, and arithmetical mean, in order to show merely in rough outlines the proportions of the Indian physique.

Virchow's instrumental equipment was used for the measurements: measuring staff with folding foot-board, calipers and beam compasses, as well as a steel /160/ tape measure. The measurements were entered on a printed Virchow form (cf. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie XVII, p. 100). The following were measured: Bakaïrí men 10, women 6; Nahuqua men 15, women 12; Mehinakú men 6, women 5; Kustenaú women 1; Waurá men 1, women 1; Auetö men 14, women 2; Kamayurá men 14, women 4; Trumaí men 8; a total of 68 men and 31 women. I shall always list the tribes in such a way that the arithmetical mean of the figures for the men increase from top to bottom.

B T 141 Body height.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Trumaí	8	163.0	155.0	159.1	–	–	–	–
Auetö	14	171.6	155.5	159.9	16	156.5	139.5	148.0
Kustenaú	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	150.0
Bakaïrí	10	166.3	154.5	160.8	6	161.2	140.5	151.6
Nahuquá	14	166.7	155.5	162.3	12	161.0	145.0	152.2
Mehinakú	6	168.2	159.0	164.1	5	153.7	145.3	151.4
Kamayurá	14	172.0	159.0	164.1	4	155.7	152.0	153.8
Waurá	1	–	–	165.7	1	–	–	147.5

The arithmetical mean of the body heights of all these 67 men, irrespective of tribe, amounts of 161.9.

B T 128 141 Without doubt, however, the number is too low. If we exclude all younger persons up to the estimated age of 25 and include the Nahuquá estimated at "50" years who represents the minimum of 155.5, as well as the "60"-year-old Kamayurá with a minimum height of 159.0, we obtain the following rearrangement of tribes and alteration of figures. The maxima remain unaffected.

/160 cont./

	Men	Min.	Mean			
Trumaí	4	155.0	155.8	as against		159.1
Bakaïrí	5	154.5	160.5	"	"	160.8
Auetö	9	155.5	160.7	"	"	159.9
Nahuquá	11	158.2	163.7	"	"	162.3
Kamayurá	6	159.7	165.5	"	"	164.1
Mehinakú	4	163.2	166.0	"	"	164.1

The arithmetical mean for these 39 men, who, according to the estimate, would be from 30-50 years of age, comes to 162.6. We see that now the Trumaí and Bakaïrí have a low mean, but the others a higher one, and, to be sure, the difference is greatest in the case of the Mehinakú.

If, with Topinard, we give 165 centimeters as the average height of the adult, the Kulisehu Indians on the average remain under the average size: below average height for all, with the exception of the Trumaí, who even go beyond the line set at 160 centimeters for small stature. The numbers agree with those which Topinard gives in his table, 162 for the Araukaner /Arawakans/ and Botokuden /Botocudo/, 160 for the Peruvians. The tallest man on the Kulisehu was a Kamayurá at 172.0, the shortest was the Bakaïrí with the Jewish facial type (Pl. 13) at 154.5. I obtained somewhat larger figures for the Bakaïrí in 1884: /Pl. XIII appears here/ /161/ on the Batovy the average of seven measurements was 163.6; on the Rio Novo and Paranatinga the average of 14 was 164.1. I should therefore like them to precede the Auetö in stature, as in the first table.

The women were decidedly small in stature. The maximum 161.2 belonged to the tall Bakaïrí who appears in the group of women (Pl. 5), the "Egyptian" of the first village; the minimum of 139.5 to one of the only two Auetö women measured, while the other measured 156.5, but was particularly striking because of her small fingers and toes.

The arithmetical mean of 31 women measured, irrespective of age, comes to 151.7.

[Text continues on p. 139]

/161 cont./

Breadth of outspread arms. Body height = 100.

B T 141

The variations in details are great in each tribe, but move within similar boundaries, so that the difference in the arithmetical /162/ means of the series is less pronounced. The breadth of the outspread arms was less than the body height in one instance each among the Auetö (- 0.5), the Kamayurá (- 1.3), and the Trumaí (3.8).

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Trumaí	7	106.2	97.5	102.7	–	–	–	–
Nahuquá	14	105.7	100.2	103.5	12	108.8	100.3	103.8
Kamayurá	14	107.6	99.2	104.5	4	103.6	102.1	103.5
Bakaïrí	10	108.2	102.1	104.9	6	106.8	101.8	103.3
Kustenaú	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	105.0
Mehinakú	6	107.3	100.5	105.0	5	108.7	102.5	105.5
Auetö	14	108.4	99.7	105.2	2	106.0	101.8	103.9
Waurá	1	–	–	108.3	1	–	–	106.6

Here the Nahuquá, Kamayurá, Bakaïrí, Mehinakú, and Auetö appear in the same order as in the measurements of chest size.

Shoulder breadth. A. Body height = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Nahuquá	5	25.0	22.4	24.1	1	–	–	22.4
Kamayurá	4	24.9	23.6	24.4	2	22.7	21.5	22.1
Waurá	1	–	–	24.4	1	–	–	23.8
Auetö	4	25.7	23.6	24.5	2	23.7	23.0	23.4
Bakaïrí	10	26.2	23.9	24.7	5	24.1	23.4	23.7
Trumaí	1	–	–	24.9	–	–	–	–
Mehinakú	6	26.8	24.6	25.2	–	–	–	–

2: Steinen--141 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Trumai SP23 ●

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B. Absolute.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Auetö	4	40.0	38.0	39.0	2	36.0	33.0	34.5
Nahuquá	5	41.0	36.5	39.2	1	–	–	33.0
Waurá	1	–	–	39.5	1	–	–	35.0
Bakaïrí	10	42.0	38.0	39.7	5	39.0	33.0	35.0
Trumaí	1	–	–	40.0	–	–	–	–
Kamayurá	4	41.5	39.0	40.1	2	34.5	33.5	34.0
Mehinakú	6	44.5	39.5	41.4	–	–	–	–

Chest circumference. A. Body height = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Nahuquá	14	57.6	50.8	55.1	12	59.1	48.3	53.2
Kamayurá	4	59.0	53.0	55.9	2	56.6	50.3	53.5
Bakaïrí	10	58.8	54.4	56.5	6	59.1	50.0	54.0
Trumaí	1	–	–	56.6	–	–	–	–
Kustenaú	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	54.7
Mehinakú	6	60.3	56.4	57.9	5	59.6	50.7	55.5
Auetö	14	60.6	55.8	58.2	2	56.3	55.6	56.0

These figures are very high. According to Topinard, the Scots have 56.7, the North American Indians 55.5, the Germans 53.8. The extraordinarily strong development of the chest and the shoulder breadth is also the factor that stands out most prominently in the appearance of our Indians. Consider the Mehinakú on the left on Plate 14 /see p. 163 /. Even the Nahuquá who /163/ show up the most unfavorably in the measurements are characterized by a strong thorax; see the illustration on page 71. The Auetö with their short stature have relatively the largest chest circumference.

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In view of the importance of this measurement, I am also giving the circumference

B. Absolute.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Nahuquá	14	96.0	83.5	89.5	12	89.5	70.0	80.0
Bakaïrí	10	94.9	84.0	90.9	6	86.0	75.5	81.7
Trumaí	1	–	–	91.0	–	–	–	–
Kustenaú	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	82.0
Kamayurá	4	97.5	87.5	91.9	2	86.0	78.3	82.6
Auetö	14	99.0	87.0	93.1	2	87.0	78.5	82.7
Waurá	1	–	–	94.0	1	–	–	79.0
Mehinakú	6	101.5	91.5	95.1	5	90.0	78.0	84.0

Head height. Body height = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Kamayurá	4	15.6	12.4	13.8	2	14.2	13.7	14.0
Mehinakú	6	15.7	12.7	13.9	–	–	–	–
Nahuquá	4	15.8	12.7	13.9	1	–	–	14.5
Bakaïrí	10	15.3	13.1	14.2	6	14.4	13.0	13.6
Waurá	1	–	–	14.3	1	–	–	12.6
Auetö	4	14.8	14.1	14.3	2	15.8	13.1	14.5
Trumaí	1	–	–	14.5	–	–	–	–

The measurement thus fluctuates between one-seventh and one-eighth of the total height. The men have relatively lower heads than the women. The maximum, 15.8%, belongs to an Auetö woman, the minimum, 12.4%, to a Kamayurá man.

Head circumference. Body size = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Trumaí	1	–	–	32.4	–	–	–	–
Kumayurá	4	33.0	33.5	33.7	2	34.9	34.0	34.5
Bakaïrí	10	35.3	32.5	33.7	6	38.3	33.7	35.5
Mehinakú	6	34.9	32.8	33.8	–	–	–	–
Nahuquá	5	34.9	32.8	34.0	1	–	–	35.4
Waurá	1	–	–	34.3	1	–	–	32.2
Auetö	4	35.4	33.8	34.5	2	36.1	34.2	35.2

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The maximum of the totality was that of a Bakaïrí woman who was particularly small and whose body height was only 140.5 centimeters. The Waurá woman with 32.2 was 147.5 centimeters tall. She is followed in the minimum measure by the Trumaí man who was 160.7 in body height and whose head circumference was 52.0, so that the striking fact, even at a glance, of how small the heads of the Trumaí are relatively is clearly expressed in the 32.4 figure. The Auetó, on the other hand, also distinguished by their small stature, at least had heads large in circumference, just as they had chests large in circumference.

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Length-breadth index of the head.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Waurá	1	—	—	77.4	1	—	—	84.9
Mehinakú	6	79.2	75.2	77.7	5	80.2	74.8	77.5
Kustenaú	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	78.5
Kamayurá	14	81.6	75.6	78.8	4	81.7	74.4	77.9
Bakaïrí	10	82.6	73.8	78.9	6	84.3	77.9	80.1
Auetó	14	83.2	73.0	79.4	2	80.3	77.5	78.9
Nahuquá	15	84.8	75.4	80.5	12	84.1	72.7	80.8
Trumaí	8	83.8	78.6	81.1	—	—	—	—

My measurements of the Bakaïrí in 1884 deviate not inconsiderably from these of the Kulisehu Bakaïrí. /Fig. 10 appears here./

	Max.	Min.	Mean
Six men on the Batovy	78.8	72.5	75.9
Four " " " Paranatinga	80.4	75.1	77.3
Six " " " Rio Novo	83.2	78.7	79.9

We see that differences in the mean are great between the individual tribes as well as between individuals of the same tribe, that in general the skulls are mesocephalic, and that the Trumaí are the ones who most definitely cross the boundary into brachycephaly. If one arranges according to means the women of the tribes for which there is a series, the sequence is the same as in the case of the men: Mehinakú, Kamayurá, Bakaïrí, Auetó, Nahuquá. Only in the case of the Bakaïrí is the index of the women consistently higher for maximum, minimum, and mean than that of the men.

2: Steinen--144 ED-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Auetó SP6
Trumai SP23

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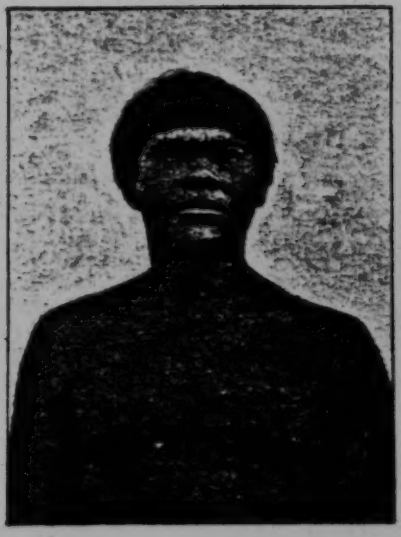

Fig. 10. Auetö.

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Relationship of head length to ear height. Greatest length of the head = 100

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Bakaïrí	10	69.7	59.0	64.7	6	71.2	59.1	65.8
Kamayurá	14	69,6	60.6	64.7	4	68.7	58.9	64.4
Auetö	14	70.3	60.9	65.4	2	63.4	62.0	62.7
Kustenaú	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	67.3
Mehinakú	6	71.0	63.8	65.8	5	68.7	59.4	65.3
Waurá	1	–	–	65.6	1	–	–	67.6
Nahuquá	15	71.5	62.8	67.4	12	76.0	65.9	69.9
Trumaí	8	72.6	68.0	70.5	–	–	–	–

The Nahuquá and the Trumaí, who have the broadest skulls, also have the highest.

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Angle of the jaw. A. Edge of hair -- chin = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Bakaïrí	9	58.3	49.1	47.8	6	61.6	50.6	56.1
Waurá	1	–	–	50.0	1	–	–	56.0
Trumaí	1	–	–	50.8	–	–	–	–
Kamayurá	4	62.4	42.7	54.5	2	56.8	54.5	55.7
Mehinakú	6	59.2	52.4	56.4	–	–	–	–
Nahuquá	5	64.5	53.3	58.0	1	–	–	59.8
Auetó	4	62.9	54.5	59.0	2	60.6	53.1	56.9

B. Nasal root -- chin = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Trumaí	1	–	–	79.1	–	–	–	–
Kamayurá	4	93.2	64.9	81.3	2	98.9	89.7	94.3
Bakaïrí	8	88.7	80.5	84.5	6	98.9	81.3	88.1
Auetó	4	94.7	85.0	88.4	2	97.0	89.9	93.5
Mehinakú	6	96.4	85.5	89.8	–	–	–	–
Nahuquá	5	102.5	86.0	93.7	1	–	–	100.0
Waurá	1	–	–	100.0	1	–	–	86.6

The faces of the Nahuquá looked very square, especially on account of the width of the angle of the jaw.

Zygomatic arch. A. Edge of hair -- chin = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Waurá	1	–	–	67.5	1	–	–	87.3
Nahuquá	5	74.6	68.6	72.0	1	–	–	70.0
Trumaí	1	–	–	72.2	–	–	–	–
Bakaïrí	9	76.6	67.7	72.9	6	83.0	71.9	76.9
Auetó	4	80.5	71.1	74.9	2	77.5	74.7	76.1
Kamayurá	4	81.2	74.5	77.8	2	76.9	74.3	75.6
Mehinakú	6	84.9	74.3	79.8	–	–	–	–

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B. Nasal root -- chin = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Waurá	1	—	—	110.7	1	—	—	130.1
Nahuquá	9	122.7	103.4	113.2	12	130.0	116.3	125.0
Auetö	5	122.4	110.8	114.1	2	124.0	122.2	123.1
Bakaïrí	9	121.1	109.2	114.7	6	131.6	109.5	120.8
Kamayurá	14	126.4	105.2	115.0	4	134.7	108.3	123.1
Kustenaú	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	116.3
Trumaí	7	123.3	110.2	117.9	—	—	—	—
Mehinakú	6	134.3	121.4	127.4	5	141.8	127.0	131.3

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Cheekbone protuberance. A. Edge of hair -- chin = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Trumaí	1	—	—	42.2	—	—	—	—
Bakaïrí	8	48.1	39.8	43.6	6	47.2	40.6	44.3
Waurá	1	—	—	44.5	1	—	—	51.3
Nahuquá	5	50.5	41.5	44.6	1	—	—	40.2
Auetö	4	47.2	45.6	46.1	2	48.8	45.0	46.9
Mehinakú	6	49.4	42.4	46.4	—	—	—	—
Kamayurá	4	53.5	41.5	46.9	2	44.3	42.6	43.5

B. Nasal root -- chin = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Trumaí	1	—	—	65.8	—	—	—	—
Auetö	4	72.6	65.2	69.1	2	79.8	72.0	75.9
Bakaïrí	7	75.8	62.7	69.4	6	71.8	65.4	69.3
Kamayurá	4	76.5	66.1	70.1	2	80.4	67.3	73.9
Nahuquá	5	80.3	64.5	71.8	1	—	—	67.3
Waurá	1	—	—	72.9	1	—	—	79.4
Mehinakú	6	77.3	69.0	73.5	—	—	—	—

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Middle face. Nasal root -- chin = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Nahuquá	5	64.9	56.8	61.0	–	–	–	–
Trumaí	1	–	–	61.7	–	–	–	–
Kamayurá	4	64.0	59.5	61.9	2	66.3	62.6	64.5
Mehinakú	6	66.7	58.2	62.0	–	–	–	–
Bakaïrí	8	68.6	56.1	62.4	6	65.4	59.0	61.8
Auetö	4	66.4	59.2	62.9	2	62.6	60.0	61.3
Waurá	1	–	–	65.7	1	–	–	61.9

Nasal height. Nasal length = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Mehinakú	6	106.6	83.9	96.7	–	–	–	–
Waurá	1	–	–	98.1	1	–	–	93.2
Bakaïrí	9	112.7	89.6	98.3	6	104.9	91.8	96.1
Kamayurá	4	104.4	93.3	100.7	2	107.5	107.1	107.3
Nahuquá	5	121.4	89.4	102.0	1	–	–	97.8
Trumaí	1	–	–	104.3	–	–	–	–
Auetö	4	113.0	96.2	105.5	2	95.2	93.3	94.2

Nasal breadth. Nasal height = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Waurá	1	–	–	73.1	1	–	–	82.9
Trumaí	1	–	–	75.5	–	–	–	–
Auetö	4	81.3	70.4	76.3	2	87.5	80.9	84.2
Kamayurá	4	83.3	74.5	79.9	2	86.0	68.9	77.5
Bakaïrí	10	100.0	66.7	81.0	6	95.0	66.0	79.3
Mehinakú	5	91.1	76.1	82.3	–	–	–	–
Nahuquá	5	102.2	74.5	86.9	1	–	–	76.7

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Shoulder height. Body height = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Kustenaú	1	–	–	80.4	–	–	–	–
Nahuquá	5	83.8	80.1	82.4	12	85.7	82.4	83.5
Kamayurá	14	85.7	81.1	83.0	4	84.2	81.9	83.0
Trumaí	1	–	–	83.3	–	–	–	–
Mehinakú	6	84.8	82.1	83.3	5	84.4	82.6	83.6
Auetö	14	86.0	81.4	83.4	2	83.1	81.2	82.2
Waurá	1	–	–	83.5	1	–	–	84.3
Bakaïrí	10	85.6	82.6	84.0	6	84.5	82.3	83.4

An Auetö has the maximum of 86.0 among the men, a Nahuquá the minimum of 80.1; among the women, conversely, the maximum of 85.7 is found on a Nahuquá, and the minimum of 81.2 on an Auetö. The difference between the sexes is thus greatest among the Nahuquá and the Auetö; on the average, the man among the Nahuquá would be shorter at the shoulders by 1.1% of the total height than the woman, and among the Auetö taller than the woman by 1.2%.

Navel height. Body height = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Mehinakú	6	60.1	58.0	58.5	–	–	–	–
Nahuquá	5	59.4	57.8	58.6	1	–	–	57.3
Kamayurá	4	61.6	58.0	59.5	2	60.5	59.7	60.1
Waurá	1	–	–	59.7	1	–	–	60.7
Bakaïrí	10	61.0	57.8	59.7	6	60.8	59.5	60.4
Auetö	4	61.5	59.5	60.6	2	59.4	59.1	59.3
Trumaí	1	–	–	60.6	–	–	–	–

Men: maximum 61.6, Kamayurá; minimum 57.8, Bakaïrí and Nahuquá. Women: maximum 60.8, Bakaïrí; and minumum 59.1, Auetö.

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Symphysis height. Body height = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Mehinakú	4	50.7	48.1	49.2	—	—	—	—
Nahuquá	5	50.9	50.3	50.7	1	—	—	49.9
Trumaí	1	—	—	50.8	—	—	—	—
Auetö́	3	51.7	50.1	50.9	2	51.8	49.1	50.5
Kamayurá	4	52.4	49.7	51.1	2	51.0	48.8	49.9
Bakaïrí	10	52.5	49.8	51.5	6	51.1	49.0	50.4
Waurá	1	—	—	52.4	1	—	—	51.2

Here the arithmetical mean is less among the women than among the men of the same tribe everywhere. Unfortunately, the Mehinakú women are missing, but the minimum of the total figure for both sexes is among the Mehinakú men at 48.1. In the series for the men, maximum 52.5 Bakaïrí, minimum Mehinakú; in the series for the women, maximum 51.8 among the Auetö́, minimum 48.8 among the Kamayurá.

Iliac-crest height. Body height = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Mehinakú	6	60.4	55.9	58.8	—	—	—	—
Nahuquá	14	61.7	57.8	59.7	1	—	—	59.6
Bakaïrí	10	61.9	58.3	60.0	6	60.7	57.9	59.7
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Trumaí	1	—	—	60.2	—	—	—	—
Kamayurá	4	62.3	58.6	60.5	2	62.0	59.9	60.1
Waurá	1	—	—	61.6	1	—	—	60.0
Auetö́	4	61.3	59.3	60.0	2	61.0	59.1	60.0

Men's maximum 62.3 and women's maximum 62.0 among the Kamayurá.

Arm length. Body height = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Nahuquá	4	46.2	43.5	45.1	10	49.2	45.2	46.7
Mehinakú	6	46.0	43.6	45.4	5	48.0	43.5	46.3
Auetö́	14	47.3	43.9	45.8	2	46.7	44.7	45.7
Trumaí	1	—	—	46.2	—	—	—	—
Kustenaú	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	45.7

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	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Kamayurá	14	49.3	44.6	46.2	4	47.1	44.3	45.5
Bakaïrí	10	47.6	45.2	46.2	6	46.6	45.2	45.6
Waurá	1	—	—	46.3	1	—	—	46.1

The long arms of the Nahuquá women are striking. Whereas the Nahuquá men have the shortest arms among the men, the arms of their women are not only longer than those of their male fellow-tribesmen, but the longest of the total figure in general; their maximum of 49.2 is exceeded only by one Kamayurá man with 49.3, and their minimum is higher than the mean of the Nahuquá men.

Hand length. A. Absolute.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Trumaí	1	—	—	15.3	—	—	—	—
Nahuquá	5	18.0	15.2	16.5	1	—	—	15.5
Bakaïrí	10	18.5	15.3	16.6	6	18.0	14.8	15.8
Kamayurá	4	18.5	16.5	17.0	2	16.5	16.3	16.4
Auetö	4	18.5	15.8	17.2	2	16.3	13.7	15.0
Mehinakú	6	19.0	16.5	17.4	—	—	—	—
Waurá	1	—	—	17.5	1	—	—	15.6

B. Body height = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Trumaí	1	—	—	9.5	—	—	—	—
Nahuquá	5	10.8	9.3	10.1	1	—	—	10.8
Bakaïrí	10	11.2	9.3	10.2	6	11.3	9.2	10.3
Kamayurá	4	11.1	10.0	10.3	2	10.8	10.4	10.6
Auetö	4	11.5	10.1	10.5	2	10.4	9.8	10.1
Mehinakú	6	11.4	10.0	10.6	—	—	—	—
Waurá	1	—	—	10.6	1	—	—	10.5

C. Arm length = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Trumaí	1	—	—	20.6	—	—	—	—
Bakaïrí	10	24.3	20.2	22.2	6	25.0	21.5	22.9
Kamayurá	4	24.5	20.5	22.5	2	24.2	23.0	23.6
Nahuquá	5	24.3	21.4	22.6	1	—	—	21.9
Auetö	4	24.9	22.3	23.4	2	22.3	22.0	22.2

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	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Mehinakú	6	25.1	21.7	23.4	–	–	–	–
Waurá	1	–	–	22.8	1	–	–	22.9

/169/ The hand of the Indians is relatively short, and the woman's hand for the most part relatively shorter than the hand of the man.

Length-breadth index of the hand. Hand length = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Bakaïrí	10	56.2	43.4	44.1	6	50.9	41.7	47.3
Nahuquá	5	52.6	47.8	45.3	1	–	–	45.2
Kamayurá	4	48.5	43.4	45.8	2	42.9	41.2	42.5
Mehinakú	6	51.5	48.0	50.2	–	–	–	–
Auetó	4	55.9	48.6	51.5	2	54.7	46.0	50.4
Waurá	1	–	–	54.3	1	–	–	51.3
Trumaí	1	–	–	55.6	–	–	–	–

The Mehinakú have relatively the longest hand and also a very broad one. The hand of the Bakaïrí and Nahuquá is short and narrow, that of the Auetó long and wide, that of the Kamayurá moderately long and narrow.

Trochanter height. Body height = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Kustenaú	1	–	–	50.3	–	–	–	–
Mehinakú	6	52.2	48.4	50.6	5	51.4	47.6	50.2
Auetó	14	53.6	47.2	50.6	2	52.4	48.7	50.5
Trumaí	1	–	–	51.0	–	–	–	–
Waurá	1	–	–	51.6	1	–	–	51.5
Nahuquá	5	52.4	50.7	51.7	12	52.1	50.2	51.2
Bakaïrí	9	52.7	50.7	52.0	6	54.3	51.1	52.6
Kamayurá	14	53.6	51.1	52.1	4	52.0	50.6	51.3

The maximum 54.3 of the total number is among the Bakaïrí women and the minimum 47.2 among the Auetó men.

/169 cont./

Foot length. A. Absolute,

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Nahuquá	3	25.0	23.0	24.0	1	—	—	23.7
Trumaí	1	—	—	24.5	—	—	—	—
Auetö	4	25.8	23.5	24.6	2	22.0	20.5	21.3
Kamayurá	4	25.5	23.3	24.6	2	23.0	22.5	22.8
Bakaïrí	7	26.5	22.4	24.7	2	24.7	22.3	23.5
Mehinakú	5	27.5	24.5	25.7	—	—	—	—
Waurá	1	—	—	26.0	1	—	—	23.0

B. Body length = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Nahuquá	3	15.3	13.9	14.7	1	—	—	16.1
Kamayurá	4	16.0	14.1	15.0	2	14.8	14,8	14.8
Trumaí	1	—	—	15.2	—	—	—	—
Auetö	4	16.1	14.8	15.3	2	14.7	14.1	14.4
Bakaïrí	7	15.9	14.3	15.4	2	15.3	14.4	14.9
Mehinakú	5	16.3	14.8	15.6	—	—	—	—
Waurá	1	—	—	15.7	1	—	—	15.6

The foot length, like the hand length, is greatest among the Mehinakú and less among the Nahuquá, while the Bakaïrí have relatively longer feet than hands. It is a pity that we do not know whether the only Nahuquá woman measured, who is distinguished by such a remarkably long foot, was not /170/ perhaps a Mehinakú introduced into the tribe. Among all the Nahuquá women the toes were very short; in the case of the one measured, the fourth and fifth toes of the right foot were very short and crippled.

The second toe was frequently longer than the first, and in walking a space showed between the two. In the case of the standing foot, the space was sometimes rectangular in shape.

/170 cont./

B T 141

Length-breadth index of the foot. Foot length = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Waurá	1	–	–	40.4	1	–	–	38.2
Bakaïrí	7	43.1	39.6	41.2	2	40.4	38.5	39.5
Nahuquá	3	44.3	40.8	41.7	1	–	–	37.9
Mehinakú	5	44.9	37.5	41.7	–	–	–	–
Auetö	4	42.6	40.7	42.0	2	43.9	38.6	41.3
Kamayurá	3	44.0	40.8	42.4	2	40.0	37.0	38.5
Trumaí	1	–	–	42.9	–	–	–	–

In order to give something of a survey of the way the individual tribes differ according to their measurements, I am arranging the most important measurements of the six tribes for which we have limited series in such a way that I give each one the number corresponding to its place in the series: 1 represents the lowest measure value, 2 a higher one, and so on up to 6, the highest number of the order of succession. The columns are arranged according to body height.

	Trumaí	Auetö	Bakaïrí	Nahu-quá	Kama-yurá	Mehi-nakú
Body height	1	2	3	4	5	6
Breadth of outspread arms	1	6	4	2	3	5
Shoulder breadth	5	3	4	1	2	6
Chest circumference	4	6	3	1	2	5
Head height	6	5	4	3	1	2
Head circumference	1	6	3	5	2	4
Length-breadth index	6	4	3	5	2	1
Length-height index	6	3	1	5	2	4
Zygomatic-arch breadth	2	4	3	1	5	6
Shoulder height	3	5	6	1	2	4
Navel height	6	5	4	2	3	1
Symphysis height	3	4	6	2	5	1
Iliac-crest height	4	6	3	2	5	1
Arm length	4	3	6	1	5	2
Trochanter height	3	2	5	4	6	1
Hand length	1	5	3	2	4	6
Foot length	3	4	5	1	2	6

/170 cont./

B T 141 The Trumaí have the lowest figure of all for stature, breadth of outspread arms, head circumference, hand length, the highest for head height, length-breadth and length-height index of the skull, navel height, the Mehinakú the lowest figure for the length-breadth index of the skull, for height of navel, symphysis, iliac crest, and trochanter, the highest, on the other hand, for stature, shoulder breadth (just as they are also rather outstanding for breadth of outspread arms and chest circumference), for zygomatic-arch breadth, and, although arms and legs are short, for the length of foot and hand. The Nahuquá do not have a 6 for any measure, but show relatively many 1's and 2's.

B T 142 126 /171/ The skin color is characterized by yellow-gray loam shades in all gradations; sunburn, dirt, and painting made it extremely difficult to determine the original color, and it was only under the cotton bindings on the upper arms or lower legs that one realized how light the Indians actually were. Wilhelm made a little color chart on the spot; according to it, the average shade falls between No. 30 and 33 of the Broca chart; the darker tones had a definite lilac-violet admixture, especially on chest and abdomen, the lighter tones a somewhat yellow one. We also used the Radde charts and found the greatest similarity for forehead and cheek with 33 m to n or also 33 o, the upper arms approximately 33 m.

B T 142 The head hair was black; especially among the Bakaïrí, Nahuquá, and Auetó, brownish black. The bluish-black shade did not occur. On the other hand, the hair, especially of the Bakaïrí children, looked strangely light and faded if the light struck it obliquely; at times it had a dark red shimmer. We never encountered "horsehair." The head hair was moderately thick and straight or, especially among the Bakaïrí and Nahuquá, decidedly wavy. To our surprise, we saw out-and-out curly heads among the Bakaïrí, such as, for example, the type shown on Plate 13. How much of it was nature, how much art, is difficult to say. At any rate, old Paleko in Maigéri, who had long since become superior to the vanity of youth, had short, curly hair. Among the Bakaïrí, the hair is wavy without artificial treatment. Sometimes the forehead was hairy almost to the eyebrows.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

PLATE III

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Aloari

Yanahi

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[563]
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Kokumu, Suyá Woman

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

PLATE IV

142
302

Yawala

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Mother and Child in Hammock

1: Steinen--78), E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi
Trumai SP23

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Trumaí

/195 cont./

301 a head-net, above which they pointed upwards, sticking out on
237 all sides, and into which they could be bent back to protect them
415 after use. There was also a dainty little pot with a notched edge,
283 and red cotton strings which several Trumaí wore around the waist
276 or around the lower leg. There was some tobacco wrapped in
415 green leaves; on the beach there were also a few gourd vessels
272 containing insipid, pasty mingau[1] which was just as poor as the mandioca bread.

142 There was no indication that the Trumaí are on a higher level than the Bakaïrí; as far as their body structure is concerned, I did not notice anything peculiar during the brief encounter; in size they did not differ from the Bakaïrí and Kustenaú. The fact that they appeared so ugly in the face may have been due to the
291 disfigurement. They protect themselves against penetrating in-
825 sects in the strangest and most primitive manner -- präputium filo gossypii rubro ante glandem farciminis instar constringunt /the foreskin is bound with red cotton thread in front of the glans in such a manner as to look like farcy/. This arrangement may also be useful in the water against the prying candiru fish.

123 What now? A closer study of the Trumaí is, of course, inconceivable. War has been declared; we have no choice but to disappear from the scene of action as quickly as possible. We are forced to forego all further soundings and measurements and bid the Kulisëu farewell. We can still draw one advantage from the awkward situation, however. Since we have departed this far from the path of virtue, we need not have any scruples about transgressing still more. After all, we did not get back our fine ax (two canoes capsized and sank when the Trumaí fled to land). Why should we hesitate to exchange the most warped and defective canoes for those abandoned there, which are well built and excellently dried out?

501 /196/ Several men are sent out and return with three canoes
171 and a few oars, which do not differ from those of the Bakaïrí; one of them is for Valentin and me, a second will be pulled
000 along as a reserve, the third goes to the sergeant. Meanwhile Castro's craft has also been brought home.

[1] [i.e. a drink mixed with manioc flour--Analyst]

/122 cont./
123 152 half an hour renewed howling and women's screams announced the arrival of Wilhelm and Carlos, who were led up and likewise gave expression to their friendly intentions with words and gestures.

142 /123/ There were mostly small, frail figures with small heads, receding chins, and ugly faces; among the old women there were truly magnificent specimens of witch-models. The 291 women in part wore the triangular uluri, in part a wardrobe garment new to us, a grayish-white bast loop that was drawn over 194 the hips and thickened into a small roll. The language in its cadence reminded us not a little of that of the Suyá, with which it had in common the nagging, squeezed habitus and could be immediately distinguished from all the Kulisehu languages by the frequent terminal sound of ts and by the f.

727 It was strange that the Trumaí had let themselves be taken by surprise in this way. Probably they had fled from the Suyá who had plundered their villages and from us at the same time. Their scouts, who were roving about among the Auetó, Yaulapiti, and Kamayurá, probably believed that we would not return directly to the Auetó from the Kamayurá, but would go to Schingú-Koblenz in order to join Perrot and Vogel, whose trip was already known to them, and reach the Auetó harbor on the river. The camp of the fugitives presented a spectacle of [162] disorder and confusion. There were about 50 persons in all; [352] numerous small fires were burning beside the brown hammocks, bundles of all kinds lay about and hung from the trees; the shelter-huts of the Auetó plantation remained unused. The [501] Indians had come in part by way of the canals: a small flotilla of canoes had drawn up in the swampy water nearby, many of them in bad shape and where necessary pasted up merely with lumps of loam.

437 The beijús, the filled gourd bowls, and the cigars were necessarily lacking at this reception. They brought small balls of cotton and asked for beads. Unfortunately, we had given away almost everything to the Kamayurá and could therefore not offer much. With the remains, however, a few

2: Steinen--154 E D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Trumai, SP 23

/170 cont./

B T 141 The Trumaí have the lowest figure of all for stature, breadth of outspread arms, head circumference, hand length, the highest for head height, length-breadth and length-height index of the skull, navel height, the Mehinakú the lowest figure for the length-breadth index of the skull, for height of navel, symphysis, iliac crest, and trochanter, the highest, on the other hand, for stature, shoulder breadth (just as they are also rather outstanding for breadth of outspread arms and chest circumference), for zygomatic-arch breadth, and, although arms and legs are short, for the length of foot and hand. The Nahuquá do not have a 6 for any measure, but show relatively many 1's and 2's.

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B 142 /172 cont./ especially the "Egyptian woman" of the first village, with her narrow face and her long, slightly aquiline nose, showed great resemblance to the women of the ancient kingdom of the Nile, as these have come down to us.

B T 142 Bulging foreheads were found here and there among all tribes, but they were typical of the Trumaí and doubly conspicuous among these little people. They also had the greatest prognathism and the most receding chins; they had a narrow nasal root and little space between the eyes, while the Mehinakú were striking because of their slight prognathism, protruding chin, wide, low faces, and eyes far apart. The faces of the Nahuquá differed from those of the Bakaïrí in their coarser character; in contrast to the oval shape of the latter, they had a somewhat square and thick-set one, with very prominent jaw angles. The most finely chiseled faces were to be found among the Kamayurá.

The iris was dark brown and only as an exception light brown; the Trumaí had relatively light eyes. We found one blue-eyed Nahuquá. He had nothing special in the way of hair and skin color; his hair was black and quite straight. He was the father of a young man with dark brown eyes, but his own eyes had a definitely blue iris. The position of the eyes was horizontal or slightly oblique, the form was almond-shaped; the eyeslit among the Bakaïrí was commonly wide open, among the rest, especially among the Nahuquá and Kamayurá, rather small and low. We did not see Mongolian eyes; only one Kamayurá could be regarded as Mongoloid.

Beautiful teeth were extremely rare. They were more often opaque, rather than translucent, the color was yellowish and only as an exception white, the position largely irregular; they were rather bulky, but among the Mehinakú frequently small and fine. Almost everywhere they appeared greatly chewed down. One never sees the Indians brushing their teeth or rinsing their mouths, which would be very advisable in view of their starchy diet. They use their teeth very incautiously if they do not have any fish teeth or shells at hand; moreover, they bite a hole into the oyster-like, hard shells of river mussels, in order to smooth wood

B T [515]

B T [412]

/172 cont./

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412 with these sharp edges, and they crush with their teeth the shells from which they make their beads, a type of mistreatment that is bound to be disastrous to better teeth, the mere sight of which pained me deeply.

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Chapter IX.

I. Dress: Hair and Skin.

Preliminary remarks concerning clothing and ornamentation. The hair. Head hair, body hair, lashes. The skin. Piercing. Binding. Chains. Daubing and painting. Scratch-scars. Tattooing.

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128 Since in this and the following chapter I shall try to go back as much as possible to the origin of the dress observed among our natives, I should like to begin with two fundamental remarks.

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291 First, I consider it erroneous that clothing, arising out of a feeling of modesty, is required for man's humanity. We became acquainted with representatives for various tribal groups of the Indians on the upper Schingú, and they do not need clothing in this sense, as I deduce from the fact that they have no such clothing. Their devices, which from our custom we would be inclined to call pubic coverings, are by no means coverings, and the feeling of modesty that is supposed to have produced the coverings is not present. As early as 1584 the Jesuit Father Cardim wrote about the Brazilian natives: "All go naked, men as well as women, and have no clothing of any kind and in no case verecundant /feel shame/, but rather it seems that in this part they are in a state of innocence."

000 Secondly, I must explain my position somewhat with respect to the origin of ornamentation. It is established that nowadays among primitive peoples there are many types of ornament for which no real or imaginary use is apparent and which, at present, are solely articles of adornment. Nevertheless, it is probably impossible that the finer feelings were stirred before

SP8 Bororo
Bacairi SP?
Yaruma SP25
Nauka SP18
Trumai SP23

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pleased. The women were as outspoken as the men, but it was noticed that the younger women kept behind the older, peering over their shoulders, a custom that was observed among the Bororo and the Bakairi also.

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Propelled by the outboard motor we covered a great distance, until late in the afternoon three canoes were capsized by one of the men who lost his head. This occurred in one of the deepest pools in the river, and all our efforts to recover the canoes failed. Making an inventory of our resources we found that all of our dried meat was lost, most of the sugar, a good portion of the salt, beans, rice, and farina. For this last we were not concerned, for we could buy it from the Indians. More serious was the loss of most of the ammunition, some rifles, revolvers, knives, over half of our trade goods, including most of the hardware, the cameras, anthropometric instruments, Schick and Dick Test material, blood grouping sera, and all of my notes and specimens. We had lost enough beans and rice to last us some four weeks with care, and a sufficient quantity of coffee. I decided to go on anyway, but as a matter of fact we were not able to move in any direction, since the few small canoes would not carry all of the personnel.

On the second day after this event a Mehinaku appeared in a canoe with his wife and two children. Understanding our plight, he paddled to his people further down stream and the next day returned with men and canoes, having traveled day and night to reach us quickly. In the meantime the plane had flown by on its way to the meeting place, without having seen our smoke signals.

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Paddling all day and a good portion of the night, we arrived at the Mehinaku port of a village on the right bank, in the process of being built. Farina and biiju were given us and we found the people delighted and charming hosts. Putting up our hammocks under the trees, some of us retired, but the Bakairi, though tired, sat up most of the night conversing with the Mehinaku, though each other's language was mutually unintelligible.

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On the opposite bank to the port of the Mehinaku, we found a group of about twenty-five Trumai men and women. They had no canoes, but the Mehinaku ferried them across. They were exceptionally small, being both short and thin, in contrast with other peoples that were met, but always appeared to be well nourished. In the morning, when we

Wauka SP18
Trumai SP23

T 142 146 648

distributed gifts among our hosts, the Mehinaku begged that we give gifts also to the Trumai, who were a poor but good people.

Of all the groups met, the Mehinaku were the most pleasant and the most reliable. The incident of helping us to move down stream has been mentioned. Later, on making contact with the plane, we had occasion to test their intelligence and reliability further. Eight cases of aviation gasoline had been left on the sand beach where the disaster occurred; as we needed the gasoline, six Mehinaku went back and brought it to us in remarkably short time. [Plate XI, 1.]

W 181

In the morning, while some of the canoes were being patched, I visited the new village. Though only one house had been built, and it was not quite finished, a tall conical structure made of poles tied together at the top, housed a harpy eagle. I was told that that was the first structure put up. The house structure differed in no way from others that were subsequently seen in other villages, which will be described later.

W 342 343 231

The original village of the Mehinaku was on the west bank, but having exhausted the soil, they were moving to the east bank. They had a few beans and maize seed, which they were carefully keeping for planting.

W 361 241

With the help of these kindly disposed and gentle Mehinaku, we continued our journey down stream, meeting with groups of Aura and Auiti, and finally arrived at the mouth of the Kuluseu. In the morning some Tsuva brought us the news that the plane was several bends of the river away, and we hastened to it.

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Our meeting with Johnson, Rossi, Lorber, Sauceda and Due was a happy occasion for everyone. While waiting for me, news had come to them about some white men, but our failure to put in an appearance caused them worry. Their food supplies having been almost exhausted, they had decided to fly back to Cuyabá, when we appeared.

On the sand bank where the plane was beached there were collected Anahukua, Auiti, Aura, Kamayula, Yawalapiti, Tsuva, Kuikutl, and Kalapalu, and we brought Mehinaku. Each group was jealous of the others and we had to distribute our favors equally.

Learning that I had lost my photographic equipment, Arthur P. Rossi, who had made the trip with the plane merely to take aerial photographs of the region, insisted in staying with me when the plane flew back to Cuyabá the next morning, even though the plane would not return for three weeks to bring us fresh supplies of food. Rossi was a welcome

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

often gathered together, and at times all of the women of a house would work together in *piquí* collecting. Parties of boys and men sometimes picked up the fruit, and a man often went gathering with his wife to protect her from possible enemies, especially if there had been recent threats or omens. He took his bow and arrows, and frequently did not help in carrying the fruit back to the village. The *piquí* was brought to the village in basket containers, and then made into a variety of dishes.

Guava (*waruwaru*) grows wild in the forest, ripening a short time before *piquí* does, but extending into the season of the latter. Quain believed it to be a valuable vitamin C supplement to the diet, but it was a far less important food than *piquí*. Men participated little in guava collecting, although they accompanied their wives for sociability and protection. Quain described these connubial gathering expeditions as being largely pleasant jaunts through the wood. Children often went out for the fruit, which they brought back to the village strung on straws.

The water lily from which salt was made was another important item gathered during the period of Quain's residence among the Trumaí. The water lilies were collected in the Trumaí lagoon, and the complete salt-making process was carried on there. Each Trumaí built a rack over the waters of the lagoon. The lilies were pulled up, spread out on the rack to dry, and later burned. The ashes were sifted to obtain the salt. Quain did not mention any women's salt racks, but the women prepared their own supply of salt, too. Quain saw salt-making only in the early part of September, although it is possible that it occurred prior to this time as well. However, salt was not made after the middle of September, due to the rains and the exigencies of planting.

Ants were eaten by the Trumaí, and, according to an informant, by all groups in the area. A little boy demonstrated the correct way to consume them when he joyously brought in a fat one, plucked off its abdomen and swallowed it. Quain was told that later in the season the women and children would go out and collect them in large quantities. Other insects were in heavy demand for feeding the harpy eagle and other pet birds. Crickets were considered especially good for this purpose, and the boys made great sport of shooting these insects with their miniature bows and arrows.

A few other wild foods were eaten, but these were relatively insignificant. Among them was the fruit of the *awa'o* palm. Another fruit called *lamux*, resembling the crabapple in taste and superficial appearance, had a gelatinous interior. An unnamed plant is described by Quain as resembling grass, but having a quality like algae. It was eaten only in times of a manioc shortage. *Kamu'u* is a parasitic plant that looks and tastes like the date. The *atok* is a berry that tastes like the chokecherry.

Fiti'a and *tawasi*, the fish poisons, were gathered in the locale. The gathering and preparation of *tawasi* boughs was a cooperative venture.

Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25
Wauka SP18
Trumai SP23

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3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo
Wauka SP18
Trumai SP23

distributed gifts among our hosts, the Mehinaku begged that we give gifts also to the Trumai, who were a poor but good people.

Of all the groups met, the Mehinaku were the most pleasant and the most reliable. The incident of helping us to move down stream has been mentioned. Later, on making contact with the plane, we had occasion to test their intelligence and reliability further. Eight cases of aviation gasoline had been left on the sand beach where the disaster occurred; as we needed the gasoline, six Mehinaku went back and brought it to us in remarkably short time. [Plate XI, 1.]

In the morning, while some of the canoes were being patched, I visited the new village. Though only one house had been built, and it was not quite finished, a tall conical structure made of poles tied together at the top, housed a harpy eagle. I was told that that was the first structure put up. The house structure differed in no way from others that were subsequently seen in other villages, which will be described later.

The original village of the Mehinaku was on the west bank, but having exhausted the soil, they were moving to the east bank. They had a few beans and maize seed, which they were carefully keeping for planting.

With the help of these kindly disposed and gentle Mehinaku, we continued our journey down stream, meeting with groups of Aura and Auiti, and finally arrived at the mouth of the Kuluseu. In the morning some Tsuva brought us the news that the plane was several bends of the river away, and we hastened to it.

Our meeting with Johnson, Rossi, Lorber, Sauceda and Due was a happy occasion for everyone. While waiting for me, news had come to them about some white men, but our failure to put in an appearance caused them worry. Their food supplies having been almost exhausted, they had decided to fly back to Cuyabá, when we appeared.

On the sand bank where the plane was beached there were collected Anahukua, Auiti, Aura, Kamayula, Yawalapiti, Tsuva, Kuikuti, and Kalapalu, and we brought Mehinaku. Each group was jealous of the others and we had to distribute our favors equally.

Learning that I had lost my photographic equipment, Arthur P. Rossi, who had made the trip with the plane merely to take aerial photographs of the region, insisted in staying with me when the plane flew back to Cuyabá the next morning, even though the plane would not return for three weeks to bring us fresh supplies of food. Rossi was a welcome

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between the warlike Gé-speaking Suyá and the peaceful but overbearing Kamayurá, they were an easy prey to these tribes and to others more peripheral to the region, such as the Caiabí and Kayapó. The tribes the Trumaí feared most were those to the north. These included the Suyá, Yuruna, and an unidentified group. The Yuruna, located by Galvão on the Diauarun River, north of the Suyá, were said to have made raids on the headwater villages,[13] but nothing is known of any aggression by the unnamed tribe. There is definite documentation of numerous assaults by the Suyá, whose reputation for ferocity is unequalled in the area.

The Suyá villages are located several days journey to the north on the Suyá Missú River, and forays into the Kuliêne-Kuliseu region have become relatively rare since the establishment of local airfields. Quain was of the opinion that the last Suyá raid on the Trumaí took place about twenty years ago when the brother of the Trumaí chief was killed. Two of Quain's informants had been captured by the Suyá as pre-pubescent boys. Suyá raids into the tributaries resulted in great destruction and von den Steinen reported a Trumaí village to have been recently burned and looted by them.[14]

The upper Xingú peoples were not always passive towards the Suyá. A revenge attack was once launched by the combined forces of the Kamayurá, Mehinaku, Waurá, and Trumaí. Their flotilla of twenty canoes assaulted and burned a Suyá village, starting another cycle of attacks and counter-attacks. This is the only known case of an inter-tribal alliance in war, but there have probably been others.

When Quain was with the Trumaí the memory of past attacks was still strong, and the mere mention of the Suyá was sufficient to cause great anxiety. Indicative of their feeling toward the Suyá is the Trumaí creation myth according to which the Sun made all tribes except the Suyá who are descended from snakes.

Among the Kuliseu tribes, the Kamayurá and Nahukwa were the two most feared. The former, especially, by small acts of aggression against the weakened Trumaí, had done great harm. As a result of the widespread hostility and distrust, Trumaí life was pervaded with insecurity. Tension always increased at night, and the slightest sound from the brush was enough to cause panic. Rumors of an impending attack were often brought to the village by visitors from other groups. These were generally false stories intended to frighten the Trumaí, but, reflecting the prevailing anxiety, they were always accepted as true.

The Kamayurá were the chief instigators of these tales. One visitor from the latter group told the Trumaí that the Kamayurá were coming to kill all of them as soon as Quain left. The Kamayurá attempted to

[13] Galvão 1952, p. 469.
[14] Von den Steinen 1897, p. 115.

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frighten Quain, too. One of their favorite stories was that the Nahukwa chief, Aloike, was coming to take Quain. Aloike was a powerful sorcerer and had a reputation for treachery among all the tribes, and the Nahukwa were probably feared more because of him than because of any traditional enmity.

Wild tales were also told out of sheer perversity. A party of Kamayurá came to visit and announced that Quain's father would arrive in an airplane with gifts for the Trumaí. On another occasion they said that a plane full of *karahiba* (white men) had landed at the house of Thomas Young, an American missionary who lived further up the Kuliseu.

The Trumaí, themselves, aggravated their own fears. One of them spoke at length in the men's circle on how the Kamayurá tortured their captives by piercing their arms and legs with arrow points. He also said that they beheaded them, stirred up their brains over a fire, and ate them. This was undoubtedly a false story born of fear and contrary to all the more reliable information on the treatment of captives. However, torture and ritual cannibalism of this sort once flourished in the tropical forest. It is, therefore, interesting that the Trumaí should know of such practices.

Due to the constant fear of surprise attack shared by all the tribes, it was considered bad policy to enter foreign territory without giving warning. This was done by building a fire. A party from the village then went out to investigate, unless it was definitely known who the intruders were. If a fire was seen by a traveling party, their canoes were beached and an answering fire was built.

Surprise meetings were to be avoided at all costs. When Quain was traveling on the Kuliseu with a Trumaí group, the sight of a Kamayurá canoe caused some concern. The chief was quite happy to note that Quain left his rifle in the bottom of the boat, thereby giving a peaceable appearance.

According to Dyott, an English explorer who descended the Xingú in 1938, arrows planted point first in the ground were "no trespassing" signs.[15] He also said that whistling arrows were shot in the air to warn strangers to stay away. The latter sign was, more accurately, an additional means of letting one's presence be known. Smoke spirals seen to the north or east always caused a great disturbance in the Trumaí village, as these were thought to be Suyá fires. Since the upper Xingú people approached from the south, fires seen in this direction caused little alarm unless there had been rumors of some aggressive act by the Kamayurá or Nahukwa.

Fear of attack at times approached the point of hysteria. The high tension might last a few days, after which it would decline to the normal

[15] Dyott 1930, pp. 283–84.

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level of general anxiety. It was usually the result of several days of rumor, omens, and strange fires in the north.

Late one night during Quain's stay, after most of the village had retired, a near panic occurred when two women shouted that the Suyá were attacking. All the initiated men, even the weak and old, rushed to the village center with their bows and arrows. The women and children from two of the four Trumaí houses hurried with their hammocks to the other two houses. The frightened men milled around in the center of the village with no apparent organization or direction. The chief, who was trembling, did not take command of the situation.

If this had been a real attack, noted Quain, the raiders would have given a loud yell and loosed a volley of arrows. He later made an investigation and found no signs of intruders. One of the women thought that someone had thrown dirt at her. Quain believed this to be a habit of the Suyá, but one that was usually a friendly overture.

The women feared other tribes more than did the men, for one of the main purposes of raids was to capture women. In every upper Xingú community women from other tribes are always found. The dispersal of women takes three forms: capture in warfare (by groups outside the area), open abduction of a woman by intimidation of her fellow-villagers, and peaceful intertribal marriage. According to de Lima, the Suyá raid the Waurá village on the Batoví River for female captives, as the women of the Arawakan tribes are the only potters of the region.[10] The Trumaí lost many young women to the Kamayurá by intimidation, the second of the above means. Most of the women in the Trumaí village were at one time held by the Kamayurá with the result that, in many Trumaí marriages, the woman is several years older than the man. At the time of Quain's visit, Trumaí women were still living among the Kamayurá and other groups. One of them, the sister of the Trumaí chief, ran away from the Kamayurá and returned home because her husband had beaten her, an action that angered the Trumaí greatly. There she picked up the threads of her old life, but after a few weeks a party of Kamayurá took her back to their village. The Trumaí offered no resistance, either physical or verbal, although they outnumbered the visitors, for to have done so would have invited retaliation.

The fact that the Trumaí had lost many women completely, or regained them only after their most fertile years had passed, was probably a contributing factor to the depopulation of the group. The losses were only partially compensated for by the marriage of outside women into the Trumaí village. There were three foreign women in the community in 1938: a Suyá, a Mehinaku, and a Kamayurá. Their status was lower than that of the Trumaí women, and they were at times taunted because of their foreign origin. They did not participate as fully in the

[10] De Lima 1950, p. 5.

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possible that more women may be needed for polygamous marriages, but the data do not indicate plural marriage to be of great significance. It is also [595] 727

Pillage, also, inspires raids. The Kamayurá threatened to descend on the Trumaí, after Quain left, to rob them of all the Western goods they had obtained. The Suyá took all the Trumaí pots in a raid which occurred immediately before von den Steinen's second trip through the region.[19] The desire for goods is undoubtedly a motivating factor in particular raids, and it may also be a contributing factor in warfare generally, but since the material surplus is low throughout the area and retaliation almost certain, it is doubtful that this is a basic cause. 721 648

Insults, too, could provoke aggression. The Kamayurá threatened to chastise the Trumaí because the latter were rumored to have made defamatory remarks about them. Continuous fear and insecurity can also lead a tribe to attack. Quain observed that the Trumaí worked themselves up into such a state of terror that they were capable of desperate deeds. Needless to say, revenge expeditions tended to perpetuate hostility. [152]

Among the Trumaí, no special prestige was derived from warfare, and the men did not boast of their prowess as warriors. Trumaí men showed scars of old wounds to Quain, but only to impress him with the brutality of other tribes. To the Trumaí, warfare was an occasion for fear, and not an opportunity to enhance one's status. 721 555

Warfare, however, is important in maintaining social cohesion within the communities. Quain noted that intra-social harmony and cooperation was low in the Trumaí village. Leadership was weak, and there was little friendliness between the men. However, when an attack threatened, quarrels were forgotten and aggressions and anxieties were directed toward the outside world. Also, when members of other tribes were in the village, the whole tone and tempo of life changed, and the Trumaí presented a united front. 182 721

This was made manifest during a visit of several Kamayurá. Despite their apprehension, the Trumaí treated their guests as long absent brothers. There was much forced and nervous jocularity and talk. The men expressed tremendous affection towards each other and the Kamayurá by embraces and linking of arms. Industry and activity were high. The Trumaí men went to catch fish to feed the guests and, upon returning, marched into the village singing gaily and led by their chief. After the Kamayurá left, the village lapsed with relief into its normal way of life. The men ceased to show affection for their comrades, and old quarrels broke out anew. 182 574 609

[19] Von den Steinen 1897, p. 144.

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Visits might be made to obtain a bride, engage in trade, participate in some intertribal ceremony, or for a combination of any of these reasons. Most visits were ostensibly of a purely social nature, but they were also used to frighten and impress. Stealing was frequent, especially when the host tribe, like the Trumaí, was weak. The Trumaí rarely protested against thefts while the visitors were still in the village, although they vehemently expressed their indignation later. Such discretion was due more to fear than etiquette.

The inferior position of the Trumaí was most evident when visitors were in the village. The Kamayurá, especially, treated the Trumaí with arrogance and contempt. At times they would enter the Trumaí village without having built the customary warning fire. The Trumaí, on the other hand, did everything possible to please their visitors and prove their generosity and good will toward them. Quain was berated by the Trumaí chief for being too niggardly toward the Kamayurá, and he found that greater respect was accorded to the Kamayurá chief than to either himself or the Trumaí chief. The Kamayurá felt slighted that Quain had not visited them instead of the contemptible Trumaí, and, when Quain went to meet the visiting Kamayurá chief, the latter turned away with an air of bored indifference.

The Kamayurá chief was immediately given a stool to sit on and was plied with cigarettes. When he threw one away after a few puffs, he was promptly given another. Deference was also paid to ordinary Kamayurá, although to a lesser degree. Once when such a member came to the Trumaí village alone, the man who received him rushed to Quain's house to borrow a chair in order to reach some tobacco which had been placed on a high shelf. He was in a great hurry, for it would not be good to keep his guest waiting.

This behavior stands in sharp contrast to a visit to the Kamayurá village made by Quain and a party of Trumaí. The chief delegated their reception to his brother. No special attention was paid to them, although the villagers were active and industrious in an apparent effort to impress. The Trumaí were not even asked to sit on the log in the village center.

Due to the extensive intertribal relations, command of a language besides one's own is common in the area generally. But since Trumaí is an independent tongue and the number of Trumaí small, it is probable that multilingual people were more frequent among them than in other tribes. Their "second" language was usually Kamayurá, but few outsiders spoke Trumaí, although more understood it. When Kamayurá came to visit, conversation was ordinarily in their tongue. Of the three foreign women in the Trumaí village, only the Suyá woman could speak even a broken Trumaí. Since the Suyá had no peaceful relations with the tribes of the headwaters, the Gê language was not widely known there. The other two foreign women merely understood Trumaí.

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Diagnosis and Treatment of Disease

Illness was believed to be caused primarily by witchcraft and, secondarily, by the breaking of a taboo or by contagion. Headaches, bloated stomach (*pihl*) and stomach aches were among the common symptoms of bewitchment. The tremendous fear of black magic probably added greatly to the severity of these afflictions. During Quain's stay the women appeared to complain more of sorcery as a cause of their illnesses than did the men, but this self-diagnosis was not always accepted.

Trumaí concepts regarding contagion were generally loose, and they often fused with witchcraft beliefs. Contagion was acknowledged to be a possible cause of illness, but if death followed, it would in all probability be laid to sorcery. The Trumaí knew that epidemics of pulmonary diseases were associated with the coming of white men, and they were especially worried that when the rainy season arrived Quain would give them coughs and fevers. Indeed, one night when Quain complained of illness and retired to his hammock with a headache, this eventuality was vigorously discussed.

The Trumaí called such a threat *tun*, a word that can be translated only as a malignant influence causing disease. *Tun* was said to exist around sick people or in places where there was known to be danger of contamination. Thus, when several of the people of Jakwanari's household were sick, everyone avoided the house, for it was full of *tun*. Aloari said that the waterfront, also, was full of *tun*. He preferred to bathe from a pottery vessel outside his house. Ringworm, however, was known to be caused by natural means.

The word *okei*, while referring to sorcery under certain conditions, was also a general term for medicinal preparations. Thus, *okei* of various kinds were used in different stages of the life crisis rituals and also in the treatment of various ailments. Roots were extensively used for medicinal purposes. Maibu rubbed his wife's head with the extract of a root (*ipox*) when she had a headache. Another root (*murukuyu*) supplied the basic ingredient for eye drops, and still another was prescribed for ringworm.

The Trumaí were subject to severe boils which were treated by piercing. This was a woman's specialty, and it was usually done by the wife or a close relative of the afflicted person. All other curing, both secular and supernatural, was done by men. Herbal medicines were used exclusively for such ailments as ringworm, but most cures involved both botanical and supernatural means used in conjunction.

Illness was treated by both individual curers and group ceremonies. The practice of individual shamanistic curing, known as *jau'kath*, had much in common with similar arts throughout South America. The main techniques employed were tobacco smoke and sucking. Great

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868 867 way the child was taught the kinship terms applying to his immediate family and age mates. He did not, however, learn to classify the whole village until much later.

Pre-Pubescence

593 866 A good deal of a youngster's time was spent around his house, and his attachment to his parents first, and then to other members of his household, was very strong. Dependence on the parent was expressed in a variety of ways. When the motherless Matairipi's father, Oirupa, left the village for a few days, the boy was dispirited. When someone approached from the canoe landing, he would run anxiously to see who it was. His joy was obvious as he clung to the hand of his returned father. This pattern was repeated, but with less intensity, by children having both a father and mother.

152 855 Night terrors were common among the children. They were afraid of the dark and, if they awakened in the night, sought immediately for their father or mother, or howled if both were absent. The early pattern of sleeping with a parent undoubtedly had much to do with these fears, but ample justification for them can be found in other aspects of the culture. Adults communicated to the children their own nocturnal anxieties, which were stimulated by fears of enemy attack. The young made [186] frequent references to the Suyá. One little boy, after an especially uneasy night, marched around the village chanting the word "Suyá" in a deep, serious voice. A frightened child's cries were immediately answered by his parents, who recognized it by tone. Tay, an orphan boy, often awakened with loud howls, but the people of his house paid little attention, and listened instead for their own children.

857 The children played and lolled about in the house, and had closer ties with co-residents than with others bearing the same kin relationships. When Kuyafi shifted her hammock to the house of her new spouse, her child cried lustily at the change of residence. The boys frequently visited in other houses, and there were no restrictions on lying in the nearest hammock, no matter to whom it belonged. This liberty was [123] taken by the adults also. To keep visitors out of his hammock, Quain had to tell everyone that his "wife would be angry" if anyone used it. This was the standard excuse for turning down such requests.

867 Children were given considerable freedom. Adults were interested in them, but made little effort to direct their activities. Encouragement was given, but the child was never forced to do anything. There were few "do nots." However, the child learned that he did not have an unlimited claim to all property, and sometimes he was punished for his transgressions. He also learned that he should not disturb older people unduly. The adults had a high tolerance for the noises of children, but

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occasionally someone, who was occupied or in bad temper, would chase the child away or slap him lightly. The only time that Quain ever saw a child given physical punishment was after some petty pilfering. In this case the father whipped him angrily across the legs. Usually, however, only a verbal reprimand followed misconduct.

Children were in a somewhat privileged category. With respect to gift-giving, the claims of the young were particularly strong, although, as noted above, they were not unlimited. When a child wanted something, it would either be given it or a good excuse would be offered. Parents backed up such demands, and were hurt and aggrieved if the request was refused.

Children had almost as strong control over their property as did the older Trumaí. Quain dealt directly with the children to secure specimens of children's playthings. The children manifested the same possessiveness as their parents in these dealings and in their general concepts of property. Even little Katsits cried when her father wanted to put up her necklace in the trade game. Her father let her keep the necklace and sought other objects to exchange.

Children cried frequently, and their tears rarely went unheeded. Teasing by adults was common, but when a child broke into full and lusty howls, he was soothed and comforted. There were no admonitions against crying itself. The only time a child was reprimanded for crying was when it was absolutely unwarranted and annoying to the adults. In such cases, a stern voice was all that was required. By the time a boy reached the age of ten he rarely wept, for he was then going through the initial phases of the puberty rites, and courage and fortitude were expected.

Little work was demanded of children. The boys often accompanied the women on gathering expeditions, but this was the only help they gave them. On the other hand, they were frequently called on to perform errands for the men or lend them some small aid. These tasks were done willingly.

The older boys occasionally accompanied the men on hunting and fishing trips, thus learning the necessary subsistence techniques. They participated actively in fish poisoning, helped in the preparation and application of the *tauasi* bark, and in the gathering of the drugged fish. Of all the subsistence techniques, horticulture was the last to be learned. The youngest Trumaí to have a garden was Autsuki, who was going through the final stages of the puberty ceremonies. Maibu's foster son, Jawaku, was still considered too young to cultivate his own plot, although he was no more than two years younger than Autsuki. Most of the boys were well acquainted with the work, however, through trailing the men to the gardens and watching them.

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526 would be terminated by mutual consent and without the need for either contestant to concede defeat.[5] The wrestlers were often pushed around [152] considerably, but except for grunts of effort, there were no expressions of pain or anger. However, when Quain tried to teach the Trumaí men to box, even the lightest punch caused them to retire. They claimed that the *karahiba* sport was much too rough.

562 Trumaí women do not "know how" to wrestle, but the Kamayurá 526 women wrestled to entertain guests. It was common opinion in the region 186 that Trumaí women did not compare favorably with Kamayurá women. 648 Even the Trumaí men agreed on this point. After a visit to the Kama- 171 yurá village, the precocious young Yanahi was vociferous in his approval of them. His admiration was due chiefly to the *jamyrikuma*, a Kamayurá female song and dance in which the women flapped their breasts and went through other provocative motions. He also described how they had pushed their twine belts down low on their buttocks, which to him was a very suggestive act. After the dance the women wrestled. Jakwalu, a Mehinaku, was the only woman in the Trumaí village who could wrestle, a fact that suggests that the females of this group also practiced the sport. She demonstrated her ability only on intertribal visits.

574 The Trumaí women did not entertain guests, except insofar as visitors 535 forced their attentions on the unmarried ones. The only occasions on which they were known to sing and dance were at certain ceremonies when they served as a chorus to the men.

533 Except for the use of pan-pipes, which the men played in the morning, [534] all music was connected with religious ceremonial. The pan-pipes con- [196] sisted of a half-dozen hollow reeds of different lengths laced together. Ceremonial singing was melodious, and the Trumaí enjoyed singing. They frequently requested Quain to sing in the men's circle. The requests were always phrased on behalf of the women and children. [123] Visits from members of other tribes always called for a performance by the ethnographer.

522 Humor consisted mostly of practical jokes played at the expense of 571 others. Jokes were always perpetrated by the men; the women served occasionally as butts. This does not mean that the men were gayer or more light-hearted than the women, for the contrary was actually the case. The women enjoyed each other's company more. They gossiped and laughed together, worked together, and generally wore a pleasanter expression. For the men, jokes were important as a means of recognition and assertion. They were always performed for an audience.

Teasing the women was also a popular male diversion. This was often done by ignoring them completely during a conversation. Yati was a

[5] This may be true only of bouts between Trumaí, as Oberg (1953, p. 59) notes that a man is defeated when he is thrown on his back.

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master at this dead-pan type of humor. When the women attempted to talk to him and Quain, he remained entirely disinterested, occasionally breaking in on them to address himself solely to the ethnographer. Although the women affected exasperation, they really enjoyed this negative attention.

The women were easy to frighten. Aloari teased his wife and sister-in-law by chasing them with a live snake in his hands. The women were also sensitive to touch (few men could resist brushing a hand lightly over an ever-exposed buttock when a crowd was present), and they became nervous when they saw that such teasing was impending. On a day when all the women had crowded into Quain's house, he pulled on the perineal cord of one of them. She immediately loosed a scream and ran out the door followed by the others, who laughed hilariously. Thereafter all the women expected to be teased by Quain, and they identified him somewhat more with the other men than they had before. The men often threatened rape in jest, but even when the women recognized the humorous intent, their basic anxiety was never completely allayed.

Pranks were frequent among the men. It was particularly amusing for a man to inform the others that Quain had given him a gift. Yati went to the trouble of filling a cartridge box with dirt and soberly telling all the men that the box was full of rifle shells. He was among the more popular jokers of the village. And pranks were played on him also. One night, in jest, Aloari shot at Yati's chicken with Quain's rifle on the pretext that it had been crowing. (The noise of the rifle report was also calculated to terrify the village.) Tun and Jakwanari occasionally tried to be funny by sitting alone and talking to themselves rapidly and incoherently. This was considered forced humor, and no one so much as chuckled.

A major source of diversion was gossip about who was cohabiting with whom. While this sometimes led to shouting arguments, it was more often merely playful talk, and it was treated as such. Accusations of sexual intercourse, sometimes true and sometimes false, were tossed back and forth between the men, usually with accompanying leers.

Manners and Morals

The Trumaí gossiped about sex, not because it was held to be morally wrong to do so, but because they had a frank and honest interest in it. Sex was considered a part of the "good life," but it was also thought to be a distraction from work. Thus, the chief made lengthy speeches castigating the men for being interested in nothing but sex when they should have been out planting. Similarly, Yanahi should have finished his puberty rites, but, as one of his kinsmen bluntly put it, all he wanted to do was "*tsidi*" (copulate). In reality the men took vicarious enjoyment in watching Yanahi exert his newly found sex prowess.

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Yanahi was less inhibited than any of the other men, but his behavior was not considered shocking or immoral. Quain had apparently arrived at the village just at the time that Yanahi was on the threshold of sexual experience. He appeared in Quain's house one night to show that he had an erection and announced that he would soon be having coitus. Thereafter, he rarely failed to tell Quain of his exploits. One night quite a crowd, including Yanahi and one of his paramours, Vatsiat, was gathered in Quain's house. The young man suddenly developed a longing for her and, as soon as all the visitors had left, satisfied his craving noisily amidst Quain's pots and pans. He was proud of his virility, as were most of the Trumaí men.

No discredit attached to the male involved in a love affair and very little to the woman. Oirupa merely scolded his sister for having copulated with Yanahi. Only where adultery was involved did promiscuity lower the status of a woman. Chastity before marriage was not expected, and there was not a single virgin in the village over the age of puberty. Older women without husbands or close relatives to protect them were often used for sexual purposes against their will. This was especially the case with unmarried foreign women. Some of them complained that they had to dispense their favors to too many men too often.

This aggressiveness and the danger of bride-capture made the women extremely fearful of being raped, and, as noted above, they were uneasy even when the threats were made in fun. One morning Quain decided to get rid of his numerous female visitors by employing this device. They all fled except one, who, despite her seeming courage, looked worried. Without doubt, the women enjoyed visiting Quain, but a man told him that if he were to have intercourse with any one of them, they would all fear him. Over and above this fear of rape, there was a definite hostility between the sexes, which was usually well controlled, but which on occasion might explode in open quarrels between the men and the women.

No cumbersome taboos surrounded physiological functions. Belching and the release of flatus were common in company, but generally disregarded. However, if an unusually unpleasant odor followed, those nearby spat on the ground as a mark of disgust. The men urinated near their houses or at the edge of the village plaza. The women went to the edge of the village clearing or behind the houses. Both sexes went a short distance into the brush to defecate, but at night elimination was permitted in the village plaza if a hole was first dug for this purpose and covered over.

There was no salacious attitude toward body processes. The Trumaí were puzzled by Quain's desire for privacy in his personal habits and his curiosity about other people's. One woman seriously asked if she could watch him eliminate.

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The main motivation for going into the brush to defecate was not modesty, but a feeling of revulsion for body products. One did not eliminate in places frequented by people. Yanahi was disgusted when Quain defecated in his garden and claimed that the garden was ruined. Similarly, it was considered repulsive to defecate in the water. When Quain described the great ship that had brought him to Brazil, the only thing that the Trumaí found hard to believe was that the people aboard would have to eliminate in the water.

The rules of etiquette required a person entering or leaving company to make an appropriate statement. The salutation usually consisted of a phrase stating what the person being greeted was doing at the moment. Thus, typical greetings were, "You are eating," "You have returned from fishing," "You are sitting," and so on. When leaving a person or group it was proper to announce, "I am leaving," followed generally by a statement of what one was going to do. If this last was not observed, the departing person was usually asked where he was going. These formalities were not as regularly invoked in the larger gatherings as in house-visiting.

The rules of etiquette also required the emission of conventionalized cries on particular occasions, such as the bringing of food into the village or the offering of tobacco to guests. In the latter case the person making the presentation cried "*aha*," the recipient "*ha-a-a ha ha ha*." These amenities, which were observed between the Trumaí, were always louder when an outsider was involved.

Hospitality was extended to all upper Xingú Indians and white men who visited the village. In part this was inspired by a fear of their neighbors, in part by etiquette. The Trumaí had little reason to fear Quain; yet he was treated with the greatest kindness and consideration, and everyone was eager to converse with him. Indeed, their attentions were so constant that at times he wanted nothing more than to be left alone.

While the men were far more self-assertive than the women, they were also extremely sensitive. They were insulted at the refusal of a request, or at the denial of what they considered to be the recognition due them as individuals. They did not like to be treated as faceless members of a group. During the argument that followed Quain's complaint that some article of his had been stolen, Maibu criticized him for addressing them collectively as "Trumaí," while they always called him "*capitão*" or by his name.

The Trumaí were greatly interested in Western goods and their behavior toward whites was unrestrained. The following quotation from Quain's field notes describes this succinctly:

> The reason why it is so difficult to live with these people is that they are so "impolite." At least in their dealings with me, an outsider, and with the mission-

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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aries, they are unrestrained in physical contact and in the expression of their momentary sentiments. In many instances their motives are kind and helpful. But their complete lack of shyness makes their sometimes bungling efforts troublesome.

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They were more reserved among themselves. Body contact and caresses were absent, as such demonstrations of friendship were unnecessary. The Trumaí were different people when outsiders were in the village.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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CHAPTER SIX

The Death of a Culture

Today there are but twenty-five remaining Trumaí. The fact that they disbanded once during the recent past shows that this small number approaches a critical point at which such a culture is no longer socially viable. If the present population trend continues, Trumaí society will definitely end, and, with the complete assimilation of the descendants of the Trumaí into other tribes, Trumaí culture, except for those elements of it that have been adopted by their neighbors, will belong to the past.

Primitive cultures and the populations that transmitted them are disappearing in many parts of the world today. In most instances, however, they are being destroyed by extended face-to-face contacts with Western society. This is not precisely the case with the Trumaí. Here, there was no large scale transmission of Western culture and no direct interaction with Brazilian society. But slight though the contact of the upper Xingú Indians with the whites was, it resulted in the introduction of respiratory infections that contributed greatly to their depopulation. In this sense, the white man is responsible for the impending death of the Trumaí.

Although the Trumaí were still carrying on their village life during Quain's residence and were to continue to do so, certain changes were taking place in their culture which were symptomatic of the fundamental instability induced by their low numbers.

It is immediately apparent that their weakness made the Trumaí vulnerable to other tribes, both the nominally friendly ones of the upper Xingú Basin, and the hostile ones of the surrounding country. In 1938 the Trumaí could not have successfully withstood a strong Suyá or Yuruna raid, nor could they have launched an attack upon the Suyá for women, as did the more vigorous Kamayurá. Indeed, the Trumaí had good reason to fear the least sound in the jungle at night.

Also, the Trumaí were held in low esteem by their immediate neighbors at the time of Quain's study. This was a severe blow to their *elan*, and it undoubtedly affected their self-image. It led, too, to more concrete results. As noted above, other tribes took Trumaí women during their most fertile years, and it is almost certain that the few "outside" women, who were brought into the Trumaí village through marriage, failed to restore the balance. Moreover, there were no "outside" men

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Trumaí culture and the shortness of their average life span must have seriously interfered with the instruction of the young. In addition, the very eclecticism of Trumaí culture militated against conservatism and is indicative of the low value which they placed on their own culture.

In the chapter on religion, the disinterest of the people in their religious activities was often noted. Such behavior may appear paradoxical, but ethnographic literature provides many instances of the decline of traditional belief systems in the face of cultural crisis. In the case of the Trumaí, disinterest in the religious sphere was closely related to disinterest in other aspects of their culture. The Trumaí world view had become a philosophy of despair. While depopulation was causing social and cultural disintegration, cultural factors in their turn were furthering depopulation. The Trumaí were set in a steady downward spiral.

In summary it can be said that, on the basis of Quain's notes, the Trumaí were an anxiety ridden people. They were extremely sensitive and their feelings were easily hurt. They demanded individual recognition and attention. They were disinclined to work in their own interest or to join with each other in community projects. Apathetic towards their own world, they were distrustful of the world outside. These observations find considerable confirmation in de Lima's comments on the Trumaí:

> The behavior of this tribe which lives today in a state of humiliation and withdrawal in the face of the other peoples, is quite different from that of the Tupians. They are extremely distrustful Indians; they do not have a frank and happy expression and no matter how long one lives with them they remain always shut off. They do not have the dynamism, nor the disposition to work of the Kamayurá.[6]

It seems certain that this personality structure was not a survival of their more prosperous pre-contact period, when the Trumaí enjoyed some renown as warriors, but was a product of the growing distress which emerged during the period when the their whole security system of the individual — kinship and community — was breaking down. Under the new circumstances the individual Trumaí was no longer lodged in the matrix of the extended family. No longer did the rules of kinship that had formerly guided interpersonal relations operate smoothly for him. No longer did a vigorous community intervene between him and the outside world. There was no strong family, community, or tradition with which he could identify himself. The weakening of the socio-cultural structure precipitated him into conflict with his fellows; and it caused him to transfer some of his dependence to other and stronger groups. And in this effort also, he was unsuccessful, for other tribes looked down upon him as a member of an irredeemably inferior group.

[6] De Lima 1949, p. 25.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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APPENDIX

Buell Quain, in a letter to the late Dr. Ruth Benedict written from Brazil on December 21, 1938, summarized several aspects of Trumaí culture which have a direct and immediate bearing on their decline. Following are excerpts of ethnological interest from this letter, which was discovered after this monograph was completed:

"They are a dying culture. Each generation improves its imitation of Kamayurá culture. Everyone in the village knows a few Kamayurá words. Almost all the songs in the manioc fertility ceremony are Kamayurá. Half the people in the village can carry on a conversation in Kamayurá with ease. One household (there are four) uses Kamayurá in preference to Trumaí. The mother of the house owner speaks no Trumaí; she is a Kamayurá woman who has lived with the Trumaí for about twenty-five years. The child of the household, a ten year old girl, confuses Kamayurá kinship terms with Trumaí in classifying the village. All Trumaí women between twenty and forty have been captive wives among the Kamayurá (which puts the Trumaí men in a peculiar position which they fully but fruitlessly resent) .... They have lots of disorganized leisure. They are sleepy (in part because of insects and fear throughout the night). They are ready to imitate not only the Kamayurá, but me, in petty daily habits. No outsider speaks Trumaí.

"There is nobody among them who volunteers information of ethnological value. For three months I dug for structure and got very little... Dullness cannot be attributed to the climate.

"The village is small .... Each of the four households — now five because of a recent split — are organized, or perhaps disorganized, according to different sociological principals. Three of the seventeen women are of foreign birth; one is Kamayurá, one is Mehinaku, and one is Suyá. The first two speak no Trumaí. A fourth woman with ringworm and two sick children is said to be Yaulapití, but she is well set in Trumaí culture. Nobody claims her as a relative (in part because of aversion toward her ringworm); hence she is used as a prostitute by every man in the village — she is the village joke. Among the men, I have found remarkably uniform responses to various 'tests'. (I said 'Draw a picture of a woman and a man.' Every man but one drew the woman first and oriented her in a distinctive way on the paper. The women showed no such regularity. One Kamayurá man tested also lacked this stereotyped response.)

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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post-natal sexual taboos is a serious social problem. A large group of not very pretty bachelors must use the woman with ringworm or the Suyá captive, whose present marriage is considered dishonorable. These women have no brothers or fathers. In contrast with Karajá, there is no stylized homosexuality. Yet the complete freedom of sexual play results in activities which might be considered overt homosexuality. But to the Trumaí such activity has little emotional content. It does not seem to set up special personal relationships.

"Women are in constant fear of attack. Yet a wife tyrannizes her husband by withholding her favors and pulling the hair of anyone whom she suspects her husband has used sexually. Between married people, sex occurs at night — preferably when everyone else is asleep — or while going to the forest on various gathering tasks. A man and his wife engage in many things together, such as afternoon relaxation, fishing, and gardening. There is companionship even between those spouses among whom the wife is much older and no longer of interest to the man sexually.

"Between themselves, the men are extremely individualistic. Cooperation rarely exceeds kin limits even at the explicit order of the chief. Only when outsiders are present do men band together in a mock display of solid cooperation.... There is only one old man, who is about seventy — all others are under 45 ..... All death is murder. Nobody expects to live longer than the next rainy season. Men always carry bows and arrows for protection. Shamans keep the village in constant fear of attack from the Suyá or Kamayurá.... There are imaginary attacks quite often. Men gather in terror at the center of the village — the most exposed spot — and wait to be shot at from the dark bushes at the margin of the village....

"Authority is lax. The patrilineally hereditary chief does no work and is a parasite on his household. He is self-conscious of the rank of his wife whose marriage has elevated her. He lounges in his hammock, but it is his duty to orate from the center of the village at night and sometimes in the morning, urging the men to undertake group projects. He is the only man who has the courage to be an executive. This contrasts with the Kamayurá where there are several chiefs who, uniquely in their culture, are shy and ashamed to speak and whose orders must be referred through special talkers. It also contrasts with the Karajá where the chief is the best worker .... When the season changes, the Trumaí chief urges the people to engage in the new work, which they would do anyway. An example of the complete independence of spirit is illustrated by the two brothers who would not help the brother-in-law of one build the house in which they all were living, because they thought the mosquitoes would be bad in that location during the rainy season. The brother-in-law built the tremendous house all by himself — the two brothers lived comfortably in it.

/192 cont./

123 609 It was necessary to make another attempt; since our Indian was apparently not adequate, Antonio was induced to make a speech in Bakaïrí. After a little shy resistance, he took heart and shouted across energetically that he was a Bakaïrí, and that the Bakaïrí are good, and that the Trumaí are also good, and that the Bakaïrí were friendly to the Trumaí, that therefore the Trumaí should also be friendly to the Bakaïrí. Actually, he made himself heard for a moment, but the Trumaí realized at once that they did not understand him and outshouted the poor soul, whose voice died away. Hold on, I remember two Trumaí words which the Kustenaú chief had told me: apirí, /Illustration appears here/ /193/ "friend," and meijú, our beijú, the mandioca bread. With a truly stentorian voice I therefore cry: "Apirí Trumaí, meijú Trumaí, apirí." If my purpose had been to fan the storm, I could have been satisfied. The effect was dazzling. My words came back in the loudest echo; I had definitely spoken [262] good Trumaí. From the bottom of the canoe they fetched the beijús, which have the shape of large pancakes baked in a pan, [302] and waved this token of peace in the air. Particularly the chief shouter, a young man painted brick-red from head to toe, talked with great enthusiasm about such a cake which he seemed to be demonstrating and explaining like a professor in a classroom.

Some success was noticeable, however; they were quarreling among themselves. The brick-red one was obviously inclined to [302] break off the preliminaries and to enter into closer acquaintance; but one canoe in particular, with three tall, uncanny, coal-black ones, decidedly refused and implored the other heroes not to listen to the words of that demagogue. But the opposition was overruled. Three of our men climbed into a canoe and rowed into the midst of the hostile fleet, laughing kindly and talking; that won their hearts. Still parleying a bit, they approached the shore and [452] finally landed. The black or red, ugly faces, whether the more so by artifice or by nature I do not know, grinned happily in our direction; each of us took one of the fellows by the arm, whereupon a second man of theirs quickly took his other arm; thus we strode, fraternally united, to our campsite.

[Text continues on p. 176]

/193 cont./

123 Most of them proffered a piece of beijú as a present and at
576 the same time said "má." My companion took my hat, but I
609 respectfully demanded it back. Everything seemed to be going smoothly; I was among the last, and in front they had already reached our hammocks.

609 Suddenly I hear a shot behind me; Cousin Wilhelm is
●152 standing there, without his hat, gesticulating, his Indian guest
123 is sitting in the sand and kicking and striking with all fours; already he leaps up. What panic! Are they afraid that the earth will open up and swallow them? This is primitive fear; there is no question but that we have thunder and lightning at our command. With a few leaps all are in the canoes; they push off; screaming, they row with all their might and do not begin to calm down a bit until they are in the middle of the river. No pleading, no peace demonstrations -- we put down the guns and walk unarmed across the beach -- can persuade them to return.

609 A boat with four of our men is in their midst, I thought
123 /194/ at first with the intention of calming the excited compadres; but it soon became evident that they wanted some of their things back, Manoel's pistol, the hats of Castro, Wilhelm, and Antonio, Quintilian's gun, the ax used for the soundings -- I don't know what all; it is incredible how they could have taken possession of all this in the short time.

609 The entire fleet is already on the left side of the Kulisëu.
721 Suddenly a Trumaí shoots an arrow toward our canoes, and in a
123 moment the guns of the soldiers are rattling. They assert that they only fired into the air. A wild scene ensues; all the Indians leap head over heels out of the canoes, abandon these and their weapons, swim to the nearby shore, and disappear among the trees. The soldiers, once having been seized by the furor of battle, continue to shoot eagerly, no matter how much Castro, from the shore, tries to order them: rest arms! Finally it is quiet; they rummage and hunt in all the canoes and start coming back. There is not a Trumaí to be seen anywhere in the forest; like peaceful staffage, their canoes lie peacefully along the shore, and only here and there, like a dead bird, a feather ornament floats on the waves.

/122 cont./ All

123 doubts vanished at the end of the trail. Two women there were
192 crossing the path, let out a dreadful scream, and disappeared with lightning speed into the bushes. A chorus of confused, shrill cries and suddenly between the trees figures running excitedly hither and thither everywhere. We were in the midst of the Trumaí!

An unpleasant situation. To go back was, of course, impossible. Therefore, straight ahead. I have never heard more insane noise. In the background women and children dashed
[411] away with ear-splitting howls; the men gathered up their weapons here and there and, swinging bows, arrows, darts, they drew together into a screaming, dancing, raging knot, toward which we resolutely strode, one behind the other. I fixed my eye on a short gentleman who seemed to be the chief, stepped straight up to him, placed my hand on his shoulder, and did what is always best on such occasions, I laughed. Nor did I omit a forcefully expressed "katú katú karáiba, kúra kúra karáiba." In fact, I addressed several short sentences to him in a language which he had most probably never heard, but the sounds of which readily spring to my lips at critical moments and then always help to triumph over the gravity of the situation; it is my beloved Düsseldorf dialect, reinforced with a few carnivalistic catchwords that are appropriate for any situation. They had their effect on the Trumaí as well; the little old chief was, to be sure, too horrified to be able to laugh with me, but he nevertheless greeted me as graciously as he could.

[352] Two stools were hastily dragged up and the straw in which
[538] they were packed was torn off; they were bird-shaped, and one, which represented a vulture, was distinguished by two necks and heads, like a double eagle. We sat down in the forest camp, and the company, looking quite wild in their terror, surged and pressed all around us among the trees. When I declared with jovial mien that I wanted to sleep among them, twenty hands moved at once clearing away the brush and making room -- more attentive service could not be imagined. After

/122 cont./
123 half an hour renewed howling and women's screams announced
152 the arrival of Wilhelm and Carlos, who were led up and likewise gave expression to their friendly intentions with words and gestures.

142 /123/ There were mostly small, frail figures with small heads, receding chins, and ugly faces; among the old women there were truly magnificent specimens of witch-models. The
291 women in part wore the triangular uluri, in part a wardrobe garment new to us, a grayish-white bast loop that was drawn over
194 the hips and thickened into a small roll. The language in its cadence reminded us not a little of that of the Suyá, with which it had in common the nagging, squeezed habitus and could be immediately distinguished from all the Kulisehu languages by the frequent terminal sound of ts and by the f.

727 It was strange that the Trumaí had let themselves be taken by surprise in this way. Probably they had fled from the Suyá who had plundered their villages and from us at the same time. Their scouts, who were roving about among the Auetó, Yaulapiti, and Kamayurá, probably believed that we would not return directly to the Auetó from the Kamayurá, but would go to Schingú-Koblenz in order to join Perrot and Vogel, whose trip was already known to them, and reach the Auetó harbor on the river. The camp of the fugitives presented a spectacle of
[162] disorder and confusion. There were about 50 persons in all;
[352] numerous small fires were burning beside the brown hammocks, bundles of all kinds lay about and hung from the trees; the shelter-huts of the Auetó plantation remained unused. The
[501] Indians had come in part by way of the canals: a small flotilla of canoes had drawn up in the swampy water nearby, many of them in bad shape and where necessary pasted up merely with lumps of loam.

437 The beijús, the filled gourd bowls, and the cigars were necessarily lacking at this reception. They brought small balls of cotton and asked for beads. Unfortunately, we had given away almost everything to the Kamayurá and could therefore not offer much. With the remains, however, a few

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Aloari took over the post of *aek* by dint of personality and not by regular succession. Even if Jawaku had died, Aloari would not have been a logical heir. Manifestly, patrilineality was very fluid. 622

Conflict

In cases of interpersonal strife in the village, there was no mediator. The chief usually dissociated himself from these arguments and let the litigants shout it out. Maibu, described by Quain as a happy extrovert and a secure person, was involved in few personal quarrels. He did have occasional difficulties in discharging his office. For instance, Tun and Aloari refused to help build Quain's house on the grounds that he was only a *camara*, or person of low status. There then ensued a loud argument in the village plaza between Aloari and Maibu in which each tried to shout the other down. The men sat around and watched in bored amusement. Finally, to break it up, they tried to get Quain to sing. When Maibu grew weary and retired, Aloari continued to talk, but was greeted with hoots of derision. 578 622 626 [123]

Aloari was continually embroiled with the other villagers. He refused to finish thatching his house for the rainy season because he wanted the community to move to an old village site where there were fewer insects. His protests were to no avail. The village remained where it was.

Protests against the chief or the village as a whole did not often result in open conflict. For the most part, they were expressed by grumbling, non-compliance, and threats to leave. No action except ridicule was taken against dissidents. Disputes usually took the form of shouted arguments in the evening men's circle. The closest approximation to the use of force was a mock wrestling match between the disputants, in which light slaps and holds were mixed with talk. During one argument, a club was waved. 622 578 [626] [526]

Unwarranted use of force was regarded as a serious offense. Quain learned this at first hand after he had been among the Trumaí for two and a half months and had established excellent relations with them. When Autsuki, an adolescent boy, who had been told not to take any flour from a sack in Quain's house, persisted in doing so, Quain knocked the flour from his hand. Autsuki left the house, laughing derisively. Instantly, however, the entire village was astir. The men gathered in the plaza for a serious discussion. The boy's *wawes* (mother's brothers) came to Quain's house to demand an explanation, as did the chief. Fortunately, except for his pride, Autsuki was not hurt, and the matter was allowed to drop. Maibu, however, seeing that Quain was still annoyed, invited him to come into the center of the village and make a speech in his native tongue, the standard Trumaí escape-valve. 123 578 626 [154]

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626 828 154 On these occasions the men usually unburdened themselves in the village center. Malice was expressed either by a verbal interchange with the opponent or an angry speech. The substance of the latter type of demonstration often was not related to the cause of the dispute or to the speaker's discontent. Manifestly, the function of the harangue was to provide an emotional outlet rather than a forum. Maibu's suggestion that Quain should make a speech in his own language underlines the fact that the externalization of anger was the paramount purpose.

154 626 123 Emotional release could also be found in contrived performances. Quain, feeling depressed one evening, refused to sing when the Trumaí asked him to. However, when Maibu proposed a mock argument, Quain, being a good ethnologist, complied. Facing each other in the village center, the two men hurled epithets and insults at each other at the top of their voices. When Quain was at a loss for something to say, Maibu suggested that he repeat a speech he had made about the theft of his supplies. At the conclusion Quain reported, "I felt very good when I shouted at him for a while, and I was quite willing to sing."

683 692 In cases of physical harm, settlement could be obtained by paying the injured person. Quain was told that after the spear-throwing contest, the Kamayurá and the Trumaí each paid indemnities for bruises inflicted.[9] No case of physical violence was observed by Quain, but when [173] he slapped the flour from the boy's hand, and again when he stepped on a child's foot, the Trumaí suggested that he pay something. The latter case was an obvious attempt at petty extortion, for a week later the same child had his foot stepped on by a Trumaí, but this time the only result was an admonition from his father to be quiet.

626 954 [186] Still another alternative to violence was found in witchcraft. Only one or two Trumaí knew the practice of sorcery, and these men were said to have learned it from the Nahukwa, who were much feared because of their dangerous skill. Sorcery was usually invoked covertly, but at least once in an argument its use was openly threatened. This, however, was regarded as a most reprehensible action.

578 154 The chief source of conflict in the village was sex. Quarrels over who was to marry the three available women raged throughout Quain's stay. Bride-capture, the large percentage of older women, and polygamy combined to make the allotment of women an extremely sore point. The story of the battle over one woman is worth reporting, as it illustrates both patterned interpersonal relationships and the ways in which anger could be expressed and channeled.

578 584 154 Three men wanted to marry Kuyafi, a widow with a child. They were Oirupa the sorcerer, Mayuva, her sister's husband, and Nitvary. Kuyafi, it was said, had once had a child by Nitvary, so his claim was a strong one. So also was Mayuva's, as he had recognized sexual rights over her

[9] Cf. Galvão 1960, p. 383.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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because she was his sister-in-law. Mayuva, however, was afraid of Nitvary, as the latter had close ties with the Kamayurá and had threatened Mayuva with witchcraft at their hands. After Nitvary returned from a trip to the Kamayurá village, Mayuva complained of severe headaches and said he was going to die. Although he denied to Quain that his condition was due to Kamayurá sorcery, the threats against him apparently had the desired result: a short time later Kuyafi moved into Nitvary's house. The union last only two days, for Nitvary's jealous wife drove her out in a fit of anger. The field, it would seem, was clear for Oirupa, the third suitor.

Oirupa, however, had been trying to marry Kuyafi for years. Her father, Matiwana, refused to give his consent and Oirupa, in revenge, was said to have killed two of Matiwana's children by witchcraft. Relations between their families were understandably strained, and they were further aggravated by the marriage of Matiwana's son Yati and Oirupa's sister Kerami, which occurred during Quain's stay. This union was unhappy and short-lived. When Kerami left him, Yati and his father held Oirupa and his co-resident affinals, Tun and Aloari, responsible. Yati bitterly asserted that he (and Matiwana) would go to live among his mother's people, the Kuikuru of the upper Kuluene. There, he said, women were much easier to get.

With this background of conflict and suspicion, it is not surprising that the quarrel again broke out in earnest when Oirupa tried to seduce Kuyafi. Angered by her rejection he threw *piqui* pits at her. In the afternoon Matiwana spoke out against Oirupa from his house. (This was proper behavior, since a parent is expected to take his offspring's part in such disputes.) That evening the two men indulged in the usual loud shouting and wrestled with barely restrained hostility. Kuyafi added her bit from the house as did another of Matiwana's daughters. The other men pretended indifference. Yati remained silent, although he was vitally interested in the dispute; for, besides being Matiwana's son, he was involved in an enduring respect relationship with his former brother-in-law, even after his marriage was dissolved. Public opinion, however, was on the side of Matiwana, for Oirupa had committed an offense by hitting Kuyafi with the pits, and he had also threatened to use witchcraft. To this last Matiwana tauntingly replied that had Oirupa's witchcraft been really effective, he would have been dead long ago. As of the time Quain left the Trumaí, Kuyafi's future was still undecided.

The Men's Circle

The men's circle served a number of functions. It was the place in which initiated males gathered, talked, argued, and smoked. It was not taboo to young boys, as it was to women, but youngsters rarely joined

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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still too young to "see," but that when he was older he would learn, since his father was a shaman. Aloari said that he, too, would learn when he was old, as would his son Tsirikoan. Matiwana would instruct Aloari and would receive a payment for this tutelage. Indicative of a possible looseness of inheritance was the fact that Matiwana's son Yati was nowhere mentioned as a prospective shaman.

Dreams were considered to be a way of "seeing" while sleeping. This was known as *ohltaxer*. Dreams were taken seriously, at least by the dreamer. Aloari fully believed that the Waurá would come after he had dreamed it. And Maibu was convinced that he should make the trip to the Indian post on the Paranatinga River because he had dreamed that Climaco, the agent, liked him very much and would give him a rifle. However, individual dreams were not a matter of community concern or interest. Village action was taken on the basis of shamanistic "seeing" only.

Witchcraft

The only known sorcerer in the Trumaí village was Oirupa, the brother-in-law of Aloari. Oirupa was said by one man to have learned witchcraft (*okei*) from the Nahukwa, who, with the other Cariban tribes, were dreaded for their black magic. Oirupa's knowledge made him one of the most hated men in the village, but no action was taken against him for fear of incurring his enmity. Also, there have been no reports of the execution of sorcerers in the upper Xingú, and, from all indications, this mode of retaliation is not customary.

When someone fell ill and witchcraft was suspected, the guilt was usually imputed to a neighboring tribe. It was said that the Trumaí had to leave their old village site near the Kamayurá because the latter were killing them off with witchcraft. Sorcery was probably often practiced against other groups by the Trumaí, and the converse was always feared. Oirupa refused to speak above a whisper one night when the Auetí were said to be using black magic on the Trumaí.

It was Quain's belief that witchcraft was a substitute for open violence among the people of the area; significantly, witchcraft was not practiced by the people of the upper Xingú against the Suyá and other hostile tribes outside the Basin.[4] Intertribal black magic functioned as a check upon violence within the village as well. Certainly, it was more conducive to social order to attribute sorcery to another tribe than to some member of the small and already disrupted Trumaí community.

[4] Cf. Galvão 1949; Oberg 1953.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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105 182 648 in the Trumaí community, for, as Oberg notes, no adult male would choose to live with a people of such low status.[1]

105 162 It might be expected that the Trumaí could have compensated for this drain by raising their birth rate. However, in this population of 43 persons, there were only ten children, an extremely small number when the low average life span is considered. Furthermore, only two of the children were females. Of the approximately twelve women who 105 were capable of bearing children, only one was pregnant, and the others 163 were urging her to abort her child. Thus, infanticide and abortion were 161 taking a heavy toll in the Trumaí village.

847 845 The custom of killing twins and of spacing births three or four years apart are reported by Oberg for the Kamayurá,[2] and these factors may well have been present in the Trumaí situation. The long post-natal [171] taboo on sexual intercourse had the same effect. Wagley, who studied the dying but equally unacculturated Tapirapé, found that traditional practices were contributing to the complete depopulation of that group also.[3]

105 161 178 154 But among the Trumaí there is still another and less tangible dimension. Abortion may have been urged on a pregnant woman because she had no husband, but how is one to explain the killing of two of Aloari's children without his consent, or the fact that there were eight male and only two female children in the community? The limited information available suggests that the Trumaí were purposely restricting their number and committing suicide, perhaps unintentionally, in the process. Two reasons for this extreme behavior may be hypothesized: first, the impasse in which the Trumaí found themselves because of the steady depopulation made them so personally insecure and apathetic regarding both the present and the future that they were no longer willing to rear sizable families, despite their evident devotion to children; and second, they may not have thought it possible to produce the surplus necessary to support such families. Actually, however, even with their diminished numbers the Trumaí could have increased their food supply.

105 511 433 226 Their lowered standard of living was due to more than attitudes. Loss of population no doubt also decreased the yield of Trumaí fishing and therefore limited their chief source of protein. To be sure, bow and arrow fishing was little affected, but fish poisoning, the only communal subsistence technique practiced by them, was much less effective when employed by a small group, for a few people can adequately poison only smaller watercourses and branches of lagoons, while a greater number can cover larger streams and whole lagoons. In the latter circumstance, both the take would be larger and larger species would be available. Moreover, when the waters are heavily poisoned and enough people are present to reap the "harvest," there is less chance of fish escaping. Thus, up to

[1] Oberg 1953, p. 15. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 62. [3] Wagley 1940.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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421 437 524 [56] [52] It was significant that Aloari, probably the most aggressive person in the village, was often an organizer and always a main participant in the games. On the other hand, he never cooperated in group work.

This conventionalized form of exchange, which Quain called the trade game, had a strong functional role in Trumaí culture, but there are indications that it was of outside origin. One informant said that it was [177] a Bakairí custom, and Quain thought that the "game" might have been introduced by Bakairí traders bringing goods from the Indian post on the Paranatinga River.[1]

The Household

171 516 622 Among both the Waurá and the Kamayurá the extended family occupied its own house, and the head of the lineage was considered a sub-chief of the village.[2] Such unilocal, co-resident and extended family groupings, which were typical among tribes of the upper Xingú, were absent in the Trumaí village.

592 613 Consanguineally close male relatives usually formed co-resident units, but these nucleii of kinsmen were very small and did not constitute an entire household. Furthermore, they were related to each other through [591] male or female lines. Due to village patrilocality, there was a tendency for patrilineally related males to live together, but this did not result in [165] the establishment of a patrilineal lineage for several reasons. Among them the high death rate was very important.

592 594 Maibu's house illustrates the eclectic nature of the Trumaí household. Four nuclear families, totaling fourteen people, lived in it. Hanging their hammocks from one of the two center posts were Katauka, his son Kamkuti, his brother's son Autsuki, and another brother's son and his wife. At the opposite end of the house were Maibu and his wife, the wife's son by Maibu's deceased brother, Maibu's sister Ayenuke, Makurawa, a classificatory sister's son, and Makurawa's wife and their three children. Although everyone in the household was related, bonds were closer between those people who hung their hammocks from the same post.

589 592 182 Despite the fact that the household, as a unit, had no specific functions, it established the framework within which certain interpersonal dependencies were worked out. Bride-capture, intertribal warfare, divorce, and early death caused a significant proportion of the Trumaí to be temporarily or permanently without mates. This disadvantage was

[177] [1] The trade game was possibly borrowed from the Bakairí, as its existence among this group has been reported by Oberg (1953, p. 72). However, craft specialization and trade on the upper Xingú predates the Indian post. Cf. von den Steinen 1897, pp. 166, 267.

[2] De Lima (1950, p. 9.) reports this arrangement among the Waurá, and Oberg (1953, p. 45.) adds that the position of house chief tends to pass in the male line in the Kamayurá village.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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592 578 friendly terms tended to join in forming a household, and third, it was probably considered desirable to suppress ill feeling within the house.

571 578 592 The unfriendliness between Maibu and the men of Aloari's family existed side by side with close gift-giving obligations between their two houses. According to Aloari's brother Oirupa, he *pans* (gives) to all the people of his own house and also to all the people of Maibu's house. Residence was the crucial factor, for when Yanahi and Mayuva moved from his house, Oirupa no longer gave to them. Similarly, the two other houses had close gift-giving ties. The women united according to this house division when an attack was thought imminent.

114 592 602 Insofar as can be ascertained from Quain's genealogical data, there were no special kin bonds between the households of Maibu and Aloari, on one hand, and Jakwanari and Nitvary, on the other, to explain this moiety-like division. But it is of interest that the houses of both Maibu and Aloari were the large type of domicile, like those of the Kamayurá, whereas the other pair of houses were the smaller "true" Trumaí type. It is possible that the residents of one pair of houses, perhaps the smaller, were the descendants of inhabitants of the southern village.

The Nuclear Family

594 Despite the importance of the household and the bilateral consanguineal group, the nuclear family, consisting of man, wife, and children, was still the basic unit of Trumaí society and economy. The biological family could provide nearly all the necessities of life within the previously outlined framework of individualized production and division of labor between the sexes.

The responsibilities of child-rearing fell largely on the nuclear family. The Trumaí showed a fondness for children, and it was not unusual for other adults in the house to play with them and watch over them; but the chief attention came from the parents, and the dependence of the young upon the father and mother was stronger than upon the rest of the household.

[513] 593 The conjugal group had its own hearth near which its hammocks were strung. Very young children slept with the mother or, if motherless, with the father. Couples were companionable and spent much of their leisure time with each other. It was common for a man and wife to sit in the shade of their house in the afternoon while he made arrows and she worked on a hammock. At other times the couple would go on a short [832] gathering trip, or just idle around the house. Embraces or mild sex play often occurred in public between younger mates.

593 156 Some unions were closer than others. Aloari and his wife Yunununwa spent more time together and showed more affection than did other couples. They were both young; he was virile and aggressive, and she

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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was one of the most attractive women in the village. Their marital 593
life, however, was not always smooth. She was unusually possessive, [837]
and he was said to have thrashed her severely once for infidelity. Also, [847]
he felt some resentment for the infanticides she had committed at the
birth of two of their children.

Aloari, his wife, and his brother Tun were not typical of the Trumaí. In addition to the closeness of Aloari's marriage there was a strong attachment between the two brothers. None of the three participated fully in the community social life. The small in-group formed by the family probably had much to do with the strength of the marriage.

The usual cause of quarrels was adultery. Wives generally obeyed 593
their husbands, but since each had his or her own clearly understood [837]
duties to perform, it was seldom necessary for a husband to exert authority. The women, however, did influence their husbands to some extent. Quain was told by a few men that they would not be able to go to the Indian post with him because their wives wanted them to stay at home.

All but one Trumaí marriage was monogamous. The plural union 595
consisted of Jakwanari and two sisters. A number of men wanted second [583]
wives, and Aloari told Quain of a plan to go to the Suyá to capture women. Judging from the Trumaí's fear of the Suyá, this was probably sheer bravado. Several attempts were made by some of the men, however, to take one of the two eligible village women as a second wife. These efforts were all balked by the first wife, who ultimately decided whether her husband might have a second wife and, if so, who it would be. Yumunuwa flatly refused to allow Aloari to take her own sister as a wife. Kuyafi had been Nitvary's second bride for only two days, when his first wife drove her from the house in a fit of temper. Wives were obviously jealous of their monogamous position, but if a second wife was suitable, she might be allowed to stay.

Jakwanari's two wives got along well, but the second, Kamiha, accepted a decidedly subordinate role. Jakwanari's closest relationship was with Tsuku, the first wife, who also owned all the family utensils. On one occasion Kamiha had a quarrel with one of the men. She quickly retired from the fray when he called her a "second Tsuku." Jakwanari's hammock hung across those of his wives, but nothing is known of their sexual relations.

Quain was told that in polygamous marriages it was preferable to 595
take two sisters. However, even a sister might not be accepted by the 837
first wife, as Aloari's situation shows, although a man had sexual rights over his wife's sister as long as she remained unmarried. One man beat his wife's sister for refusing him sexual favors, and his action was approved by the other men. Women, however, were jealous of their husbands, and did not approve of these or any other extra-marital connections.

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still too young to "see," but that when he was older he would learn, since his father was a shaman. Aloari said that he, too, would learn when he was old, as would his son Tsirikoan. Matiwana would instruct Aloari and would receive a payment for this tutelage. Indicative of a possible looseness of inheritance was the fact that Matiwana's son Yati was nowhere mentioned as a prospective shaman.

Dreams were considered to be a way of "seeing" while sleeping. This was known as *ohltaxer*. Dreams were taken seriously, at least by the dreamer. Aloari fully believed that the Waurá would come after he had dreamed it. And Maibu was convinced that he should make the trip to the Indian post on the Paranatinga River because he had dreamed that Climaco, the agent, liked him very much and would give him a rifle. However, individual dreams were not a matter of community concern or interest. Village action was taken on the basis of shamanistic "seeing" only.

Witchcraft

The only known sorcerer in the Trumaí village was Oirupa, the brother-in-law of Aloari. Oirupa was said by one man to have learned witchcraft (*okei*) from the Nahukwa, who, with the other Cariban tribes, were dreaded for their black magic. Oirupa's knowledge made him one of the most hated men in the village, but no action was taken against him for fear of incurring his enmity. Also, there have been no reports of the execution of sorcerers in the upper Xingú, and, from all indications, this mode of retaliation is not customary.

When someone fell ill and witchcraft was suspected, the guilt was usually imputed to a neighboring tribe. It was said that the Trumaí had to leave their old village site near the Kamayurá because the latter were killing them off with witchcraft. Sorcery was probably often practiced against other groups by the Trumaí, and the converse was always feared. Oirupa refused to speak above a whisper one night when the Auetí were said to be using black magic on the Trumaí.

It was Quain's belief that witchcraft was a substitute for open violence among the people of the area; significantly, witchcraft was not practiced by the people of the upper Xingú against the Suyá and other hostile tribes outside the Basin.[4] Intertribal black magic functioned as a check upon violence within the village as well. Certainly, it was more conducive to social order to attribute sorcery to another tribe than to some member of the small and already disrupted Trumaí community.

[4] Cf. Galvão 1949; Oberg 1953.

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All other play was more spontaneous and uncoordinated. Amusement and education were derived from using small bows and arrows which all boys possessed and the older ones knew how to make. Much of their time was spent shooting at insects and other targets in the village, but three or four children might occasionally go together to the lagoon and shoot fish from the banks. Sometimes they would wander off to the clearings when planting was in progress, or travel through the woods to gather guava. Few restraints were placed on their movements.

Nor was the sex play of children greatly inhibited by their elders. Actually there was no heterosexual activity between children, for there were no girls of appropriate age in the village. Thus, pre-pubescent sexual relations occurred between boys or between boys and men, and almost always it was the boys who were the instigators. Quain felt certain that Tay was the only member of the village who might be considered a homosexual. He was an orphan, and although he was fed and housed, he was identified with no family, and no one took any special interest in him. Tay, more than any boy, remained aloof from other children. His sexual advances were directed to a large extent toward the older males, who often cooperated with him. For example, he often wrapped his legs around Jakuma's hips, going through sexual motions. The older man would giggle when he did this and show signs of being mildly stimulated. Mayuva, among others, was less receptive, but his only mode of resistance was to arch his body away from the boy.

The sexual play of a young child might even include his father. Quain observed little Tsirikoan tugging at his father's penis. The father showed some annoyance, but only because he did not want to be bothered. Although children were rarely manipulated in this way by the men, Quain saw Yanahi, a young married man, amusing himself and some boys by pulling Tsirikoan's penis until the child had an erection. The boys whispered to Yanahi that Quain was watching, but this apparently made no difference to him, for he continued his activity.

The minor homosexual engagements that took place between the boys themselves were likewise in the nature of play. Quain saw no homosexuality between adults, and, contrary to Levi-Strauss' inference from Quain's notes, there was no kinship tie that implied permissible homosexual relations.[1]

The facts of sex were certainly no secret to the children. Living in undivided houses and sleeping with or adjacent to their parents, they were aware at an early age of the sexual activities of their elders. No effort was made to keep sexual knowledge from them, and they derived considerable amusement from the sexual affairs of the adults. Tsirikoan and some other boys raised a great hue and cry when they happened

[1] Levi-Strauss 1948, p. 337.

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577 831 833 156 123 Yanahi was less inhibited than any of the other men, but his behavior was not considered shocking or immoral. Quain had apparently arrived at the village just at the time that Yanahi was on the threshold of sexual experience. He appeared in Quain's house one night to show that he had an erection and announced that he would soon be having coitus. Thereafter, he rarely failed to tell Quain of his exploits. One night quite a crowd, including Yanahi and one of his paramours, Vatsint, was gathered in Quain's house. The young man suddenly developed a longing for her and, as soon as all the visitors had left, satisfied his craving noisily amidst Quain's pots and pans. He was proud of his virility, as were most of the Trumaí men.

577 831 562 837 No discredit attached to the male involved in a love affair and very little to the woman. Oirupa merely scolded his sister for having copulated with Yanahi. Only where adultery was involved did promiscuity lower the status of a woman. Chastity before marriage was not expected, and there was not a single virgin in the village over the age of puberty. Older women without husbands or close relatives to protect them were often used for sexual purposes against their will. This was especially the case with unmarried foreign women. Some of them complained that they had to dispense their favors to too many men too often.

831 152 583 [123] This aggressiveness and the danger of bride-capture made the women extremely fearful of being raped, and, as noted above, they were uneasy even when the threats were made in fun. One morning Quain decided to get rid of his numerous female visitors by employing this device. They all fled except one, who, despite her seeming courage, looked worried. Without doubt, the women enjoyed visiting Quain, but a man told him that if he were to have intercourse with any one of them, they would all fear him. Over and above this fear of rape, there [578] was a definite hostility between the sexes, which was usually well controlled, but which on occasion might explode in open quarrels between the men and the women.

576 514 827 No cumbersome taboos surrounded physiological functions. Belching and the release of flatus were common in company, but generally disregarded. However, if an unusually unpleasant odor followed, those nearby spat on the ground as a mark of disgust. The men urinated near their houses or at the edge of the village plaza. The women went to the edge of the village clearing or behind the houses. Both sexes went a short distance into the brush to defecate, but at night elimination was permitted in the village plaza if a hole was first dug for this purpose and covered over.

There was no salacious attitude toward body processes. The Trumaí were puzzled by Quain's desire for privacy in his personal habits and his curiosity about other people's. One woman seriously asked if she could watch him eliminate.

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Trumaí culture and the shortness of their average life span must have seriously interfered with the instruction of the young. In addition, the very eclecticism of Trumaí culture militated against conservatism and is indicative of the low value which they placed on their own culture.

In the chapter on religion, the disinterest of the people in their religious activities was often noted. Such behavior may appear paradoxical, but ethnographic literature provides many instances of the decline of traditional belief systems in the face of cultural crisis. In the case of the Trumaí, disinterest in the religious sphere was closely related to disinterest in other aspects of their culture. The Trumaí world view had become a philosophy of despair. While depopulation was causing social and cultural disintegration, cultural factors in their turn were furthering depopulation. The Trumaí were set in a steady downward spiral.

In summary it can be said that, on the basis of Quain's notes, the Trumaí were an anxiety ridden people. They were extremely sensitive and their feelings were easily hurt. They demanded individual recognition and attention. They were disinclined to work in their own interest or to join with each other in community projects. Apathetic towards their own world, they were distrustful of the world outside. These observations find corisiderable confirmation in de Lima's comments on the Trumaí:

> The behavior of this tribe which lives today in a state of humiliation and withdrawal in the face of the other peoples, is quite different from that of the Tupians. They are extremely distrustful Indians; they do not have a frank and happy expression and no matter how long one lives with them they remain always shut off. They do not have the dynamism, nor the disposition to work of the Kamayurá.[6]

It seems certain that this personality structure was not a survival of their more prosperous pre-contact period, when the Trumaí enjoyed some renown as warriors, but was a product of the growing distress which emerged during the period when the their whole security system of the individual — kinship and community — was breaking down. Under the new circumstances the individual Trumaí was no longer lodged in the matrix of the extended family. No longer did the rules of kinship that had formerly guided interpersonal relations operate smoothly for him. No longer did a vigorous community intervene between him and the outside world. There was no strong family, community, or tradition with which he could identify himself. The weakening of the socio-cultural structure precipitated him into conflict with his fellows; and it caused him to transfer some of his dependence to other and stronger groups. And in this effort also, he was unsuccessful, for other tribes looked down upon him as a member of an irredeemably inferior group.

[6] De Lima 1949, p. 25.

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"Tremendous interest in property, together with a simple and declining culture, results in my being a seriously disturbing element in their lives. Casual conversation always degenerates into a squabble about gift-giving .... There is intense pleasure in possession. Children get no sympathy when they are hurt, but objects are usually given to them. Every child has the right at least 'to see' anything he desires. In this respect children are pampered. Adults whine for things; withholding a desired object makes them intensely unhappy. Aggressive possession is admired.. Trade games make the exchange of property very fluid. Yet values in trade are well defined, and there is no prestige in giving more than one gets. Within the kinship circle, however, the old lavish property on the young. A father's garden is spoken of as that of his five year old son. There is a deliberate attempt to instill aggressive ownership attitudes in the young. A three year old girl is taught to claim objects in a loud voice. This is done by shouting the possessive pronoun....

"These are a settled people who live within the strict limits of their village. Their small number has advantage in the study of individuals. They have no knowledge of the world beyond the Kuluene-Kuliseu. It has no more real existence than the various inhabited regions of the heavens. The half dozen expeditions which have passed down the river have communicated with the natives only with signs. The one important result of such contact was division from peripheral tribes and the rise of metal tools. The disappearance of the stone industry, on which a defunct Trumaí moiety had a monopoly, has occurred within the last generation.[1] The increased leisure which probably resulted is not utilized economically.

"The complete lack of self-consciousness among these people makes behavior observation remarkably easy. Before I knew any of the language, I could sit by the hour in various households and time the actions of people while they paid no attention to me. For instance, one man during twenty minutes of leisure lay down to rest in his hammock fifteen different times, but each time disturbed himself with the remembrance of some petty chore undone....

"The only restriction of behavior that I have seen in casual intra-village personal relations is that the children are told not to litter the floor. The only positive rule is that the head of a household must sit with a guest and converse while the guest is inside his house .... Furthermore, extra-marital sexual intercourse has occurred in a shadowy corner of my house.. This lack of self-consciousness contrasts strongly with the Karajá, who are more prudish than the Fijians....

"Shortage of women, because of theft of young women, polygamy, lack of sexual interest in old wives (of which there are several), and

[1] Quain refers here to the moiety-like division of the Trumaí which has been discussed in Chapter Three. This appears to be rather a result of the merger of the northern and southern Trumaí villages. The latter specialized in axe-making.

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post-natal sexual taboos is a serious social problem. A large group of not very pretty bachelors must use the woman with ringworm or the Suyá captive, whose present marriage is considered dishonorable. These women have no brothers or fathers. In contrast with Karajá, there is no stylized homosexuality. Yet the complete freedom of sexual play results in activities which might be considered overt homosexuality. But to the Trumaí such activity has little emotional content. It does not seem to set up special personal relationships.

"Women are in constant fear of attack. Yet a wife tyrannizes her husband by withholding her favors and pulling the hair of anyone whom she suspects her husband has used sexually. Between married people, sex occurs at night — preferably when everyone else is asleep — or while going to the forest on various gathering tasks. A man and his wife engage in many things together, such as afternoon relaxation, fishing, and gardening. There is companionship even between those spouses among whom the wife is much older and no longer of interest to the man sexually.

"Between themselves, the men are extremely individualistic. Cooperation rarely exceeds kin limits even at the explicit order of the chief. Only when outsiders are present do men band together in a mock display of solid cooperation.... There is only one old man, who is about seventy — all others are under 45 ..... All death is murder. Nobody expects to live longer than the next rainy season. Men always carry bows and arrows for protection. Shamans keep the village in constant fear of attack from the Suyá or Kamayurá.... There are imaginary attacks quite often. Men gather in terror at the center of the village — the most exposed spot — and wait to be shot at from the dark bushes at the margin of the village....

"Authority is lax. The patrilineally hereditary chief does no work and is a parasite on his household. He is self-conscious of the rank of his wife whose marriage has elevated her. He lounges in his hammock, but it is his duty to orate from the center of the village at night and sometimes in the morning, urging the men to undertake group projects. He is the only man who has the courage to be an executive. This contrasts with the Kamayurá where there are several chiefs who, uniquely in their culture, are shy and ashamed to speak and whose orders must be referred through special talkers. It also contrasts with the Karajá where the chief is the best worker .... When the season changes, the Trumaí chief urges the people to engage in the new work, which they would do anyway. An example of the complete independence of spirit is illustrated by the two brothers who would not help the brother-in-law of one build the house in which they all were living, because they thought the mosquitoes would be bad in that location during the rainy season. The brother-in-law built the tremendous house all by himself — the two brothers lived comfortably in it.

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857 Among the eight boys below the ages of Autsuki and Jawaku there were no clearly organized groups. When outdoors they usually played in small groups of three or four, although nearly all would gather together occasionally for some special activity. The small groups were usually composed of age mates. Tsirikoan, the youngest, spent most of his time in the house, while the oldest boy, Muruta, was already drifting away from the others and spending more time with the men. Tay, an orphan boy of between ten and twelve years of age, was decidedly a misfit and did not join the others often. Of the remaining five, the three oldest were steady companions, while the two youngest either trailed them or stayed near their houses.

[572] Despite the fact that the children were together frequently, there were no fast friendships or strong ties of loyalty and dependence. In this respect they were much like the men. Their play together was sporadic, and participation was fluid and shifting.

857 526 [158] [838] [858] The only organized play in which the children indulged was wrestling. Matches were infrequent and usually broke up within fifteen minutes. All the boys turned out on such occasions except Tay, whose interests were abnormally directed toward homosexual play. The wrestling matches were a complete replica of the adult contests, the boys even sitting on the log in the men's circle (this was one of the few times they were permitted to do so). The adults never interfered. Usually they stood near the houses and watched the grappling with great amusement. When the wrestling involved boys of the village only, it was very informal and few pains were taken with their ornamentation. Each bout consisted of trying out some holds and grunting loudly in imitation of the men. The contests generally ended in a draw by mutual consent without any hostility being shown.

Most of the matches were between the older boys. But they also wrestled with the younger children. Even little Tsirikoan wrestled once. As he did not know what he was expected to do, he merely grunted and fell down. The bigger boys were very gentle with the little ones and tried only to teach them.

648 857 526 [484] [604] [17] Just as the men were excited by the intertribal wrestling matches, the boys welcomed the chance to wrestle with boys from other tribes. This occurred regularly, since it was customary in the upper Xingú for a boy to travel with his maternal uncle. At one such time, a Kamayurá boy came to the Trumaí village and was invited to wrestle. The boys gathered in the men's circle after having carefully painted themselves and put on new arm and leg bands. The older boys wrestled the Kamayurá youngster in turn, but since he was bigger, he threw them easily. The Trumaí men watched from a distance, silently rooting for their own [576] boys, but laughing loudly as each landed on his back, out of politeness to the visitors.

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perienced. He told me of the effect of the tropical dawn on tropical forest peoples. Traveling in the dark, he noted, Indian canoemen tend to break the monotony by singing and talking, but just before the sun appears, they suddenly fall silent, as if in expectation of a sacred moment. Again and again, in camps and while traveling with Brazilian Indians, I was reminded of Quain's perception.

Although Robert Murphy rightly points out the decline of population and the trend toward disintegration of Trumaí culture even in 1938, the Trumaí were a functioning primitive society when Quain visited them. The upper Xingú River area was still very difficult to reach at that time. In 1938 access was by way of Cuyabá, the capital of Matto Grosso. Quain traveled from Cuyabá to the Indian post Simões Lopes by truck, then over savanna grasslands for six days on oxen, then down the Kuliseu River by canoe for seven days to a mission station maintained by Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Young. After a delay here of almost three weeks, he spent another three weeks reaching the Trumaí, traveling slowly and visiting several tribal groups *en route*. The Kamayurá, at whose village he stayed shortly, provided him with canoemen for the last lap of his journey. It took Quain 38 days to return up river and cross the savanna country to Simões Lopes on leaving the Trumaí in late 1938.

Quain's letters to his mother and to his colleagues describe his trip to the Trumaí vividly. To quote a passage telling of his experiences on the upper Kuliseu River on his way to the mission station:

> The river journey was pleasant, until we began to have trouble. Even then I enjoyed it thoroughly. I had too much baggage for two canoes as I had planned. We had to use three. Besides myself I have two Brazilian men and a boy to help with the canoes. I had to paddle one myself and I enjoyed it thoroughly — despite the fact that white men aren't supposed to do that kind of thing. I gave the largest canoe with the most valuable cargo to the Brazilian whom I thought was the best canoeist. He had the boy to help with the paddling and poling through the rapids. Nevertheless it was his canoe which filled with water on the second day. We had to stop on a rock ledge and spread the things out to dry. Lots of rice and beans, papers and books, etc. It was evening. Not until the next morning did we realize that the sun barely touched the rocky ledge that we had chosen for drying the cargo. There was a wind — the worst of the dampness was removed before nightfall. Everything went well until we struck some swift rapids on the fifth day, when the same large canoe wrapped itself around a rock and the cargo went sailing down the river about eight miles an hour. I managed to rescue everything but a bag of farinha, a frying pan, a fishline and a couple of cakes of the hard unrefined sugar, which forms an important part of the diet throughout Matto Grosso.[3]

And about the Indians he wrote from the missionary station:

> My work for the next month is going to be a jumble of languages. It may take a month to reach the Trumaí because the Indians like to rest all the time. This means that I will have ample time to contact several in each of three different linguistic families (Carib, Arawak, Tupí). The Trumaí are entirely unrelated. This

[3] Quain letter, July 13, 1938.

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The fishing grounds and the still productive fruit trees of the old villages were considered to be the domain of the Trumaí, and these rights were apparently respected by others. When the village moved in search of new land, it was usually to one of the old sites, whose name the new village would take.

The Trumaí were once feared by the other tribes of the upper Xingú and were evidently a relatively numerous and vigorous people. However, when Quain visited them in 1938, they numbered only 43, and only ten years later, in 1948, the population had shrunken to a meagre 25.[11] Their small numbers had forced them to abandon village life once since Quain's visit, but they subsequently reunited in a new community.[11a]

Warfare

The topography of the flat upper Xingú Basin encourages considerable contact between tribes. The waterways are extensive and have importance beyond subsistence, as they are the chief avenues of trade and warfare. Communication through the river and flood plain system is the main reason for the high degree of cultural homogeneity that has been achieved by these tribes of diverse origins and languages. Intertribal relations are not confined to trade and warfare, but enter the spheres of social organization, ceremonialism and mythology.

Intertribal bonds within the upper Xingú Basin were based on peaceful relations between the tribes. These tribes formed part of a bounded social system in which groups outside the area did not take part. The Bakairí Indians of the Paranatinga River were on a friendly basis with the headwaters groups only because they had once lived on the Batoví River. Other tribes were uniformly enemies, regardless of cultural or linguistic affinities. Despite this peaceful interaction among the upper Xingú villages, there was considerable mutual fear and hostility between them which was expressed in witchcraft, petty thievery and intimidation. The practice of sorcery upon other villages is especially significant, in that sorcery is used in nearly all cultures only between people who share close interpersonal ties. This illustrates better than anything else the high degree of intervillage integration in the upper Xingú River Basin. The component groups constitute far more than a culture area — they form a society.

Despite the nominal peace within the upper Xingú area, the Trumaí lived in dread of their neighbors, and with good reason.[12] Situated

[11] Oberg 1953, p. 4.

[11a] Latest reports state that a measles epidemic has wrought great havoc, and that the few survivors have all joined other groups.

[12] Although fear of neighboring groups is general in the upper Xingú, de Lima (1949, p. 25) noted it to be especially strong among the numerically weak Trumaí.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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level of general anxiety. It was usually the result of several days of rumor, omens, and strange fires in the north.

Late one night during Quain's stay, after most of the village had retired, a near panic occurred when two women shouted that the Suyá were attacking. All the initiated men, even the weak and old, rushed to the village center with their bows and arrows. The women and children from two of the four Trumaí houses hurried with their hammocks to the other two houses. The frightened men milled around in the center of the village with no apparent organization or direction. The chief, who was trembling, did not take command of the situation.

If this had been a real attack, noted Quain, the raiders would have given a loud yell and loosed a volley of arrows. He later made an investigation and found no signs of intruders. One of the women thought that someone had thrown dirt at her. Quain believed this to be a habit of the Suyá, but one that was usually a friendly overture.

The women feared other tribes more than did the men, for one of the main purposes of raids was to capture women. In every upper Xingú community women from other tribes are always found. The dispersal of women takes three forms: capture in warfare (by groups outside the area), open abduction of a woman by intimidation of her fellow-villagers, and peaceful intertribal marriage. According to de Lima, the Suyá raid the Waurá village on the Batoví River for female captives, as the women of the Arawakan tribes are the only potters of the region.[16] The Trumaí lost many young women to the Kamayurá by intimidation, the second of the above means. Most of the women in the Trumaí village were at one time held by the Kamayurá with the result that, in many Trumaí marriages, the woman is several years older than the man. At the time of Quain's visit, Trumaí women were still living among the Kamayurá and other groups. One of them, the sister of the Trumaí chief, ran away from the Kamayurá and returned home because her husband had beaten her, an action that angered the Trumaí greatly. There she picked up the threads of her old life, but after a few weeks a party of Kamayurá took her back to their village. The Trumaí offered no resistance, either physical or verbal, although they outnumbered the visitors, for to have done so would have invited retaliation.

The fact that the Trumaí had lost many women completely, or regained them only after their most fertile years had passed, was probably a contributing factor to the depopulation of the group. The losses were only partially compensated for by the marriage of outside women into the Trumaí village. There were three foreign women in the community in 1938: a Suyá, a Mehinaku, and a Kamayurá. Their status was lower than that of the Trumaí women, and they were at times taunted because of their foreign origin. They did not participate as fully in the

[16] De Lima 1950, p. 5.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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CHAPTER TWO

TRUMAÍ SUBSISTENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Vital Statistics

The population of the Trumaí village in 1938 was 43. This figure includes the 3 foreign women in residence and excludes those few Trumaí who were living with other groups. There were 17 men, 16 women, and 10 pre-pubescent children, of whom 8 were male and only 2 were female. Due to the previously mentioned capture and forced marriage of Trumaí women, the average age of females seems to have been considerably greater than that of males. Two men were considered by the Trumaí as old, while four women were placed in that category. This disparity of age undoubtedly had an influence on the Trumaí birth rate.

Infant mortality seems to have been high, and Quain was of the opinion that it was further aggravated by abortion and infanticide. The fact that there were eight male children and but two girls suggests that infanticide must have been practiced only upon females. Quain's notes, however, give no indication that this was the fact. Pulmonary diseases have devastated all the groups of the upper Xingú, but the drop in the Trumaí population from 43 in 1938 to 25 in 1948 is probably not paralleled in the other villages during that time.

Village and Gardens

The Trumaí settlement was located a scant half-mile from a lagoon that opened directly upon the east shore of the Kuluene just a few miles away. The mouth of the lagoon was narrow, but it broadened out into a lake of moderate size with many small bays and was ringed with swamps. Proximity to the river made insects a continual nuisance during the rainy season. The Kamayurá village, located near the sandy beaches of a lagoon lined with *buriti* palms, was relatively free of insects.

The village consisted of four houses and another under construction. Between the houses and the surrounding forest lay an area of weeds and low underbrush into which refuse was thrown. The ground within the ring of houses was kept comparatively free of weeds and litter. The village "plaza" was about 200 feet wide. In the center were the log bench and fireplace of the men's gathering place. Nearby was a conical wicker cage in which the village harpy eagle was kept for its feathers, which were used in ceremonies.

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CHAPTER SIX

The Death of a Culture

Today there are but twenty-five remaining Trumaí. The fact that they disbanded once during the recent past shows that this small number approaches a critical point at which such a culture is no longer socially viable. If the present population trend continues, Trumaí society will definitely end, and, with the complete assimilation of the descendants of the Trumaí into other tribes, Trumaí culture, except for those elements of it that have been adopted by their neighbors, will belong to the past.

Primitive cultures and the populations that transmitted them are disappearing in many parts of the world today. In most instances, however, they are being destroyed by extended face-to-face contacts with Western society. This is not precisely the case with the Trumaí. Here, there was no large scale transmission of Western culture and no direct interaction with Brazilian society. But slight though the contact of the upper Xingú Indians with the whites was, it resulted in the introduction of respiratory infections that contributed greatly to their depopulation. In this sense, the white man is responsible for the impending death of the Trumaí.

Although the Trumaí were still carrying on their village life during Quain's residence and were to continue to do so, certain changes were taking place in their culture which were symptomatic of the fundamental instability induced by their low numbers.

It is immediately apparent that their weakness made the Trumaí vulnerable to other tribes, both the nominally friendly ones of the upper Xingú Basin, and the hostile ones of the surrounding country. In 1938 the Trumaí could not have successfully withstood a strong Suyá or Yuruna raid, nor could they have launched an attack upon the Suyá for women, as did the more vigorous Kamayurá. Indeed, the Trumaí had good reason to fear the least sound in the jungle at night.

Also, the Trumaí were held in low esteem by their immediate neighbors at the time of Quain's study. This was a severe blow to their *elan*, and it undoubtedly affected their self-image. It led, too, to more concrete results. As noted above, other tribes took Trumaí women during their most fertile years, and it is almost certain that the few "outside" women, who were brought into the Trumaí village through marriage, failed to restore the balance. Moreover, there were no "outside" men

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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105 182 648 in the Trumaí community, for, as Oberg notes, no adult male would choose to live with a people of such low status.[1]

105 162 It might be expected that the Trumaí could have compensated for this drain by raising their birth rate. However, in this population of 43 persons, there were only ten children, an extremely small number when the low average life span is considered. Furthermore, only two of the children were females. Of the approximately twelve women who 105 163 were capable of bearing children, only one was pregnant, and the others 161 were urging her to abort her child. Thus, infanticide and abortion were taking a heavy toll in the Trumaí village.

847 845 [171] The custom of killing twins and of spacing births three or four years apart are reported by Oberg for the Kamayurá,[2] and these factors may well have been present in the Trumaí situation. The long post-natal taboo on sexual intercourse had the same effect. Wagley, who studied the dying but equally unacculturated Tapirapé, found that traditional practices were contributing to the complete depopulation of that group also.[3]

105 161 178 154 But among the Trumaí there is still another and less tangible dimension. Abortion may have been urged on a pregnant woman because she had no husband, but how is one to explain the killing of two of Aloari's children without his consent, or the fact that there were eight male and only two female children in the community? The limited information available suggests that the Trumaí were purposely restricting their number and committing suicide, perhaps unintentionally, in the process. Two reasons for this extreme behavior may be hypothesized: first, the impasse in which the Trumaí found themselves because of the steady depopulation made them so personally insecure and apathetic regarding both the present and the future that they were no longer willing to rear sizable families, despite their evident devotion to children; and second, they may not have thought it possible to produce the surplus necessary to support such families. Actually, however, even with their diminished numbers the Trumaí could have increased their food supply.

105 511 433 226 Their lowered standard of living was due to more than attitudes. Loss of population no doubt also decreased the yield of Trumaí fishing and therefore limited their chief source of protein. To be sure, bow and arrow fishing was little affected, but fish poisoning, the only communal subsistence technique practiced by them, was much less effective when employed by a small group, for a few people can adequately poison only smaller watercourses and branches of lagoons, while a greater number can cover larger streams and whole lagoons. In the latter circumstance, both the take would be larger and larger species would be available. Moreover, when the waters are heavily poisoned and enough people are present to reap the "harvest," there is less chance of fish escaping. Thus, up to

[1] Oberg 1953, p. 15. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 62. [3] Wagley 1940.

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mitigated by intra-household sharing and the performance of services, normally done by mates, by co-resident relatives of the opposite sex. In this way unmarried persons could be integrated within the Trumai economy.

Among the twenty-eight persons of marriage age in the Trumai village, there were only eight unions involving seventeen persons. The eleven unmarried included one widower with a young child, one divorced man with a child, three widows with children, four unmarried men, and two unmarried women.

One of the widows was married during Quain's sojourn, but the other two were considered too old. One of the unmarried women subsequently took a mate, but the other, who had a clubfoot, was thought to be too old and ugly for marriage, although several men had sexual relations with her. Two of the unmarried men were probably also considered too old for marriage, a third was seeking a wife, and the fourth showed little interest in obtaining one. Neither the widower nor the divorced man were seeking wives at the time.

All these persons had made some sort of adjustment through their relatives. The incorporation of two of the unmarried men and of one of the widows into Nitvary's household shows how a functional interdependence within the household was achieved, despite the lack of a lineage in residence. Living at one end of the house were two old unmarried men, Yahu and Yakuma. At the other end were Nitvary, his wife Kaiti, his widowed mother Fayeru, and his young sister Kayaya. Gift-giving and food-sharing went on between all of the people in the house, but the two single men depended most on Fayeru, whom they called "sister," while Nitvary's needs were provided for by his wife. The members of the household were all dependent on each other, as Kaiti alone would have been hard pressed to do woman's work for two more men. Their presence, however, meant more food for the house.

In Aloari's house his unmarried brother Tun provided food for the cooking pots of Aloari's wife Yumunuwa, while her brother Oirupa exchanged services with his classificatory sister Yawala, the club-footed woman. By this free flow of food and service, which was especially marked between the sexes, each individual was economically fully functional, and everyone in the household was adequately cared for.

Most of the arguments in the village occurred between members of different houses. Aloari, his brother, and his brother-in-law showed considerable personal antipathy toward Maibu and jealousy of his status as chief. When a serious conflict broke out in the village over a marriage, it took the form of verbal quarrels between members of different houses.

The greater amity between co-residents was due to a number of factors. First, closer kinship ties usually prevailed, second, people on

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CHAPTER FIVE

THE LIFE CYCLE

Birth

843 [842] The Trumaí were well aware of the facts of conception, paternity, and pregnancy. That menstruation ceased after conception was, of course, perfectly obvious to them, but it is uncertain whether this was considered a diagnostic of pregnancy. Maibu related some female gossip to Quain to the effect that Aloari's wife, Yumununwa, was pregnant. When Quain objected on the grounds that she had only recently menstruated, Maibu pointed out as indisputable evidence that her navel was protruding.

847 [732] [848] One of the Trumaí women, the clubfooted, childless, and unmarried Yawala, was pregnant during Quain's stay. She spent most of her time in her hammock and received little attention, except from other women who kept insisting that they perform an abortion upon her. Abortion was usually induced by manipulating the abdomen, but also, it seems, by drinking certain "waters" of which the women had knowledge. Yawala resisted all urgings and maintained that she wanted a child "to hold in my arms."

Abortion was undoubtedly frequent, and infanticide too, and at times without the agreement of the husband. It is not known what, if any, observances and precautions were taken during pregnancy except that sexual intercourse ceased when a woman became very large because "it hurts her."

843 833

844 846 Parturition was accompanied by observances led by old Matiwana, during which the men sat and smoked. The women held the laboring woman in a sitting position, in which she gave birth. The role of the husband before and after delivery was not recorded. After Aloari's son was born, however, his wife bled for three moons. During this time he had to drink a certain medicine. Quain's notes suggest that a form of couvade was observed.

[431] After birth, the only economic exchange that took place was a gift which the husband gave to the wife in payment for the child.

Early Childhood

162 The youngest child in the Trumaí village was a girl between one and two years of age. The other girl was about six. Of the boys, one was about

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four, three between five and seven, two between seven and ten, and the other two between ten and twelve. The little girl could not as yet walk alone. The two youngest boys could, although occasionally they still suckled at their mother's breasts.

The Trumaí infant was subjected to very little training. Rarely was the very young child told not to do anything. However, all the children except for Katsits, the infant girl, knew that they should defecate in the bush and urinate away from the village plaza. Katsits very often eliminated in the house, or while she was in her mother's arms. X'utsi, the mother, merely scraped a bit of dirt over the wet spot. She gave no indication to the child that this was an undesirable act, and the child took no note of her own activity. Exactly how a child learned to exert self-control is not clear, but it was probably by emulating older children and adults, whose toilet habits were hardly a secret.

The child suckled until it was five or six years of age, although it began to partake of the ordinary diet by the end of the first year. Yumunuwa said that she suckled Tsirikoan three times a day: morning, noon, and evening. This was not a strict regimen, for the boy often crawled into her lap or straddled her waist and suckled at odd hours. Until about five years old, the child slept in the mother's hammock, or if motherless, with the father. Often it slept with the mother's breast in its mouth, and if it awoke during the night, it suckled until it fell asleep again.

The nursing of older children is a perpetuation of the infantile pattern, and it is indicative of the lack of stress on weaning. Also, because of infanticide and the low birth rate, there is little cause for sibling rivalry among the Trumaí.

Help was given the child in learning to walk and talk. The men appeared to devote more attention to this phase of upbringing than the women. Katsits was often walked about by her father, and sometimes by Maibu or other men who lived in the same house. Her father was eager to have her walk by herself so that he would not need to coach her, but nevertheless he and the other adults showed the greatest indulgence and patience in this task.

Part of the father's anxiety was doubtless due to the taboos which restricted his activity until his child had learned to walk. The most important of these was a ban on sexual intercourse. When Katsits developed colic, it was generally thought to be the outcome of coitus between the parents. Certain foods were also forbidden the father, one being seasoned fish hash, which was a great favorite. It is not known whether the mother was also required to observe food taboos.

More emphasis was placed on teaching the child to speak. The adults and older children made repeated attempts to put words into the mouths of the very young, saying the same phrases over and over again. In this

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888 [561] [181] grades except in the broadest sense, as the term for "younger" covered everyone from infants to people in the prime of life. The terms, however, indicate a keen consciousness that those who have passed their prime are distinct from those who are still developing or are at the height of their physical powers.

The Trumaí believed that it was good to be young, vigorous, and strong, while advancing years were a stigma. Quain always met with a stout denial whenever he suggested to someone that he was older than someone else. An old person, they said with contempt, was one who did not bathe or shave the crown of his head any more. Mayuva did not [626] bother to bathe one morning and was derided by Kerami, who accused him of being old. A short time later he reappeared freshly bathed.

[162] While several individuals were considered "older," the only ones who fell into the Trumaí category of true old age were Matiwana and Yahu. The latter's status was further lowered by the fact that he was [563] considered to be a Kamayurá; his father was a member of that tribe and he had a son living with them. However, Yahu was still sexually potent and a full participant in the economy.

[195] A person of truly advanced old age was called *dewan*. This term, which has uncomplimentary connotations, was applied only to men "whose penis is dead" or to women past menopause. Matiwana was the only person of either sex who fitted the *dewan* category. The only tasks for which he was suited were light craft work, gathering firewood, and an occasional fishing trip. He was, however, the fount of nearly all Trumaí ceremonial knowledge. Matiwana was well cared for by his son and by his household. The son's affection and loyalty to his father were deep, and he was the old man's constant companion. The rest of the villagers remained aloof from Matiwana.

888 554 [756] The Trumaí abhorred the thought of their own future old age, and they transferred some of this fear to the persons of the aged. Status declined with age, and Matiwana had his ceremonial lore and shamanistic skill to thank for what position he still maintained.

Death

768 764 Neither the village site nor the house of the deceased had to be abandoned following death. Burial took place in the village plaza. The corpse was interred lying on its back in an extended position, wrapped and bound in its hammock. Numerous cooking utensils, including a *ja'meo* (ceramic griddle for baking *beijú*) were buried with both male and female deceased.

765 No deaths occurred while Quain was in residence, but mourning was still going on for a man who had recently died. The burden of mourning fell on the female relatives of the deceased. The only observance in-

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105 181 421 [578] [431] [855] "Tremendous interest in property, together with a simple and declining culture, results in my being a seriously disturbing element in their lives. Casual conversation always degenerates into a squabble about gift-giving .... There is intense pleasure in possession. Children get no sympathy when they are hurt, but objects are usually given to them. Every child has the right at least 'to see' anything he desires. In this respect children are pampered. Adults whine for things; withholding a desired object makes them intensely unhappy. Aggressive possession is admired.. Trade games make the exchange of property very fluid. Yet values in trade are well defined, and there is no prestige in giving more than one gets. Within the kinship circle, however, the old lavish property on the young. A father's garden is spoken of as that of his five year old son. There is a deliberate attempt to instill aggressive ownership attitudes in the young. A three year old girl is taught to claim objects in a loud voice. This is done by shouting the possessive pronoun....

[430] [524] [858] [43] [865]

105 [361] "These are a settled people who live within the strict limits of their village. Their small number has advantage in the study of individuals. They have no knowledge of the world beyond the Kuluene-Kuliseu. It has no more real existence than the various inhabited regions of the heavens. The half dozen expeditions which have passed down the river have communicated with the natives only with signs. The one important result of such contact was division from peripheral tribes and the rise of metal tools. The disappearance of the stone industry, on which a defunct Trumaí moiety had a monopoly, has occurred within the last generation.[1] The increased leisure which probably resulted is not utilized economically.

[524] [182]

105 123 156 "The complete lack of self-consciousness among these people makes behavior observation remarkably easy. Before I knew any of the language, I could sit by the hour in various households and time the actions of people while they paid no attention to me. For instance, one man during twenty minutes of leisure lay down to rest in his hammock fifteen different times, but each time disturbed himself with the remembrance of some petty chore undone....

[867] 105 [504] [833] "The only restriction of behavior that I have seen in casual intra-village personal relations is that the children are told not to litter the floor. The only positive rule is that the head of a household must sit with a guest and converse while the guest is inside his house .... Furthermore, extra-marital sexual intercourse has occurred in a shadowy corner of my house.. This lack of self-consciousness contrasts strongly with the Karajá, who are more prudish than the Fijians....

105 162 831 "Shortage of women, because of theft of young women, polygamy, lack of sexual interest in old wives (of which there are several), and

[618] [1] Quain refers here to the moiety-like division of the Trumaí which has been discussed in Chapter Three. This appears to be rather a result of the merger of the northern and southern Trumaí villages. The latter specialized in axe-making.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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post-natal sexual taboos is a serious social problem. A large group of not very pretty bachelors must use the woman with ringworm or the Suyá captive, whose present marriage is considered dishonorable. These women have no brothers or fathers. In contrast with Karajá, there is no stylized homosexuality. Yet the complete freedom of sexual play results in activities which might be considered overt homosexuality. But to the Trumaí such activity has little emotional content. It does not seem to set up special personal relationships.

"Women are in constant fear of attack. Yet a wife tyrannizes her husband by withholding her favors and pulling the hair of anyone whom she suspects her husband has used sexually. Between married people, sex occurs at night — preferably when everyone else is asleep — or while going to the forest on various gathering tasks. A man and his wife engage in many things together, such as afternoon relaxation, fishing, and gardening. There is companionship even between those spouses among whom the wife is much older and no longer of interest to the man sexually.

"Between themselves, the men are extremely individualistic. Cooperation rarely exceeds kin limits even at the explicit order of the chief. Only when outsiders are present do men band together in a mock display of solid cooperation.... There is only one old man, who is about seventy — all others are under 45 ..... All death is murder. Nobody expects to live longer than the next rainy season. Men always carry bows and arrows for protection. Shamans keep the village in constant fear of attack from the Suyá or Kamayurá.... There are imaginary attacks quite often. Men gather in terror at the center of the village — the most exposed spot — and wait to be shot at from the dark bushes at the margin of the village....

"Authority is lax. The patrilineally hereditary chief does no work and is a parasite on his household. He is self-conscious of the rank of his wife whose marriage has elevated her. He lounges in his hammock, but it is his duty to orate from the center of the village at night and sometimes in the morning, urging the men to undertake group projects. He is the only man who has the courage to be an executive. This contrasts with the Kamayurá where there are several chiefs who, uniquely in their culture, are shy and ashamed to speak and whose orders must be referred through special talkers. It also contrasts with the Karajá where the chief is the best worker .... When the season changes, the Trumaí chief urges the people to engage in the new work, which they would do anyway. An example of the complete independence of spirit is illustrated by the two brothers who would not help the brother-in-law of one build the house in which they all were living, because they thought the mosquitoes would be bad in that location during the rainy season. The brother-in-law built the tremendous house all by himself — the two brothers lived comfortably in it.

/122 cont./

123 152 half an hour renewed howling and women's screams announced the arrival of Wilhelm and Carlos, who were led up and likewise gave expression to their friendly intentions with words and gestures.

142 /123/ There were mostly small, frail figures with small heads, receding chins, and ugly faces; among the old women there were truly magnificent specimens of witch-models. The 291 women in part wore the triangular uluri, in part a wardrobe garment new to us, a grayish-white bast loop that was drawn over 194 the hips and thickened into a small roll. The language in its cadence reminded us not a little of that of the Suyá, with which it had in common the nagging, squeezed habitus and could be immediately distinguished from all the Kulisehu languages by the frequent terminal sound of ts and by the f.

727 It was strange that the Trumaí had let themselves be taken by surprise in this way. Probably they had fled from the Suyá who had plundered their villages and from us at the same time. Their scouts, who were roving about among the Auetó, Yaulapiti, and Kamayurá, probably believed that we would not return directly to the Auetó from the Kamayurá, but would go to Schingú-Koblenz in order to join Perrot and Vogel, whose trip was already known to them, and reach the Auetó harbor on the river. The camp of the fugitives presented a spectacle of • [162] disorder and confusion. There were about 50 persons in all; [352] numerous small fires were burning beside the brown hammocks, bundles of all kinds lay about and hung from the trees; the shelter-huts of the Auetó plantation remained unused. The [501] Indians had come in part by way of the canals: a small flotilla of canoes had drawn up in the swampy water nearby, many of them in bad shape and where necessary pasted up merely with lumps of loam.

437 The beijús, the filled gourd bowls, and the cigars were necessarily lacking at this reception. They brought small balls of cotton and asked for beads. Unfortunately, we had given away almost everything to the Kamayurá and could therefore not offer much. With the remains, however, a few

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105 182 648 in the Trumaí community, for, as Oberg notes, no adult male would choose to live with a people of such low status.[1]

105 162 It might be expected that the Trumaí could have compensated for this drain by raising their birth rate. However, in this population of 43 persons, there were only ten children, an extremely small number when the low average life span is considered. Furthermore, only two of the children were females. Of the approximately twelve women who 105 were capable of bearing children, only one was pregnant, and the others 163 were urging her to abort her child. Thus, infanticide and abortion were 161 taking a heavy toll in the Trumaí village.

847 845 The custom of killing twins and of spacing births three or four years apart are reported by Oberg for the Kamayurá,[2] and these factors may well have been present in the Trumaí situation. The long post-natal [171] taboo on sexual intercourse had the same effect. Wagley, who studied the dying but equally unacculturated Tapirapé, found that traditional practices were contributing to the complete depopulation of that group also.[3]

105 161 178 154 But among the Trumaí there is still another and less tangible dimension. Abortion may have been urged on a pregnant woman because she had no husband, but how is one to explain the killing of two of Aloari's children without his consent, or the fact that there were eight male and only two female children in the community? The limited information available suggests that the Trumaí were purposely restricting their number and committing suicide, perhaps unintentionally, in the process. Two reasons for this extreme behavior may be hypothesized: first, the impasse in which the Trumaí found themselves because of the steady depopulation made them so personally insecure and apathetic regarding both the present and the future that they were no longer willing to rear sizable families, despite their evident devotion to children; and second, they may not have thought it possible to produce the surplus necessary to support such families. Actually, however, even with their diminished numbers the Trumaí could have increased their food supply.

105 511 433 226 Their lowered standard of living was due to more than attitudes. Loss of population no doubt also decreased the yield of Trumaí fishing and therefore limited their chief source of protein. To be sure, bow and arrow fishing was little affected, but fish poisoning, the only communal subsistence technique practiced by them, was much less effective when employed by a small group, for a few people can adequately poison only smaller watercourses and branches of lagoons, while a greater number can cover larger streams and whole lagoons. In the latter circumstance, both the take would be larger and larger species would be available. Moreover, when the waters are heavily poisoned and enough people are present to reap the "harvest," there is less chance of fish escaping. Thus, up to

[1] Oberg 1953, p. 15. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 62. [3] Wagley 1940.

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The fishing grounds and the still productive fruit trees of the old villages were considered to be the domain of the Trumaí, and these rights were apparently respected by others. When the village moved in search of new land, it was usually to one of the old sites, whose name the new village would take.

The Trumaí were once feared by the other tribes of the upper Xingú and were evidently a relatively numerous and vigorous people. However, when Quain visited them in 1938, they numbered only 43, and only ten years later, in 1948, the population had shrunken to a meagre 25.[11] Their small numbers had forced them to abandon village life once since Quain's visit, but they subsequently reunited in a new community.[11a]

Warfare

The topography of the flat upper Xingú Basin encourages considerable contact between tribes. The waterways are extensive and have importance beyond subsistence, as they are the chief avenues of trade and warfare. Communication through the river and flood plain system is the main reason for the high degree of cultural homogeneity that has been achieved by these tribes of diverse origins and languages. Intertribal relations are not confined to trade and warfare, but enter the spheres of social organization, ceremonialism and mythology.

Intertribal bonds within the upper Xingú Basin were based on peaceful relations between the tribes. These tribes formed part of a bounded social system in which groups outside the area did not take part. The Bakairí Indians of the Paranatinga River were on a friendly basis with the headwaters groups only because they had once lived on the Batoví River. Other tribes were uniformly enemies, regardless of cultural or linguistic affinities. Despite this peaceful interaction among the upper Xingú villages, there was considerable mutual fear and hostility between them which was expressed in witchcraft, petty thievery and intimidation. The practice of sorcery upon other villages is especially significant, in that sorcery is used in nearly all cultures only between people who share close interpersonal ties. This illustrates better than anything else the high degree of intervillage integration in the upper Xingú River Basin. The component groups constitute far more than a culture area — they form a society.

Despite the nominal peace within the upper Xingú area, the Trumaí lived in dread of their neighbors, and with good reason.[12] Situated

[11] Oberg 1953, p. 4.

[11a] Latest reports state that a measles epidemic has wrought great havoc, and that the few survivors have all joined other groups.

[12] Although fear of neighboring groups is general in the upper Xingú, de Lima (1949, p. 28) noted it to be especially strong among the numerically weak Trumaí.

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Diagnosis and Treatment of Disease

Illness was believed to be caused primarily by witchcraft and, secondarily, by the breaking of a taboo or by contagion. Headaches, bloated stomach (*pihl*) and stomach aches were among the common symptoms of bewitchment. The tremendous fear of black magic probably added greatly to the severity of these afflictions. During Quain's stay the women appeared to complain more of sorcery as a cause of their illnesses than did the men, but this self-diagnosis was not always accepted.

Trumaí concepts regarding contagion were generally loose, and they often fused with witchcraft beliefs. Contagion was acknowledged to be a possible cause of illness, but if death followed, it would in all probability be laid to sorcery. The Trumaí knew that epidemics of pulmonary diseases were associated with the coming of white men, and they were especially worried that when the rainy season arrived Quain would give them coughs and fevers. Indeed, one night when Quain complained of illness and retired to his hammock with a headache, this eventuality was vigorously discussed.

The Trumaí called such a threat *tun*, a word that can be translated only as a malignant influence causing disease. *Tun* was said to exist around sick people or in places where there was known to be danger of contamination. Thus, when several of the people of Jakwanari's household were sick, everyone avoided the house, for it was full of *tun*. Aloari said that the waterfront, also, was full of *tun*. He preferred to bathe from a pottery vessel outside his house. Ringworm, however, was known to be caused by natural means.

The word *okei*, while referring to sorcery under certain conditions, was also a general term for medicinal preparations. Thus, *okei* of various kinds were used in different stages of the life crisis rituals and also in the treatment of various ailments. Roots were extensively used for medicinal purposes. Maibu rubbed his wife's head with the extract of a root (*ipox*) when she had a headache. Another root (*murukuyu*) supplied the basic ingredient for eye drops, and still another was prescribed for ringworm.

The Trumaí were subject to severe boils which were treated by piercing. This was a woman's specialty, and it was usually done by the wife or a close relative of the afflicted person. All other curing, both secular and supernatural, was done by men. Herbal medicines were used exclusively for such ailments as ringworm, but most cures involved both botanical and supernatural means used in conjunction.

Illness was treated by both individual curers and group ceremonies. The practice of individual shamanistic curing, known as *jau'kath*, had much in common with similar arts throughout South America. The main techniques employed were tobacco smoke and sucking. Great

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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clouds of tobacco smoke were first blown over the affected area by the curer who then, with noisy inhalations, sucked that part of the body in which the ailment appeared to be localized. Insofar as Quain was able to determine, no foreign objects were "extracted," and he was not given any explanation as to why the treatment worked.

Knowledge of curing was widespread among the men. All the men knew how to use botanicals, and over half, all said to have been taught by Matiwana, knew the art of *jau'kath*. Men cured their wives, children, or other close blood relatives. When Aloari was treating his son's ringworm he was asked by Quain whether he would also treat a young boy who was only indirectly related. Aloari refused because the boy had closer kinsmen who could perform this act. Kayaru developed a swollen breast, and it was Yanahi, her sister's son, who performed *jau'kath* on it. All men treated the members of their biological families with medicines, but those who did not know the shamanistic cure relied on a practitioner from outside the immediate family.

Matiwana treated his son Yati without recompense, but when his daughter's husband became ill, the latter paid him for the cure with a pot. The kinship ties by which curing was free to certain relatives probably corresponded closely to the pattern of gift-giving obligations. Payments for medical treatment were called *okei pop* (medicine gift). Quain was usually given small payments for the many cures he performed for the Trumaí. In no case could it be said that any curer derived a significant income from his services.

Group Curing Ceremony

The only time that Quain witnessed the group curing ceremony (*kevere*) was on an occasion two weeks after his arrival. He noted the formal aspects carefully, but he was unable to ascertain their meanings, since his command of the language at that time was so meagre.

Maibu's wife, Matavitsa, was sick and wasted when Quain arrived in the village. Her husband had been treating her for some time by the shamanistic means of tobacco smoke and sucking, but with little success. It was decided to hold a ceremonial cure, although shamanistic techniques were not ruled out. Nearly all the adult men of the village gathered in Maibu's house for the ritual, which lasted for three hours. No women were admitted, and the door was kept closed. The *kevere* was strictly prohibited to females, and the men would not even talk of it in their presence. The women seemed to regard Quain's status as doubtful, for Maibu's sister told him that he would die if he entered. He refused to be dissuaded, and upon entering was motioned to a seat.

The men were ranged in a broad semi-circle along the side of the house opposite the sick woman's hammock. Matiwana, who was in charge of

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CHAPTER SIX

The Death of a Culture

Today there are but twenty-five remaining Trumaí. The fact that they disbanded once during the recent past shows that this small number approaches a critical point at which such a culture is no longer socially viable. If the present population trend continues, Trumaí society will definitely end, and, with the complete assimilation of the descendants of the Trumaí into other tribes, Trumaí culture, except for those elements of it that have been adopted by their neighbors, will belong to the past.

Primitive cultures and the populations that transmitted them are disappearing in many parts of the world today. In most instances, however, they are being destroyed by extended face-to-face contacts with Western society. This is not precisely the case with the Trumaí. Here, there was no large scale transmission of Western culture and no direct interaction with Brazilian society. But slight though the contact of the upper Xingú Indians with the whites was, it resulted in the introduction of respiratory infections that contributed greatly to their depopulation. In this sense, the white man is responsible for the impending death of the Trumaí.

Although the Trumaí were still carrying on their village life during Quain's residence and were to continue to do so, certain changes were taking place in their culture which were symptomatic of the fundamental instability induced by their low numbers.

It is immediately apparent that their weakness made the Trumaí vulnerable to other tribes, both the nominally friendly ones of the upper Xingú Basin, and the hostile ones of the surrounding country. In 1938 the Trumaí could not have successfully withstood a strong Suyá or Yuruna raid, nor could they have launched an attack upon the Suyá for women, as did the more vigorous Kamayurá. Indeed, the Trumaí had good reason to fear the least sound in the jungle at night.

Also, the Trumaí were held in low esteem by their immediate neighbors at the time of Quain's study. This was a severe blow to their *elan*, and it undoubtedly affected their self-image. It led, too, to more concrete results. As noted above, other tribes took Trumaí women during their most fertile years, and it is almost certain that the few "outside" women, who were brought into the Trumaí village through marriage, failed to restore the balance. Moreover, there were no "outside" men

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421 437 524 [15] [52] It was significant that Aloari, probably the most aggressive person in the village, was often an organizer and always a main participant in the games. On the other hand, he never cooperated in group work.

This conventionalized form of exchange, which Quain called the trade game, had a strong functional role in Trumaí culture, but there are indications that it was of outside origin. One informant said that it was [177] a Bakairí custom, and Quain thought that the "game" might have been introduced by Bakairí traders bringing goods from the Indian post on the Paranatinga River.[1]

The Household

171 96 622 Among both the Waurá and the Kamayurá the extended family occupied its own house, and the head of the lineage was considered a sub-chief of the village.[2] Such unilocal, co-resident and extended family groupings, which were typical among tribes of the upper Xingú, were absent in the Trumaí village.

592 613 Consanguineally close male relatives usually formed co-resident units, but these nucleii of kinsmen were very small and did not constitute an entire household. Furthermore, they were related to each other through [59] male or female lines. Due to village patrilocality, there was a tendency for patrilineally related males to live together, but this did not result in [165] the establishment of a patrilineal lineage for several reasons. Among them the high death rate was very important.

592 594 Maibu's house illustrates the eclectic nature of the Trumaí household. Four nuclear families, totaling fourteen people, lived in it. Hanging their hammocks from one of the two center posts were Katauka, his son Kamkuti, his brother's son Autsuki, and another brother's son and his wife. At the opposite end of the house were Maibu and his wife, the wife's son by Maibu's deceased brother, Maibu's sister Ayenuke, Makurawa, a classificatory sister's son, and Makurawa's wife and their three children. Although everyone in the household was related, bonds were closer between those people who hung their hammocks from the same post.

589 592 182 Despite the fact that the household, as a unit, had no specific functions, it established the framework within which certain interpersonal dependencies were worked out. Bride-capture, intertribal warfare, divorce, and early death caused a significant proportion of the Trumaí to be temporarily or permanently without mates. This disadvantage was

[177] [1] The trade game was possibly borrowed from the Bakairí, as its existence among this group has been reported by Oberg (1953, p. 73). However, craft specialization and trade on the upper Xingú predates the Indian post. Cf. von den Steinen 1897, pp. 196, 207.

[2] De Lima (1950, p. 9.) reports this arrangement among the Waurá, and Oberg (1953, p. 45.) adds that the position of house chief tends to pass in the male line in the Kamayurá village.

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zoomorphic benches; the bull roarer; use of the spear-thrower in inter-tribal games; whistling arrows; the mode of hair-cutting and body painting and ornamentation; the use of the *uluri*, or triangular bark pubic cover. The basic subsistence economies of the upper Xingú groups are almost identical, and there are strong similarities in social organization. In the latter sphere, the extended family, bilaterality with some patrilineal emphasis, patrilocality, and the men's cult appear general. The various tribes share many of the same ceremonies and co-participate in some. Insofar as is known, shamanism is much the same among all groups, and there is great similarity in religious beliefs and in mythology.

Trumaí History

Although the linguistic affiliations of the other upper Xingú peoples indicate their origins to be in the north, all available evidence points to a migration of the Trumaí from the southeast. Apparently this move did not occur very long ago, for the Trumaí themselves still tell of it. According to Trumaí tradition they came into their present habitat from a land far to the southeast. There, they say, there is still a Trumaí village. Informants varied as to whether or not the forebears of the Xingú Trumaí knew how to grow manioc. They were said to have had long hair like the Gê-speaking Suyá, to hunt tapir, and to tie up their penes. Matiwana, the old man of the Trumaí, claimed to remember when the Trumaí still treated their genitalia in this way. He also claimed that, when the Trumaí moved into the area and saw the Kamayurá and other tribes, they adopted the customs of hair-cutting and penis freedom. The tale, coupled with the fact that the Trumaí women did not use the true *uluri* pubic cover when von den Steinen first visited them,[5] suggests a fairly recent entry of the Trumaí into the upper Xingú area — perhaps no earlier than the nineteenth century — and due possibly to the pressures of white colonization.

Other evidence also argues for the recency of the present Trumaí habitat. The diffusion of culture traits in the upper Xingú is extensive, and in most cases it is difficult to determine the direction of borrowing. The Trumaí lexicon, however, shows heavy influence from their neighbors, especially the nearby Kamayurá. This influence manifests itself chiefly in names of plants and objects of material culture and in ceremonial songs. The songs of two major Trumaí ceremonies, both of which are practiced also by the Kamayurá, show a preponderance of Kamayurá words and phrases. Carib and Arawakan words are frequent in other songs. Also, the word for bull roarer in both Kamayurá and Trumaí is *uriuri*. The Trumaí words for such typically tropical forest domestica-

[5] Von den Steinen, 1897, p. 188.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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culture as the other women, but their everyday existence was much the same.

Men were also taken as captives, although not to the same extent as were women. Tun and Aloari, two Trumaí men, had lived in captivity among the Yuruna. They had feared their captors at first, but once they had learned the language, they said, they were no longer afraid. Apparently both men had been well treated by the Yuruna, for they were kindly disposed towards that tribe. The elder of the two men had a Yuruna wife, whom he left when he returned to his people. How this was accomplished is not known, but escape could not have been very difficult.

Another factor promoting the incorporation of both women and men into other tribes was the depopulation and extinction of their own groups. When the southern Trumaí village was disbanded many of the survivors joined the northern Trumaí, but some moved in with other tribes. Similarly, de Lima reported that the Yaulapití, who disbanded sometime between 1938 and 1945, were to be found among the Kamayurá, Trumaí, and Auetí.[17]

It is possible that more Yaulapití settled with Arawakan speaking groups, but the three above-named tribes were their closest neighbors. The remnants of a disbanded group might also join villages in which they had close kin or personal relationships. A later report by the Srs. Villas Boas, who maintained the recently established airstrip of the Fundação Brasil Central, stated that, as in the case of the Trumaí, the Yaulapití have reconstituted themselves as a group by the establishment of a one-house village.[18] Clearly, except for the peace that has reigned since the airfield was built, a village of some twenty-five people would not be secure from attack. But while the chances of survival are still far from good, the initiation of such a project shows the eagerness of the participants to preserve their social identity.

The main purposes of warfare in the region are to capture women, take loot, and exact revenge. Captive-taking has a clear economic basis in the sporadic warfare between the Suyá and Waurá, as the Suyá capture Waurá women for their knowledge of pottery-making. Among the tribes of the *uluri* area proper, however, this is not done. Arawakan women are married, but Quain's notes indicate that they do not practice pottery-making in their new villages.

It is possible that male and female captives are taken by upper Xingú groups from tribes outside the region to bolster their waning numerical strength, but infanticide and abortion are also present in the area. However, captives do not have to be reared from infancy, and do not constitute the same strain on the economy that children do. It is also

[17] De Lima 1949, p. 25.

[18] This information was obtained verbally from Dr. Eduardo Galvão. Cf. Oberg 1953, p. 4.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Intermarriage

648 Despite occasional semi-hostile encounters between the upper Xingú groups, most contacts within the area are peaceful. Intermarriage is [597] common, and, since patrilocality is general, the wives are usually brought back to the village of the groom. There are, however, exceptions to this rule. For instance, if the man has strong enough kinship ties with the bride's village, he may stay there. This was true in the case of a member of the Trumaí village who was half Kamayurá. [167] Friction with one's fellow tribesmen can also lead to a move to another [598] village, as in the case of a Trumaí man and his wife who went to live with the Kamayurá because they believed that someone in their own group was practicing witchcraft against them.

602 One result of this mixing process, in addition to its obvious function 648 as a mechanism of diffusion, is that all of the upper Xingú groups are cross-cut by ties of kinship. Nearly every man on the Kuliseu River knows all others so located, and they are often related. Most of the extra-tribal kin ties of the Trumaí were with the Kamayurá and Mehinaku, but they also extended to many other villages of the area. For reasons not fully explored by Quain, the chief contacts of the Trumaí were with Tupian and Arawakan groups, especially those of the Kuliseu River. Little mention is found in Quain's notes of the Cariban tribes of the Kuluene River.

602 Kinship ties were probably responsible for the preference shown by 648 certain Trumaí men for particular tribes. While most men said that 186 the Kamayurá were "bad," a few claimed that they were really "good" and that the other tribes were the ones to be feared. One day a fire was sighted which, it was decided, had been lit by the Yuruna. A man having kinsmen among them left the village to tell them of his presence there and so prevent an attack. The alarm in this instance proved false.

648 Another basis for preference was past residence with a tribe, even as 186 a captive. However, if there was gossip of an attack by some tribe, even those most kindly disposed toward the potential enemy would become nervous and seek out their bows and arrows.

648 There was a great deal of friendly visiting between villages. The host 574 village was expected to provide food for their guests, but if women were brought, they joined in the women's work of preparing it. In the afternoon the men traded with each other and engaged in wrestling [517] contests. At night, singing, shamanism and speech-making were in order in the men's circle. Tobacco and large quantities of food were [602] passed around at all times. If the visitors were staying overnight, they slept in the house of their closest kinsman. The latter was also expected to greet them upon arrival and act as their host during their stay.

/154 cont./

000 B W harpy village. Then, on the right bank, comes the village of the Nahuquá. Again on the left, somewhat apart and not visited by us, there is a fourth village of the Bakaïrí. Farther down-stream the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ are on the left bank in the two villages which the Bakaïrí designated as Paischuéti (dogfish village) and Kalúti. It seems, however, that there are three villages; the Paischuéti-Mehinakú also spoke of the Yutapühü -- this would be "Kaluti" -- whose harbor we passed on 15 October, of the Atapilú, and at the same time warning us against the Ualapihü, Ulavapitü, that is, our Yaulapiti. From the Mehinakú territory there begin numerous canals, which, along with several lagoons, are found throughout the region between the lower courses of the Kulisehu and Batovy. The village of the Auetö may be regarded as a sort of central point for the canal traffic.*

101 361 103 B W 487 A [361]

A [101]

* It is really strange that their name seems to have this meaning. They are called "Auitï" by their neighbors; now in Guaraní the unsoftened adjectival form apité means "what is at the center, in the middle."

A W On two lagoons, in two villages, we find the Yaulapiti, on a third lagoon the Kamayurá /Camayura/, who had four villages close together and were on the point of uniting them into a single one. The Arauitï (see p. 94) are a mixture of Yaulapiti and Auetö.

101 361 T The Kulisehu flows into the Kuluëne; a few hours of rowing led to the Trumaï settled in two villages on its right bank not far above Schingú-Koblenz. This tribe, driven away by the Suyá, had the intention of founding a new home near the Auetö.

167 Y The Nahuquá live upstream on the Kuluëne, and also on small tributaries between it and the Kulisehu, in a series of villages that have separate names. We become acquainted with single individuals from the Guapirí, Yanumakapü, Guikurú /Kuikuru/, and Yaurikumá; the Yanumakapü, the Enomakabihü of the Bakaïrí, do not live on the main river, and of the Guapirí the Bakaïrí specifically pointed out that they are found overland between the Kulisehu and Kuluëne.

361 103 101

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The rapid exhaustion of the soil forces them into a life which, although not nomadic, involves frequent moves. As the soil in old plots is exhausted, new ones have to be opened up. The area of exploitable land around the village is limited by the need to transport the produce and protect the villagers from their enemies. Thus, after the land available to the village has been used, the group moves.

The main subsistence of the nine village groups now living in the upper Xingú area is derived from this typically Amazonian shifting horticulture coupled with fishing in the extensive streams, lagoons, and estuaries. Apparently, the population of the region was never great enough to cause any pressure on land or other resources. Each village maintained exclusive rights of exploitation over certain waterways and areas of land within which the village always moved. There evidently were not, and still are not, any clearly defined territorial boundaries; but village rights are implicitly recognized.

The Neighbors of the Trumaí

Although there is considerable uniformity in the cultures of the upper Xingú tribes, their linguistic affiliations are diverse. The main language stocks of aboriginal Brazil are represented. On the Kuluene River are the linguistically independent Trumaí and the Cariban Kuikuru, Kalapalo, Tsuva, and Naravute. Near the waters of the Kuliseu River live the Tupian Kamayurá and Auetí, the Arawakan Mehinaku and Yaulapití, and the Cariban Nahukwa. The Batoví River is inhabited by the Arawakan Waurá and Kustenaú.[1] All these villages maintain a rather distrustful peace among themselves, but live in fear of their hostile Gê- and Tupian-speaking neighbors on the perimeters of the upper Xingú drainage area.

The upper Xingú "tribes" consist of one village each. It seems evident from the linguistic heterogeneity of the region that it is a *cul de sac* — one of the aboriginal refuge areas which characterize the cultural landscape of the headwaters of the Amazon and its tributaries.

The cultural uniformity of the above peoples has impressed all observers, as has the extensive contact that they maintain with each other. Descriptions of this homogeneity are to be found in von den Steinen[2] and, latterly, in Galvão[3] and Oberg.[4] Among the principal material traits which distinguish the area as opposed to neighboring, but outside, groups are: haystack-shaped houses arranged in a circle around a central plaza; bark canoes; dependence upon fish for protein;

[1] Oberg (1953, p. 4) states that the Yaulapití, Kustenaú, Tsuva, and Naravute no longer live in independent villages, but reside among other groups, usually of the same linguistic family.

[2] Von den Steinen 1886. [3] Galvão 1949. [4] Oberg 1953.

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zoomorphic benches; the bull roarer; use of the spear-thrower in inter-tribal games; whistling arrows; the mode of hair-cutting and body painting and ornamentation; the use of the *uluri*, or triangular bark pubic cover. The basic subsistence economies of the upper Xingú groups are almost identical, and there are strong similarities in social organization. In the latter sphere, the extended family, bilaterality with some patrilineal emphasis, patrilocality, and the men's cult appear general. The various tribes share many of the same ceremonies and co-participate in some. Insofar as is known, shamanism is much the same among all groups, and there is great similarity in religious beliefs and in mythology.

Trumaí History

Although the linguistic affiliations of the other upper Xingú peoples indicate their origins to be in the north, all available evidence points to a migration of the Trumaí from the southeast. Apparently this move did not occur very long ago, for the Trumaí themselves still tell of it. According to Trumaí tradition they came into their present habitat from a land far to the southeast. There, they say, there is still a Trumaí village. Informants varied as to whether or not the forebears of the Xingú Trumaí knew how to grow manioc. They were said to have had long hair like the Gê-speaking Suyá, to hunt tapir, and to tie up their penes. Matiwana, the old man of the Trumaí, claimed to remember when the Trumaí still treated their genitalia in this way. He also claimed that, when the Trumaí moved into the area and saw the Kamayurá and other tribes, they adopted the customs of hair-cutting and penis freedom. The tale, coupled with the fact that the Trumaí women did not use the true *uluri* pubic cover when von den Steinen first visited them,[3] suggests a fairly recent entry of the Trumaí into the upper Xingú area — perhaps no earlier than the nineteenth century — and due possibly to the pressures of white colonization.

Other evidence also argues for the recency of the present Trumaí habitat. The diffusion of culture traits in the upper Xingú is extensive, and in most cases it is difficult to determine the direction of borrowing. The Trumaí lexicon, however, shows heavy influence from their neighbors, especially the nearby Kamayurá. This influence manifests itself chiefly in names of plants and objects of material culture and in ceremonial songs. The songs of two major Trumaí ceremonies, both of which are practiced also by the Kamayurá, show a preponderance of Kamayurá words and phrases. Carib and Arawakan words are frequent in other songs. Also, the word for bull roarer in both Kamayurá and Trumaí is *uriuri*. The Trumaí words for such typically tropical forest domestica-

[3] Von den Steinen, 1897, p. 188.

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although not everyone owned one. Quain also described Trumaí fish nets, but netting must have been a minor technique, as he did not see it practiced during his stay.

Throughout the upper Xingú area it was common practice to construct fish dams across the mouths of lagoons. There were two such fish weirs in the Trumaí lagoon, one near its mouth, the other across a small inlet near the village. Their purpose was to block the fish from escape to the main stream when drugs were placed in the water. They were built by driving upright stakes into the floor of the lagoon, after which a wall of rubbish and branches was built against the fence. One dam was constructed by the village cooperatively, while the other was said to have been built by a single man.

The Trumaí lagoon was considered the property of the community, and the Trumaí maintained exclusive fishing rights in it. The water in the lagoon is clear in comparison to the muddy Kuluene, and the fishing excellent. A good proportion of the fishing was done there, especially when traps and poisons were used, but they also had fishing rights in other lagoons within the territory of abandoned Trumaí villages. In addition, they fished in the Kuluene and Kuliseu and ranged as far afield as the Batoví River.

While most fishing trips were carried out within a day, some lasted two or three days. When the fishermen returned, they were greeted with a conventional shout by all the villagers. The shout was meant to welcome the food rather than the fishermen, and similar cries were heard when well laden gathering parties returned from a short jaunt into the forest.

About one-half of the men owned canoes, and according to Quain's informants, only six did not know how to build them. The bark canoes of the upper Xingú are not difficult to make, and it can be assumed that the community did not need more, inasmuch as fishing parties always consisted of two men. Larger groups went out of the village in a body when many fish were needed for a ceremony or to feed guests, but they usually split into pairs. Cooperative fishing groups of more than two men were needed only for drugging and perhaps for netting. On one *tawasi* fishing expedition over half the males of the village went to the lagoon with bundles of shredded bark. Quain noted that this was one of the few examples of group labor transcending the immediate family.

Two-man fishing expeditions were composed of the owner or borrower of the canoe and his helper (*tau*). The *tau* generally paddled while the owner fished. Only while serving as a helper was he referred to as the *tau* of that man. Thus, if a person went as the helper of Makurawa, he was referred to as "Makurawatau." He shared in the catch, but whether he received less than the canoe owner is not indicated by the field notes. There seemed to be no fixed standard for the selection of the *tau*, nor

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421 437 524 [152] [525] It was significant that Aloari, probably the most aggressive person in the village, was often an organizer and always a main participant in the games. On the other hand, he never cooperated in group work.

This conventionalized form of exchange, which Quain called the trade game, had a strong functional role in Trumaí culture, but there are indications that it was of outside origin. One informant said that it was [177] a Bakairí custom, and Quain thought that the "game" might have been introduced by Bakairí traders bringing goods from the Indian post on the Paranatinga River.[1]

The Household

● 171 596 622 Among both the Waurá and the Kamayurá the extended family occupied its own house, and the head of the lineage was considered a sub-chief of the village.[2] Such unilocal, co-resident and extended family groupings, which were typical among tribes of the upper Xingú, were absent in the Trumaí village.

592 613 Consanguineally close male relatives usually formed co-resident units, but these nuclei of kinsmen were very small and did not constitute an entire household. Furthermore, they were related to each other through [591] male or female lines. Due to village patrilocality, there was a tendency for patrilineally related males to live together, but this did not result in [165] the establishment of a patrilineal lineage for several reasons. Among them the high death rate was very important.

592 594 Maibu's house illustrates the eclectic nature of the Trumaí household. Four nuclear families, totaling fourteen people, lived in it. Hanging their hammocks from one of the two center posts were Katauka, his son Kamkuti, his brother's son Autsuki, and another brother's son and his wife. At the opposite end of the house were Maibu and his wife, the wife's son by Maibu's deceased brother, Maibu's sister Ayenuke, Makurawa, a classificatory sister's son, and Makurawa's wife and their three children. Although everyone in the household was related, bonds were closer between those people who hung their hammocks from the same post.

589 592 182 Despite the fact that the household, as a unit, had no specific functions, it established the framework within which certain interpersonal dependencies were worked out. Bride-capture, intertribal warfare, divorce, and early death caused a significant proportion of the Trumaí to be temporarily or permanently without mates. This disadvantage was

[177] [1] The trade game was possibly borrowed from the Bakairí, as its existence among this group has been reported by Oberg (1953, p. 73). However, craft specialization and trade on the upper Xingú predates the Indian post. Cf. von den Steinen 1897, pp. 196, 207.

[2] De Lima (1950, p. 9.) reports this arrangement among the Waurá, and Oberg (1953, p. 45.) adds that the position of house chief tends to pass in the male line in the Kamayurá village.

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551 605 607 Only when he was also the brother-in-law was respect given to a cross-cousin or his name avoided. Female cross-cousins, despite affinal connections, were never so treated by the men.

Avunculate

604 522 [861] [431] The maternal uncle in Trumaí society was in no sense a disciplinarian. Only the father and the father's brother were allowed to strike a child. On the other hand, the gift-giving claims of the sister's son (*deta*) upon the mother's brother (*wawe*) were strong, and particularly so when they were reinforced by co-residence. A man was expected to be benevolent and tolerant toward his *deta*. This frequently took the form of teasing and jollying the boy, and contrasted with the more serious attitude of the father and his brothers. For instance, Yati told his *deta* that he and Quain were going to eat him, and, as if to carry out the threat, he began to drag him toward the fire. The child cried lustily, and Yati immediately stopped and cajoled him. Also, Katauka said to his *deta*, "When you die, I will not cry." Katauka was greatly amused when this caused tears.

Such teasing ceased by the time a boy reached the age of puberty. Moreover, the *wawe* became a defender of the *deta's* interests in the absence of the boy's father or father's brother, and, in some cases, he supervised his initiation ceremonies. Common to both the Trumaí and [437] Kamayurá was the traveling partnership of a man and his sister's son. [171] It was quite usual for a *wawe* to take his *deta* along when he visited another village. Quain noted that on such trips the wife of the older man was rarely included. This is consistent with the sexual taboo [835] between the nephew and the maternal uncle's wife.

The Chieftaincy

622 624 The Trumaí had one chieftain (*aek*), Maibu, and two sub-chiefs, Katauka and Matiwana. At the outset it should be understood that Katauka and Matiwana at no time during Quain's stay exerted any [988] chiefly prerogative or function. They were not men of especially high status — indeed, Matiwana was looked down upon as an old man. Their main function, Quain was told, was to take over the office of chief when Maibu was away from the village. Due to Matiwana's advanced age, this duty ordinarily fell to Katauka. Otherwise, neither man was particularly influential; nor did they talk more in the men's circle than others.

622 537 The chief's main function was to urge his fellow Trumaí to carry out those projects or tasks which were the responsibility of the community as a whole or in its interest, but he frequently exhorted the villagers to

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still too young to "see," but that when he was older he would learn, since his father was a shaman. Aloari said that he, too, would learn when he was old, as would his son Tsirikoan. Matiwana would instruct Aloari and would receive a payment for this tutelage. Indicative of a possible looseness of inheritance was the fact that Matiwana's son Yati was nowhere mentioned as a prospective shaman.

Dreams were considered to be a way of "seeing" while sleeping. This was known as *ohltaxer*. Dreams were taken seriously, at least by the dreamer. Aloari fully believed that the Waurá would come after he had dreamed it. And Maibu was convinced that he should make the trip to the Indian post on the Paranatinga River because he had dreamed that Climaco, the agent, liked him very much and would give him a rifle. However, individual dreams were not a matter of community concern or interest. Village action was taken on the basis of shamanistic "seeing" only.

Witchcraft

The only known sorcerer in the Trumaí village was Oirupa, the brother-in-law of Aloari. Oirupa was said by one man to have learned witchcraft (*okei*) from the Nahukwa, who, with the other Cariban tribes, were dreaded for their black magic. Oirupa's knowledge made him one of the most hated men in the village, but no action was taken against him for fear of incurring his enmity. Also, there have been no reports of the execution of sorcerers in the upper Xingú, and, from all indications, this mode of retaliation is not customary.

When someone fell ill and witchcraft was suspected, the guilt was usually imputed to a neighboring tribe. It was said that the Trumaí had to leave their old village site near the Kamayurá because the latter were killing them off with witchcraft. Sorcery was probably often practiced against other groups by the Trumaí, and the converse was always feared. Oirupa refused to speak above a whisper one night when the Auetí were said to be using black magic on the Trumaí.

It was Quain's belief that witchcraft was a substitute for open violence among the people of the area; significantly, witchcraft was not practiced by the people of the upper Xingú against the Suyá and other hostile tribes outside the Basin.[4] Intertribal black magic functioned as a check upon violence within the village as well. Certainly, it was more conducive to social order to attribute sorcery to another tribe than to some member of the small and already disrupted Trumaí community.

[4] Cf. Galvão 1949; Oberg 1953.

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Diagnosis and Treatment of Disease

Illness was believed to be caused primarily by witchcraft and, secondarily, by the breaking of a taboo or by contagion. Headaches, bloated stomach (*pihl*) and stomach aches were among the common symptoms of bewitchment. The tremendous fear of black magic probably added greatly to the severity of these afflictions. During Quain's stay the women appeared to complain more of sorcery as a cause of their illnesses than did the men, but this self-diagnosis was not always accepted.

Trumaí concepts regarding contagion were generally loose, and they often fused with witchcraft beliefs. Contagion was acknowledged to be a possible cause of illness, but if death followed, it would in all probability be laid to sorcery. The Trumaí knew that epidemics of pulmonary diseases were associated with the coming of white men, and they were especially worried that when the rainy season arrived Quain would give them coughs and fevers. Indeed, one night when Quain complained of illness and retired to his hammock with a headache, this eventuality was vigorously discussed.

The Trumaí called such a threat *tun*, a word that can be translated only as a malignant influence causing disease. *Tun* was said to exist around sick people or in places where there was known to be danger of contamination. Thus, when several of the people of Jakwanari's household were sick, everyone avoided the house, for it was full of *tun*. Aloari said that the waterfront, also, was full of *tun*. He preferred to bathe from a pottery vessel outside his house. Ringworm, however, was known to be caused by natural means.

The word *okei*, while referring to sorcery under certain conditions, was also a general term for medicinal preparations. Thus, *okei* of various kinds were used in different stages of the life crisis rituals and also in the treatment of various ailments. Roots were extensively used for medicinal purposes. Maibu rubbed his wife's head with the extract of a root (*ipox*) when she had a headache. Another root (*murukuyu*) supplied the basic ingredient for eye drops, and still another was prescribed for ringworm.

The Trumaí were subject to severe boils which were treated by piercing. This was a woman's specialty, and it was usually done by the wife or a close relative of the afflicted person. All other curing, both secular and supernatural, was done by men. Herbal medicines were used exclusively for such ailments as ringworm, but most cures involved both botanical and supernatural means used in conjunction.

Illness was treated by both individual curers and group ceremonies. The practice of individual shamanistic curing, known as *jau'kath*, had much in common with similar arts throughout South America. The main techniques employed were tobacco smoke and sucking. Great

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Matiwana, who was in charge of
the proceedings, was seated somewhere near the center; Maibu, the husband of the sick woman, at one end of the line. Matiwana was chanting while the others merely shouted words at irregular intervals. Each man held a rattle in one hand and a branch with leaves in the other, except for two who held a branch in each hand. Approaching Matavitsa's hammock in succession, and, with arms extended, each stamped on his heels, causing his rattle and leaves to shake, as he moved up and down the length of the sick woman's body several times. This done, he passed the rattle and leaves from her head to her feet, and then clapped the two objects together so as to suggest that he was brushing off something undesirable. He repeated this sequence two to four times, and before taking his seat, he carefully picked up all the leaves that had fallen to the floor.

While awaiting their turns, the other men rubbed their rattles against their forearms and kept up a steady, disorganized chant. They also smoked, but this apparently was not part of the ceremony.

Turns started at one end of the line and, when the other end was reached, the next series began there. A pause was observed between each series. Some variation was to be noted. One man passed his leaves under Matavitsa's hammock, while another gave special attention to her head. Maibu, during one turn, sucked in the area of her navel.

Quain noted that during the ceremony "there was an amazing lack of affective tension. The men seemed inattentive and disinterested." He was able to ask questions about the ceremony while it was going on, for not everyone participated. Paradoxically, one of the active performers was Oirupa, who was suspected of having brought about Matavitsa's condition through witchcraft.

The Ole Ceremony

In the Trumaí village no ritual was more important or consumed more time than the *ole* (manioc) ceremony.[5] Its purpose was essentially to insure an abundant manioc crop, and much of the symbolism involved was clearly oriented around the concept of fertility. The supernatural techniques that were employed were practiced almost daily from the middle of August to the end of September. (It will be remembered that planting lasted from mid-September until early October.) The whole ceremony was loosely knit. After it started it reached no special climax,

[5] Oberg (1953, p. 56) describes a Kamayurá ceremony which also takes place at the beginning of the rainy season and, in form, closely resembles the Trumaí *ole* ritual. He calls it, however, the *Kwarúp*, a "special ceremony in commemoration of the dead," and states that the Kamayurá manioc ceremony was not held during his stay in the field. If the ceremonies observed by Quain in the Trumaí village and by Oberg among the Kamayurá are not the same, a great similarity of ritual forms for different religious purposes is indicated.

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Deities and Mythology

The Trumaí were certainly not preoccupied with the supernatural. Quain makes no mention of the spirit owners of animal, plant, and fish species that figure so prominently in the Kamayurá belief system, nor does he speak of the "*ole* spirits" attributed to the Trumaí by Oberg.[8] Beliefs, which are a more covert part of culture, are particularly difficult for an ethnographer who lacks familiarity with the language to learn about, and it is understandable that Quain's notes are weak on this point.

Magic, except for sorcery, was not observed by Quain, unless shamanistic curing is considered a magical practice. No objects, such as charms or amulets, were thought to have a magical effect, and the already discarded ceremonial objects were the only inanimate items that could be said to have some inherent religious value. In short, the day-to-day world of the Trumaí was little influenced by extra-corporeal forces or personages. The deities were nearly all culture heroes and creators, who did their work in the dim past of the "grandfathers of all the Trumaí."

With some variation the mythology of the Trumaí was quite similar to that of the Kamayurá. The most important of the Trumaí creation deities was Sun (Atehle). This was not the visible, celestial sun. The Trumaí explained that the celestial sun was only the *aton* (pet) of the real Sun, who was important in all the creation myths. Sun no longer actively intervened in life, but in the days of the creation he was an anthropomorphic personage having great supernatural powers. Sun's mother was the wife of Panther (Fetde), who appears in the tales of the after life. This woman, in turn, was the daughter of Wamutsini, or Grandfather. The latter had an important part in the creation, for he was the original deity from whom the other supernaturals sprang. Wamutsini's daughter was not important in these stories.

The identity and character of Moon were ill-defined. At one time Moon was in the heavens with Sun, who, however, became angry with him and cast him out to his present isolated position. Moon was once eaten by Awalanaxe, a fish. Sun, upon learning of this, made a fishhook, caught Awalanaxe, and disembowelled him. Moon was found inside quite chewed up, but Sun molded him back into shape. A fly then crawled up the nostril of the unconscious Moon, causing him to sneeze. He thought that he had merely been asleep, but Sun explained that he had been eaten.

Moon's sex was highly ambivalent, being a male in some tales and a female in others. He was not, however, important as a creator. Awalanaxe appeared frequently in the mythology as did Wakpanehene, another fish.

[8] Oberg 1953, p. 54.

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857 Among the eight boys below the ages of Autsuki and Jawaku there were no clearly organized groups. When outdoors they usually played in small groups of three or four, although nearly all would gather together occasionally for some special activity. The small groups were usually composed of age mates. Tsirikoan, the youngest, spent most of his time in the house, while the oldest boy, Muruta, was already drifting away from the others and spending more time with the men. Tay, an orphan boy of between ten and twelve years of age, was decidedly a misfit and did not join the others often. Of the remaining five, the three oldest were steady companions, while the two youngest either trailed them or stayed near their houses.

[572] Despite the fact that the children were together frequently, there were no fast friendships or strong ties of loyalty and dependence. In this respect they were much like the men. Their play together was sporadic, and participation was fluid and shifting.

857 The only organized play in which the children indulged was wrestling. 526 Matches were infrequent and usually broke up within fifteen minutes. [159] All the boys turned out on such occasions except Tay, whose interests [838] were abnormally directed toward homosexual play. The wrestling [858] matches were a complete replica of the adult contests, the boys even sitting on the log in the men's circle (this was one of the few times they were permitted to do so). The adults never interfered. Usually they stood near the houses and watched the grappling with great amusement. When the wrestling involved boys of the village only, it was very informal and few pains were taken with their ornamentation. Each bout consisted of trying out some holds and grunting loudly in imitation of the men. The contests generally ended in a draw by mutual consent without any hostility being shown.

Most of the matches were between the older boys. But they also wrestled with the younger children. Even little Tsirikoan wrestled once. As he did not know what he was expected to do, he merely grunted and fell down. The bigger boys were very gentle with the little ones and tried only to teach them.

648 Just as the men were excited by the intertribal wrestling matches, the 857 boys welcomed the chance to wrestle with boys from other tribes. This 526 occurred regularly, since it was customary in the upper Xingú for a boy [484] to travel with his maternal uncle. At one such time, a Kamayurá boy [604] came to the Trumaí village and was invited to wrestle. The boys gathered [171] in the men's circle after having carefully painted themselves and put on new arm and leg bands. The older boys wrestled the Kamayurá youngster in turn, but since he was bigger, he threw them easily. The Trumaí men watched from a distance, silently rooting for their own [576] boys, but laughing loudly as each landed on his back, out of politeness to the visitors.

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always used to treat the wounds made by scraping. Jawaku walked away in a hurt and angry mood, his body covered with blood.

A few days later, in recognition of his advancement, Jawaku made the afternoon serving of food to the assembled men, a custom associated with the *ole* (manioc) ceremony. A further sign of his new position was the drinking of an herbaceous emetic before eating the first *piquí* fruit. Only boys who had not yet had their stomachs scraped could eat *piquí* without first taking the medicine.

One important purpose of body-scraping, the Trumaí thought, was to make the boy grow and give him strength. For this reason even the adult males occasionally scraped their arms. The scars themselves were very much admired. Of still greater value was the size of the muscles of the arms, chest, shoulder, and back of the neck, which the Trumaí believed to be the result of the scraping.

Another method of inducing growth was by drinking medicines made from herbs. All of the upper Xingú peoples were said to know of these preparations. The Suyá were said to have learned to make them also, but not the Yuruna. Adults drank these medicines, but they were especially important during the final phase of the puberty rites.

The perforation of the ear lobes was a distinct and separate part of the cycle of puberty rites, and the only one in which the boys went through a prescribed phase as a group. This observance took place during the equinoctial festive period which follows the rainy season and involved intertribal participation. At the next dry season festival, Quain was told, all the boys would have their ears pierced. Jawaku's ears, however, had been pierced before, whereas Autsuki, who was older and had entered the puberty cycle earlier, had not yet had his ears perforated. Manifestly, the time of the first perforation varied.

At the first piercing the young boy added the name of his mother's father to the name of his paternal grandfather, which he had been given previously. This was also an occasion for scarifying the arms.

Quain was informed that ear-piercing was done by all the upper Xingú area tribes. The Suyá, in common with other Gê-speaking peoples, made very large, and to the Trumaí, very unsightly, perforations in the lobes. Two Trumaí men who had been Suyá captives had such perforations and also pierced lower lips. The latter condition explained satisfactorily to the Trumaí why the Suyá "cannot speak properly."

The puberty ceremonies were climaxed by a final series of tests of strength and courage: wrestling with a small anaconda, a subsequent intensive drinking of *okeis*, and further body-scraping. After this the boy was kept in seclusion until his ears were again pierced.

Both Jawaku and Autsuki were at this stage. One day a snake was located in the lagoon, and Jawaku was urged to go after it. He and Makurawa ran through the brush to the lagoon and searched for it along

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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cumbent upon the males was a prohibition against wearing body paint for several months after the death. This ban extended to women, also. In addition, the female mourner could not sing in any of the ceremonies, and she cut her hair immediately after the death. Marriage was also forbidden her during the mourning period. (Autu came under censure as she had married her dead husband's sister's son — which at any time was reprehensible — even though her hair, cut when he died, had not yet grown back.) The woman was also required to wail occasionally for the dead person during the time of mourning, and she made flat mud discs, about one inch high, in the village center. Quain never found out the reason for this, although Kayaru made several of these markers for her dead brother. No special reverence or respect was given to the markers as they were usually demolished during the wrestling matches.

Recreation and Amusement

Trading sessions have been referred to as "games" because they are a form of amusement, but this appellation is in a way misleading, as the economic aspect of the "trade game" is very important. Actually, except for the intertribal spear-throwing contest, the only organized recreation is wrestling, and this is immensely popular throughout the whole upper Xingú area.[4] Wrestling matches were especially frequent during intertribal visits and ceremonials. These occasions aroused keen interest, and competitive spirits ran high, but the onlookers made it a point of etiquette to show no partisanship, and the contestants made every effort to conceal latent intertribal hostility. They were always friendly to each other, and at the end of the match they exchanged a friendly embrace. This was not necessary between fellow Trumaí or close kinsmen of different villages. The most effusive behavior was always shown toward those who were most disliked and mistrusted.

Wrestling matches always took place in the afternoon. All that was needed to start a match was a quorum of four or five men. These small bouts were usually informal and more in the nature of practice than competitive contests. When most of the men were in the village the contests attracted more attention and required more preparation. Bodies were painted and arm and leg bands were worn. The hair was usually combed and plastered down.

The men lined up on the log in the men's circle or brought stools. The women and young boys watched from the periphery. Uninitiated boys were not allowed to take part in the men's wrestling, but the older ones were generally permitted to sit with the men.

Each wrestler tried for a grip by grabbing at the body of the other. A variant of the half-Nelson was frequently attempted. The match

[4] Cf. Galvão 1949, p. 44.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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would be terminated by mutual consent and without the need for either contestant to concede defeat.[5] The wrestlers were often pushed around considerably, but except for grunts of effort, there were no expressions of pain or anger. However, when Quain tried to teach the Trumaí men to box, even the lightest punch caused them to retire. They claimed that the *karahiba* sport was much too rough.

Trumaí women do not "know how" to wrestle, but the Kamayurá women wrestled to entertain guests. It was common opinion in the region that Trumaí women did not compare favorably with Kamayurá women. Even the Trumaí men agreed on this point. After a visit to the Kamayurá village, the precocious young Yanahi was vociferous in his approval of them. His admiration was due chiefly to the *jamyrikuma*, a Kamayurá female song and dance in which the women flapped their breasts and went through other provocative motions. He also described how they had pushed their twine belts down low on their buttocks, which to him was a very suggestive act. After the dance the women wrestled. Jakwalu, a Mehinaku, was the only woman in the Trumaí village who could wrestle, a fact that suggests that the females of this group also practiced the sport. She demonstrated her ability only on intertribal visits.

The Trumaí women did not entertain guests, except insofar as visitors forced their attentions on the unmarried ones. The only occasions on which they were known to sing and dance were at certain ceremonies when they served as a chorus to the men.

Except for the use of pan-pipes, which the men played in the morning, all music was connected with religious ceremonial. The pan-pipes consisted of a half-dozen hollow reeds of different lengths laced together. Ceremonial singing was melodious, and the Trumaí enjoyed singing. They frequently requested Quain to sing in the men's circle. The requests were always phrased on behalf of the women and children. Visits from members of other tribes always called for a performance by the ethnographer.

Humor consisted mostly of practical jokes played at the expense of others. Jokes were always perpetrated by the men; the women served occasionally as butts. This does not mean that the men were gayer or more light-hearted than the women, for the contrary was actually the case. The women enjoyed each other's company more. They gossiped and laughed together, worked together, and generally wore a pleasanter expression. For the men, jokes were important as a means of recognition and assertion. They were always performed for an audience.

Teasing the women was also a popular male diversion. This was often done by ignoring them completely during a conversation. Yati was a

[5] This may be true only of bouts between Trumaí, as Oberg (1953, p. 89) notes that a man is defeated when he is thrown on his back.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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105 182 648 in the Trumaí community, for, as Oberg notes, no adult male would choose to live with a people of such low status.[1]

105 162 It might be expected that the Trumaí could have compensated for this drain by raising their birth rate. However, in this population of 43 persons, there were only ten children, an extremely small number when the low average life span is considered. Furthermore, only two of the children were females. Of the approximately twelve women who 105 163 were capable of bearing children, only one was pregnant, and the others were urging her to abort her child. Thus, infanticide and abortion were 161 taking a heavy toll in the Trumaí village.

847 845 The custom of killing twins and of spacing births three or four years apart are reported by Oberg for the Kamayurá,[2] and these factors may well have been present in the Trumaí situation. The long post-natal [171] taboo on sexual intercourse had the same effect. Wagley, who studied the dying but equally unacculturated Tapirapé, found that traditional practices were contributing to the complete depopulation of that group also.[3]

105 161 178 154 But among the Trumaí there is still another and less tangible dimension. Abortion may have been urged on a pregnant woman because she had no husband, but how is one to explain the killing of two of Aloari's children without his consent, or the fact that there were eight male and only two female children in the community? The limited information available suggests that the Trumaí were purposely restricting their number and committing suicide, perhaps unintentionally, in the process. Two reasons for this extreme behavior may be hypothesized: first, the impasse in which the Trumaí found themselves because of the steady depopulation made them so personally insecure and apathetic regarding both the present and the future that they were no longer willing to rear sizable families, despite their evident devotion to children; and second, they may not have thought it possible to produce the surplus necessary to support such families. Actually, however, even with their diminished numbers the Trumaí could have increased their food supply.

105 511 433 226 Their lowered standard of living was due to more than attitudes. Loss of population no doubt also decreased the yield of Trumaí fishing and therefore limited their chief source of protein. To be sure, bow and arrow fishing was little affected, but fish poisoning, the only communal subsistence technique practiced by them, was much less effective when employed by a small group, for a few people can adequately poison only smaller watercourses and branches of lagoons, while a greater number can cover larger streams and whole lagoons. In the latter circumstance, both the take would be larger and larger species would be available. Moreover, when the waters are heavily poisoned and enough people are present to reap the "harvest," there is less chance of fish escaping. Thus, up to

[1] Oberg 1953, p. 15. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 62. [3] Wagley 1940.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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post-natal sexual taboos is a serious social problem. A large group of not very pretty bachelors must use the woman with ringworm or the Suyá captive, whose present marriage is considered dishonorable. These women have no brothers or fathers. In contrast with Karajá, there is no stylized homosexuality. Yet the complete freedom of sexual play results in activities which might be considered overt homosexuality. But to the Trumaí such activity has little emotional content. It does not seem to set up special personal relationships.

"Women are in constant fear of attack. Yet a wife tyrannizes her husband by withholding her favors and pulling the hair of anyone whom she suspects her husband has used sexually. Between married people, sex occurs at night — preferably when everyone else is asleep — or while going to the forest on various gathering tasks. A man and his wife engage in many things together, such as afternoon relaxation, fishing, and gardening. There is companionship even between those spouses among whom the wife is much older and no longer of interest to the man sexually.

"Between themselves, the men are extremely individualistic. Cooperation rarely exceeds kin limits even at the explicit order of the chief. Only when outsiders are present do men band together in a mock display of solid cooperation.... There is only one old man, who is about seventy — all others are under 45 ..... All death is murder. Nobody expects to live longer than the next rainy season. Men always carry bows and arrows for protection. Shamans keep the village in constant fear of attack from the Suyá or Kamayurá.... There are imaginary attacks quite often. Men gather in terror at the center of the village — the most exposed spot — and wait to be shot at from the dark bushes at the margin of the village....

"Authority is lax. The patrilineally hereditary chief does no work and is a parasite on his household. He is self-conscious of the rank of his wife whose marriage has elevated her. He lounges in his hammock, but it is his duty to orate from the center of the village at night and sometimes in the morning, urging the men to undertake group projects. He is the only man who has the courage to be an executive. This contrasts with the Kamayurá where there are several chiefs who, uniquely in their culture, are shy and ashamed to speak and whose orders must be referred through special talkers. It also contrasts with the Karajá where the chief is the best worker .... When the season changes, the Trumaí chief urges the people to engage in the new work, which they would do anyway. An example of the complete independence of spirit is illustrated by the two brothers who would not help the brother-in-law of one build the house in which they all were living, because they thought the mosquitoes would be bad in that location during the rainy season. The brother-in-law built the tremendous house all by himself — the two brothers lived comfortably in it.

/195 cont./

301 a head-net, above which they pointed upwards, sticking out on
237 all sides, and into which they could be bent back to protect them
415 after use. There was also a dainty little pot with a notched edge,
283 and red cotton strings which several Trumaí wore around the waist
276 or around the lower leg. There was some tobacco wrapped in
415 green leaves; on the beach there were also a few gourd vessels
272 containing insipid, pasty mingau which was just as poor as the mandioca bread.

142 There was no indication that the Trumaí are on a higher level than the Bakaïrí; as far as their body structure is concerned, I did not notice anything peculiar during the brief encounter; in size they did not differ from the Bakaïrí and Kustenaú. The fact that they appeared so ugly in the face may have been due to the
291 disfigurement. They protect themselves against penetrating in-
825 sects in the strangest and most primitive manner -- præputium filo gossypii rubro ante glandem farciminis instar constringunt /the foreskin is bound with red cotton thread in front of the glans in such a manner as to look like farcy/. This arrangement may also be useful in the water against the prying candiru fish.

123 What now? A closer study of the Trumaí is, of course, inconceivable. War has been declared; we have no choice but to disappear from the scene of action as quickly as possible. We are forced to forego all further soundings and measurements and bid the Kuliséu farewell. We can still draw one advantage from the awkward situation, however. Since we have departed this far from the path of virtue, we need not have any scruples about transgressing still more. After all, we did not get back our fine ax (two canoes capsized and sank when the Trumaí fled to land). Why should we hesitate to exchange the most warped and defective canoes for those abandoned there, which are well built and excellently dried out?

501 /196/ Several men are sent out and return with three canoes
● 171 and a few oars, which do not differ from those of the Bakaïrí; one of them is for Valentin and me, a second will be pulled
000 along as a reserve, the third goes to the sergeant. Meanwhile Castro's craft has also been brought home.

[a drink mixed with manioc flour--Analyst]

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/158 cont./ The Nu-Aruak fall into the subdivisions of the Nu tribes and the Aruak. "Nu-" is the characteristic fossil of these tribes, the pronominal prefix of the first person, highly characteristic for most of them, which we come across from Bolivia and the Mato Grosso to the Lesser Antilles. In the Guianas we see the Nu-Aruak in intimate contact with the Karaiben; on the Lesser Antilles, where the Aruak were attacked and oppressed by the Karaiben, a true amalgamation would in all probability have come about without the arrival of the Europeans, bringing destruction. Father Raymond Breton in 1665 left us a dictionary of the Island Karaiben, whose Indian-French part, unfortunately only this, has become generally available in a facsimile edition, thanks to Julius Platzmann (Leipzig, 1892), and strove earnestly to separate the words of the Karaiben men and the Aruak women, where they differed, but proved by his compilation that two languages were no longer spoken independently of each other, as was mentioned above, but that the Karaiben men had allowed the substance and form of their old "mother tongue" to be tremendously changed by the new "language of their mothers."

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On the distant Kulisehu we met the exact mirror image of the conditions in the Guianas. The Mehinakú, Kustenaú, Waurá, and Yaulapiti are Nu-Aruak; their influence was clearly asserted in language and culture traits among the Nahuquá who had taken several Mehinakú women.

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Therefore, according to linguistic investigation, the tribes of the Schingú source region are to be classified as follows (the number of villages in parentheses):

Karaiben: Bakaïrí (8), Nahuquá (9);
Nu-Aruak: Mehinakú (3), Waurá (1), Kustenaú (1), Yaulapiti (2);
Tupí: Kamayurá (4), Auetó (1);
Isolated: Trumaí (2).

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/159/ Just as the Nahuquá embrace nine different "tribes," which correspond merely to nine different independent villages, we could likewise put the Mehinakú, Waurá, and Kustenaú together as one tribe. These three tribes speak exactly the same idiom. They also, as we shall see, form an ethnological unit,

B /183 cont./
*171 We found pieces of stalks, pieces of bark, seed kernels,
301 and berries of the most diverse kinds: nut beads from the large
824 and the small tucum palm, fruits of a climbing plant, of a campo tree takipé, of a plant called (Bakaïrí) udayáki, red and black seeds of Papilionaceae, of mamona-Ricinus, tonka beans (Dipteryx odorata), among the Auetö gourd seeds and almeisca kernels, and even a small, bottle-shaped gourd seven centimeters long.

B Among the Yaulapiti, Trumaí, and, coming from them,
*171 among their neighbors, stone chains were frequent: pierced
301 disks and cylinders which the Nahuquá imitated in the amber-
T like jatobá resin and in clay. It was the diorite of the stone
● 171 axes and throwing-stick arrows /Wurfholz-Pfeile/; it was
301 pierced with the stone chip fastened to the twirling stick and
B the addition of sand. Small, pear-shaped stones, such as go with
[321] the darts /Wurfpfeilen/, are popularly hung on children's chains by the Mehinakú and Auetö.

Thus there were distinct differences in the material, which were probably, as is certainly the case with the stones, locally conditioned. All chains made of white shell pieces went back to the Bakaïrí, all those of red to the Nahuquá, all those made of stones to the Trumaí or Yaulapiti.

B /184/ Animal material was found everywhere. There
*171 were horn beads and bone beads, the latter also in the form of
301 little rods; they were sometimes strung on individually, some-
237 times joined for whole chains, especially monkey teeth and
T jaguar teeth. Cf. the illustration of the Auetö chief, page 90.
171 Among the Nahuquá we procured a chain with jaguar teeth
301 and small, colored feathers. The Trumaí prized capybara
237 teeth. Among the Mehinakú in particular there was an abundance of children's ornaments, which were hung in bunches on infants; besides the others, monkey teeth in particular, teeth of the jaguatirica (Felis mitis), fish vertebrae, bones of the bagadú fish, once a huge, black beetle-horn. Also claws or hoofs of the tapir (Kamayurá), jaguar, and deer.

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/195 cont./ naked Suyá women washed their sexual parts at the river in our presence.

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If the glans constantly threatens to become exposed through erections and sexual intercourse, could the wish arise on the part of maturing men to keep it covered for protection? There is much to be said in favor of this. To be sure this need for protection might least of all be related to underbrush and thorns.

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More seriously to be considered are the assaults of the animal kingdom. If the Trumaí, as was maintained of them, were animals who lived in the water and slept on the bottom of the river, they would be urgently required to close off the urethral opening against the little candiru fish (Cetopsis candiru). This transparent, span-long little monster, whose occurrence we noted in the Batovy in 1884, has the peculiar habit of penetrating the body openings accessible to it when human beings are in the water; it slips into the urethra, cannot get back because of its fins, and may easily cause the death of the unfortunate one who has no other recourse but, willy-nilly, to perform the urethrotomia externa with his knife.*

> *The Brazilians' fear of this fish, so harmless in and of itself, is thus probably justified; it is best characterized by a Munchausenism which an officer, with a perfectly straight face, reported to us as true: in the waters beside Villa Cáceres the candiru is so vicious and so consumed with its passion that even when a person relieves himself on the shore it quickly goes up in the jet of water.

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Since, however, the amphibian nature of the Trumaí will justifiably encounter skepticism, and the stay in the water, even for the fisherman or the rower hauling his canoe through the cataracts, plays only an insignificant role, it is /196/ not necessary to grasp at the only occasional danger from the candiru. On

B /196 cont./ their domestic tasks
*171 have made them less accustomed to squatting than the men,
136 and they are therefore less protected. In the illustration on the
516 next page /see p. 192/ a group of Bakaïrí from the second village
751 shows very well the characteristic positions of both sexes in sitting or squatting.

B In the case of the women, too, if protection of the mucous
*171 membrane was to be effected by their devices, this purpose would
291 probably be achieved and certainly be achieved better than, say,
136 the purpose of concealment. Furthermore, it should be realized
751 that, assuming the purpose to be protection of the mucous membrane, a need for this was at least increased through sexual life, since in the case of the young /197/ woman the mucosa became more accessible, in the pregnant state more turgescent, and as a result of childbirth more slack.

Thus it would indeed be improper, on the basis of local conditions, to doubt that the methods described could offer the adults of both sexes protection against external assaults and that there was no lack of occasions when they were bound to be useful in this sense. It would also be natural for young people to be duly furnished with them as early as the onset of puberty when they began to work with the older ones. The explanation, however,

B cannot possibly be exhaustive. For the importance and indis-
*171 pensableness of the devices are out of proportion to the idea /Fig.
291 19 appears here/ of protective apparatus. Why should they not
83 have been removed more often, especially at night in the ham-
751 mock? Why should the young men have been so intent on training the praeputium. Why should particular fuss have been made one day about wearing the uluris or the cuffs? The connections with sexual life must be direct and not merely indirect.

B In the case of the female sex one encounters no difficulty.
*171 Suddenly bleeding appears; there is illness here. That the Indian
291 thought this originally is clearly proved by the utterly superfluous
84 medical treatment of the menstruating girl customary among
T most tribes, /198/ with isolation, fumigation, diet, incisions,
● 171 and other remedies against the unknown foes. One neatly re-
291 moved the pubic hair and donned a bandage, the bast loop, or a
84 cushion, the uluri. The bast loop among the Trumaí women --

B /198 cont./
*171 a combination of bandage and cushion -- is twisted like a rope, in
291 the case of the uluri wearers the narrow bark strip makes possible
841 the stretching over the perineum; in both bases there is provided a
T support pressing against the pubic symphysis, in the former case by
●171 means of the little roll, in the latter case by means of the springy
291 triangle. One realizes that it was not cleanliness which prompted
841 the procedure, but the medical attempt to counteract the loss of
blood. These are truly not inventions of modesty, such as aprons or
similar loose hangings.

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Fig. 19. Squatting Bakaïrí.

000 similar loose hangings.

B In the case of the men, the explanation is not so obvious. Here,
*171 too, an attempt has been made to preserve the connection with a
291 causative, primary sense of modesty. The view has been expressed
834 that shame was felt only when the glans of the penis was exposed to
the gaze of others and therefore it alone was covered. Unfortunately,
I did not observe anything that might settle the question directly. I
saw that the people were not ashamed when they gave us their devices

/203 cont./

proper, we started first with the primitive peoples, we should not fail to recognize that there is Paleolithic as well as Neolithic work among them even today, depending on the kind of stone available, the material provided from another quarter, and the technical purposes present. We should see that the negative term "metal-less" is, of course, appropriate, but that the positive name "Stone Age" can be very unfortunate. We should also consider the case where man has no stones at all or unsuitable ones and still makes excellent tools and weapons. As an unprejudiced observer, it would scarcely have occurred to me to maintain that the Schingú Indians are living in the "Stone Age."

It is certainly true that their most difficult accomplishments -- clearing the forest, building houses, building canoes, making stools, and the like -- go back to the stone ax. But the various tribes were entirely dependent on one source, which was in the possession of the Trumaí. Neither the Bakaïrí nor the Nahuquá nor the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ and their relatives, nor the Auetö nor Kamayurá /Camayura/ had stone axes of their own manufacture. Their sandstone was not suitable for axes. I have asserted exactly the same thing about the former times of the docile Bakaïrí of the Paranatinga: in this region the Kayabi /Cayabi/ had a monopoly on the stone axes; the neighboring Bakaïrí were obliged to get them from them, later their deadly enemies. The tribes of the Batovy, Kulisehu, and Kuluëne obtained their stone axes from the Trumaí (the Suyá living on the main river had some of their own). Thus, the stone ax is presented to us here as an import article.

Fig. 20. Stone ax. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.

In answer to my inquiries, I was told that the stones were found "along a brook in the sand." The material has been identified by Herr Professor Arzruni /204/ of Aachen as diabase, a rock consisting of augite, plagioclase, mica, chlorite, and magnetite, in which are

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embedded individual crystals of olivine and quite a number of quartz granules. The blades, 11-21 centimeters long, are usually evenly cylindrical, but some are round in the center like a roller, taper toward the rear, and have a broad front end with a bow-shaped cutting edge. Without any lashing, they fit into a wooden handle 0.5 meters long on the average, which consists of a cylindrical upper piece bored crosswise and a thinner handle set off from this like a reed stalk from its spike. The stone points inserted in the darts and the ornamental stones of the neck chains are made of the same diabase. The Trumaí ground the blades to a point on their stones and bored the ornamental stones; besides them, only the neighboring Yaulapiti did this. The other tribes simply sharpened on the river sandstone the axes that became dull. Shells and stones were bored with a twirl-borer. A triangular, hard splinter of stone was clamped to a small staff, and, to be sure, at both ends so that one could alternate them, and was secured by cord lashing. The little staff was almost half a meter long and was twirled between the hands. If stone was to be bored, sand was added. This is all the Indians achieved in the working of stone; they had

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Fig. 21.
Twirl-borer.*
(1/2 nat. size/ as shown in the original illustration/.)

*The twirl-staff is represented discontinuously.

B /229 cont./
*171 laterally hollowed end of the wooden support, lashing it, and
411 covering it with resin.
[237]

Sometimes a pierced, hollow tucum nut is shoved up on the arrow shaft to slightly above the middle; one or two holes are cut into the nut on the side. In flight a high-pitched whirring or whistling is heard. /230/ While the noise-making arrows are used only for bird hunting, the others are intended for all hunting and the shooting of fish; those with barbs are exclusively
B fish arrows. Arrows with sawlike notched wooden points do not
[101] occur on the Schingú except among the Yaruná, whom we regard as a southern group of the Mundurukú /Mundurucu/ of the Tapajoz /Tapajós/.

T The Suyá and Trumaí had arrows with long pointed bamboo
•171 knives for war and for hunting jaguar. Spindle-shaped bamboo
411 splinters up to 35 centimeters long and up to 36 millimeters wide,
[824] knife-sharp on the edges, are mounted on the wooden stick driven deep into the reed shaft; the wooden stick is embedded in a groove
T cut below along the inner surface of the splinter. And, to be
[284] sure, the pointed spindle is only loosely fastened with a little resin and thread; when shot it remains in the body that was hit, while the shaft with the wooden stick flies off behind it.

B The most remarkable thing about the arrow is the feathering
*171 at the lower end. Two feathers, more correctly two halves of
411 feathers, for the feather is split at the shaft, are carefully fastened
237 in a spiral twist which goes around one-fourth of the circumfer-
ence; each flag stands with the plane of its upper part perpendicu-
lar on that of its lower part, so that the flying arrow spirals
B through the air. The feathers are set in a row of small holes,
[284] which are made with an agutí tooth and enlarged with a pointed buriti splinter, and, one may say, are sewed onto the arrow; the cotton thread is wound around the ends and is itself protected by
B being wound with waimbé bark (Philodendron). Usually the
[825] feathers come from gallinaceous birds, jakú (Penelope) and mutung (Crax), from the falcon, and from the blue arara. Where the hand grasps the arrow shaft there is a wrapping of waimbé. At the bottom a notch is cut in parallel to the upper part of the feathers.

B /231 cont./
*171 Indians practice on the village plaza and, as a target, plant a
411 shaft which bears at the top a cylindrical or conical piece of cork wood.

T The throwing board, in our case, where there is no "board"
171 often called a throwing stick,* is now a rare weapon which was
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> * For our case the best expression would be "arrow thrower." "Throwing stick" too easily gives rise to confusion with sticks that are thrown.

found among only the two Tupí tribes, the Kamayurá /Camayura/ and Auetö, and among the Trumaí. It was the greatest ethnological surprise of our journey. Ehrenreich then also came across it among the Karayá on the Araguay. Replaced by the bow, it has remained in active use only among the wood-poor Eskimo. The North American Indians, as far as is known, were not familiar with it; among the ancient Mexicans and among the Maya, as well as among the inhabitants of Colombia, it appears in limited use, though a wider distribution in early times may be inferred; it is regarded as the weapon of the Inca warriors; and finally we see individual examples of it among South American primitive peoples, especially Tupís, on the high Amazon as well as in eastern Brazil. Among our tribes, too, the throwing stick had lost its real importance, or at least was on the point of losing it. Nevertheless, in every house there were more throwing boards than bows; the Indians said that they never used the weapon any more for hunting, to be sure, but certainly in war. In 1884, when the Trumaí appeared before our camp, they had no throwing boards with them; the stone balls with which the darts are equipped for serious use were not present in any number among the Auetö and Kamayurá; they, too, had to get them from the Trumaí, and thus, for the Tupí tribes at any rate, if only because of their geographical lo-
T cation, the days of the throwing board are numbered. As a
[526] sporting weapon, however, it still enjoys great esteem and
[535] assiduous use; in connection with the dance, I shall also have to mention the throwing-board dance, which portrays being wounded in battle.

/231 cont./

171 411 in battle. The purpose of the throwing board is /232/ to throw a stone-weighted arrow, or, if one wishes, a more graceful spear, [824] with great force. The type present on the Schingú is a thin, smooth stick of hard palm wood about 70 centimeters long, which widens at the front end into a holding plate provided with a hole and bears a small hook at the other, rear end. In other words, no board and no sign of a groove. Cf. Figures 28 /see p. 241/ and 6, p. 91.

The arrow is set in on the barb at the back, the index finger is stuck through the hole of the holding plate, while the other fingers grasp the plate and the arrow; thus, the rear part of the arrow lies securely against the throwing board, is lifted with a powerful swing, the throwing stick describes an arc forward and upward and with this lever motion sends out the arrow so "that it [824] positively whizzes." The throwing boards are made of light or [231] dark palm wood, /Fig. 28 appears here/ they are nicely smoothed, and some of them give an impression of elegance, especially if a small bunch of colored feathers hangs down from the barb cord. The plate has a width of about five centimeters in front, six centimeters in the rear, and a length of 15 centimeters; it is cut biconcave, so that the hand grasps it securely. The shaft is [284] about four times as long. The barb on which the dart is set, a bone among the Karayá, is here a little stick, two and a half centimeters long, lashed on diagonally with cotton thread. There were throwing boards in small sizes for children.

The reed thrown by our Indians is not a spear, but a real ubá arrow and is also called an arrow by them /in this work it is called arrow (Pfeil) or dart (Wurfpfeil). Only the feathering is usually more carelessly worked and not arranged spirally. Bone points and sharp wooden points do not occur. The characteristic thing about the dart is the opposite -- a possibility not provided for in the German language, it seems -- a "blunt point." /233/ In this respect, too, the characteristic of the "spear" is lacking. [284] The dart does not spear and stab, but shatters with a heavy blow. Inserted into the shaft, lashed with string, and smeared with wax were heavy stone or wood points. The stones either conical, like

/233 cont./

171 411 No. 2 in the accompanying figure or pear-shaped, like No. 3. Only a small part of the stone peeked out of the wax covering; cf. No. 9. The wooden points had different forms, spherical or, corresponding to the stone pear, with a long stem to be shoved into the shaft: No. 1, or (the common form) Nos. 4 and 10, a cylindrical piece that tapered at the bottom for insertion -- in No. 11 also one with a pointed projection, furthermore a knob, No. 12, and a fork, No. 8. In Figure 6 on [531] page 91, the center arrow bears a long, narrow wooden cone which is decorated with a long black linear or dot design on a white background,

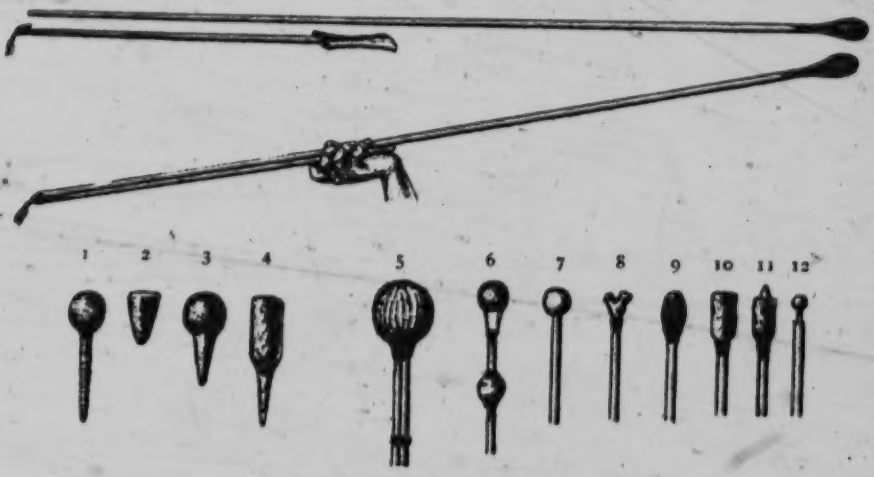

Fig. 28. Throwing board (1/13 nat. size/ as shown in the original illustration/) and the tips of the darts.

already the purely decorative weapon for the dance. Many darts bore [824] only wax knobs. Finally, we see in Nos. 6 and 7 one or two tucum nuts (Astrocaryum) set on in the manner of the noise-making arrows, and in No. 5 a fist-size tucum nut on two reed shafts lashed together.

[192] The throwing board gets its name from the tucum palm: yauarí. It is not unusual for the plant that furnishes the material to provide the name for the implement as well; the Kamayurá added a more specific identification, yauarí amomoáp, which means (amo, far; mo, causative; ap, to break apart, to wound) "tucum shattering far away." Apollo amomoáp, the one hitting far away. In a legend

/233 cont./

191 411 which Ehrenreich recorded among the Karayá, there are monkeys who, sitting in a tree, kill people with darts. This agrees to a certain extent with what the Indians told me, the throwing board is good to use in the forest. Thus, in rapid pursuit between the trees, one can ready the throwing board to hurl the stone arrow, but cannot hold the bow, requiring two hands for pulling, ready for shooting and seize one of the brief moments during which the fleeing target loses the cover of trunks and underbrush. The force with which the dart whizzes off and hits is far greater than one expects. The weapon has one tremendous disadvantage compared to the bow, in that it cannot be used upward; one cannot bring down a bird with it from the treetop. Moreover, it distinguishes itself very much to its disfavor by its uselessness for killing fish. In short, it is not a hunting weapon and, even if the darts were provided with points that would penetrate the skin, would be one only to a limited extent for larger animals; it is decidedly a weapon of war and is designated only as such. It had its value, along with the bow, when there was war, suitable stones, and forest. If it is called a preliminary stage of the bow, one should remember that it does not in any way help us to solve the mystery of its origin, for the essential thing about the bow is its resilient force, both that of the wood and that of the bowstring.

/234/ Clubs were used only by the Suyá and the Trumaí. The one of the Suyá, cf. Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, illustration page 326 /see 1:Steinen, this file, p. 166/, was flat, one and a third to almost one and a half meters long, with an oval upper piece that was decorated with shell eyes, an elegant weapon of brownish black seriba palm wood that shone as though polished. The Trumaí club is of similar shape, smaller, clumsier, and not of artistic workmanship. We /Fig. 29 appears here/ also acquired only one of these on the second expedition. On the other hand, the Trumaí, and like the Kamayurá, had no dance clubs, of which I shall speak later. Thus here, too, as in the case of the throwing board, the phenomenon of the old weapon deteriorating into a plaything. Among the Kamayurá we found, besides a Suyá club, one attributed to the Yarumá, which

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/234 cont./ corresponded exactly to the Karayá club found among the Yuruna in 1884, a dark brown staff chamfered vertically all around, sharply grooved, lopped off bluntly at top and bottom, with a smooth intermediate piece for the hand. The Yuruna in that case, and the Kamayurá here, had transformed the murder weapon into a peaceful walking stick. One must admit that the defense weapons of the men on the Kulisehu do not point to warlike habits.

B
*171
501
[824]

B
[531]

Fig. 29. Bakaïrí oar. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

The canoes are commonly made from the bark of the jatobá, as I described it in the case of our vessels. See Plates 10 and 11 /see pages 109 and 121/. A Bakaïrí canoe measured in 1884 had the following measurements: length eight meters, width in the center 64 centimeters on top, 56 centimeters below, depth 24 centimeters, width of stern 63 centimeters, thickness of bark 11 to 21 millimeters. On our second journey we saw longer specimens, and the ark which we acquired among the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ was considerably wider, was, in fact, unique in its corpulence. The Bakaïrí canoes that had to travel in the shallower river bed strewn with stones were somewhat shallower than those farther downstream. Among the Yaulapití the rim was turned over slightly.

The oar, somewhat over a meter long, consisted of a slightly hollowed-out blade 60 centimeters long and ten centimeters wide,

A /267 cont./

531 No. 3 are armored fish, akará. They have the same shape as
825 the nuki fish of the Bakaïrí, No. 8 on Plate 20 /see p. 280/, so they are perhaps also a species of cascudos. Now, the armored sheatfish do not have a rhomboid form like the mereschu, but are elongated. Since we also see the pakú, likewise not rhomboidal, as a rhombus, and since even Nos. 14 and 15 of Plate 21 /see p. 281/, the non-schematically drawn fish, look slightly more rhomboid than corresponds with reality, we realize that the fish body in any stylization is meant to be a rhombus, whether or not this is appropriate for the species in question, as it actually is only for the mereschu, applied everywhere with quite overwhelming preference. For more detailed characterization there are worked in, in the case of the pakú, the dots, and, in the case of the armored sheatfish, the sharply contrasted, hard scales, which are polygonal, but which in the larger specimens appear as slightly overlapping triangles (cf. Brehm, Fische /Fish/, p. 144, illustration).

A 531 In No. 2 we see the uluri triangles, which among the Auetö,
[291] too, are named with the word corresponding to the women's tri-
T [291] angle (umpám). It is a great pity that we could not have met the
[171] Trumaí under peaceful circumstances, for they are the only ones
[531] whose women wear a bast band; to be sure, they have borrowed so much from their neighbors that they may also have the women's triangle in their ornamentation. In the flute house of the
A [345] Auetö there was a rather long frieze under the vault of the roof, where a whole series of umpams or uluris had been painted in black on narrow strips of light wood.

A 531 825 Now for No. 1. Two rows of triangles, one above the other, exactly like the uluris, but above the triangles there runs a zigzag line bordering the upper sides, which never occurs in the case of the uluris. These are suddenly bats, tatsiá of the Auetö, and, to be sure, tatsiá pevú, "level," "flat bats." In like manner, bats in vertical position are the same triangles which horizontally in No. 2 we must acknowledge as uluris; they even lack the accompanying zigzag line of No. 1, but they are designated as hanging bats. The semímo, the bats of the Bakaïrí, on the third back-stick

/287 cont./

A W 352 532 825 chiefly in their beaks; that of the wood ibis is curved ibis-like. The largest and handsomest birds were preferably portrayed. Thus, among the Mehinakú, we found a magnificent king-vulture, Sarcoramphus papa, or red urubu. The red warts

Fig. 82. Tujujú stool. Kamayurá. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration.

which this splendid predatory bird has between its beak and its eyes were carefully carved. The Trumaí stool illustrated here (Fig. 84 /see p. 326/) is supposed to represent the white urubu; it lacks the warts. Strangely enough, it was given two necks

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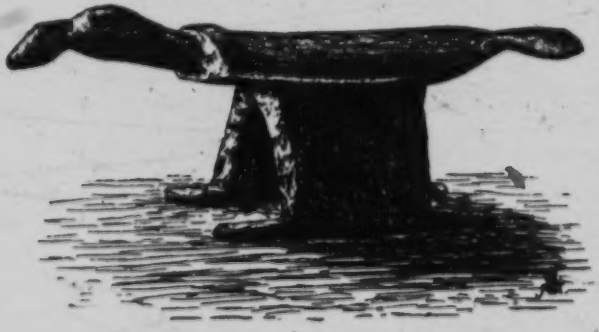

Fig. 83. Wood-ibis stool. Mehinakú. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

T 352 532 825 171 and heads, so we see here the chief's chair in the form of a double eagle; they are supposed to be male and female. By contrast,

T [386] [415] the /288/ the depression in the back-plate is somewhat prosaic; it serves as a bowl for crushing and mixing the dyeing resin. In

[Text continues on P. 327]

/317 cont./

I 532 535 [171] as for straw mats. Some /318/ of the plaited masks are of the same type as among the Auetö and Kamayurá, but usually the entire surface of the texture is covered with the black mereschu design on a white background, in one case with horizontal rhombuses and without neck stripe or center stripe, while on others the latter is reduced to a black line. /Figs. 116 and 117 appear here./

Eyes and nose are usually three equal-sized lumps of wax next to one another in a row and knotted on with a piece of buriti fiber. On only one mask is a pair of bright shell disks pressed on the eye-lumps. The mouth is a black wax ring that looks like a pessary and so large that nose and mouth have room in it. All the facial parts are confined to the upper half, in fact the upper third, of the oval.

On a number of masks the painting is simply a black background with a red center stripe or a red background with a black center stripe in which nose and mouth are placed or which extends only to the mouth.

/319/ In the case of three masks, however, there is more. On No. 1: black background, white center stripe accompanied by a white line on either side; touching it is the triangular cheek part which consists of a red and a white stripe, the black background stripe, and a red border triangle. The mask reminds one very much of the first wax mask of the Auetö, Fig. 107 /see p. 360/. No. 2: black /Fig. 118 appears here/ background, red center stripe, two white border triangles on either side, outlined by a white zigzag line. No. 3: white background on the outside and top, inside a black background the width of the eyes and to a height to include the eyes, with a red center stripe up to the mouth ring.

B *171 532 535 II. Common Origin of the Masks and the Mereschu Design.

We have no difficulty understanding the Bakaïrí who put on animal figures plaited out of straw and heads of animal skins, but we cannot help but find it strange that there are facial parts of human form on the animal masks. One would expect a dove

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 371]

Trumai SP23
Aueto SP6
Camayura

/324 cont./

A 535 "song," and therefore their chief dance was called yauarí-maraká. One man also gave a strange performance by dancing bent over and rubbing two arrows over the ground, a woman behind him: kurukú he.

A 533 The women, kunyá, who are, of course, regarded as the best booty, were often mentioned in the songs. In the dance pantomime, especially during the amurikumá dance, it was often made clear that the women were handing over fish. The dances start early in the morning and last until sunset.

T 171 535 Dance clubs, similar to the one of the Kamayurá, illustrated, in part with plaiting prettily around them, were also found among the Trumaí. Among the Auetó we obtained a dance ornament, the shape of which was reminiscent of the horsetail of a drum major: from a piece of hoop, on either side and in the center, hung tails of buriti fibers almost half a meter long.

Fig. 120. Dogfish dance-staff. Kamayurá. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

A 412 239 A 239 412 For the dance with hũvát masks among the Kamayurá there were two staffs, haéatẽ, 80 centimeters long, at the tip of which the set of teeth of a dogfish was plaited into a /325/ triangular attachment in such a way that the two long pointed teeth, the favorite boring and cutting instruments of the Indian, stuck out at the top.

B #171 535 As may be seen, the dance has its psychological development. It clearly reflects the progress of culture. In the beginning the animal is presented in pantomime, its voice is imitated, and its shape copied in the straw masquerade; the masking art with its fertile motifs for all painting develops from the fish net -- here the implement with its technique has already become the chief focus of interest as over against the animal figure. The throwing

B /333 cont./

*171 439 How important good relations with neighboring tribes must be becomes clear from the, one might almost say, necessity of barter. One tribe is zőto, master of one article, the other of another. I have given the most important information about this in detail on pages 199, 209, 216. The Bakaïrí had as their specialty the neck chains with white rectangular pieces of shell, shell beads, urucú, cotton thread, and hammocks; the Nahuquá, gourds, as well as chains with red pieces of shell and tucum-beads; the Mehinakú and their relatives, pots and fine cotton thread; the Trumaí and Suyá, stone axes and tobacco; the Trumai and possibly also the Yaulapiti, chains with pierced stones. The Trumaí salt prepared from bamboo ashes was also popular among other tribes. These were all articles of trade. Some of them traveled the great distance from the Bakaïrí to the Suyá, going from tribe to tribe. The Suyá traded with the Kamayurá, the latter with the potter tribes, among whom the Mehinakú had the closest association with the Nahuquá, and the Kustenaú with the Bakaïrí of the Batovy. The uppermost Bakaïrí of the Kulisehu obtained their Suyá stone axes and Kustenaú pots from their Batovy relatives, and the Bakaïrí of the third Kulisehu village from the Nahuquá, with whom they maintained close relations. In 1884, when we had given the Bakaïrí on the Batovy some of our Karaiben things, the chief of the first village took advantage of the favorable trade outlook and set out on a business trip to the lower region of the Kulisehu; in this way tribes who were not neighbors occasionally also had trade relations. The articles traded by the Suyá for stone axes are hammocks, shell chains, arara feathers, and pots.

B [439]

B *171 439 Although there was an old and necessary barter-trade, nevertheless the concept of value was lacking, at least to a certain extent. The person arriving brought along this or that and delivered it when he was served at the reception. He was given the desired return gift in smaller quantities at the reception, in larger amounts when he took his leave. In Maigéri we experienced a typical example upon our departure, cf. page 125; we were made to sit down and then received a basket of flour. Thus, the docile

/405 cont./

a whole into its halves. Objects furnish the empirical limit of the "2" gesture. Dependence on sense of touch. Confirmation by etymology.

B 171 802 [128]

The art of counting was the least developed among the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/. With regard to the other tribes I shall limit myself to a few remarks, since I am giving the numbers in the word list /omitted in the translation; see the foreign text, pp. 524-547/.

B 171 802 I 171 802

All tribes counted the fingers of both hands first and then the toes of both feet. With the exception of the Bakaïrí, they commenced with the thumb of the right hand, counted up to 5 on the fingers, went over to the thumb of the left hand, counted up to 10 here, and repeated the procedure in exactly the same way for the feet.

If one regards the number words in terms of their formation, one observes among all the tribes that they have separate words for 1, 2, 3, with the exception of the Bakaïrí, whom I shall ignore for the time being, and the Trumaí, for whom, however, the records contain much that is uncertain; among the Trumaí the word for 2, hurs, is contained in the one for 3, hurstamẽ. On the other hand, the Trumaí and, besides them, only the Waurá (uncertain) and the Kamayurá /Camayura/ have an entirely new word for 4, whereas among all the others 4 is represented by 2 altered by an addition.

For 5 the Trumaí and the Auetõ have a new word that has nothing to do with "hand." Among all the others, always with the exception of the Bakaïrí, "hand" is contained in the 5. The Kamayurá say "hand stops," yenepó momáp (Guaraní mombáb, to stop), the potter tribes say "1 hand," the Nahuquá simply "hand."

The numbers 6, 7, 8, 9 are formed out of 1, 2, 3, 4 with an addition. It is only among the Kamayurá that the latter is different for 6 and 7 than for 8 and 9. For 6 and 7 = 1 and 2 + verowák, the meaning (Guaraní guerobág) seems to be: 1 or 2 are interchanged, alternate.

/406/ Among the potter tribes and probably also the Auetõ 10 contains the hands, among the others the word is a new one.

/406 cont./

B 171 802 T 171 802 With 11, among all of them, the foot enters, specified by an addition, and 12, 13, 14 are = 2, 3, 4 + foot and this addition. The Nahuquá, however, instead of their word for foot, use the word vúro, which, however, from a comparison with other Karaiben /Carib/ languages, is recognizable as a stem with the same meaning,* and now count from 11-15: "1, 2, 3, 4, 5 foot"

* vuro = upu-lu (-lu pronominal suffix);
Makusí, Island Karaiben, upu, foot.

on the right toes and from 16-20 on the left "1, 2, 3, 4, 10 foot."

From 15-19 matters are very confused; with 15 a new addition usually appears and the formations run parallel to those of the second hand from 6-9 or those of the first foot from 11-14. Among the Yaulapiti, whose numbers are formed very regularly, 1 foot means 15, whereas among the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ 11, in the former instance because the foot is finished, in the latter because it is just beginning. Thus, among the Mehinakú, the following oddity occurs: 5 = 1 hand, 11 = 1 foot, 12 = 2 foot, 13 = 3 foot, 14 = 4 foot and (since 5 = 1 hand) 15 = 1 hand, foot!

All have the feet in the 20 except the Auetó. Among the Yaulapiti the same addition which was with the hand = 10, is with the foot = 20. Among the Kustenaú /Custenau/ 15 is precariously similar to 20.

B 802 Let us now turn to the more backward Bakairí, with whom I practiced all kinds of arithmetical exercises.

The names of their counting apparatus, the fingers, have nothing to do with numbers. The thumb means "father"; the little finger, "child" or "little one"; the middle finger, as among us, "the middle one"; index finger and ring finger are called the "neighbor" -- at least that is the probable meaning -- in the case of the former, of the "father," and, in the case of the latter, the "neighbor" of the "little one."

They count in words up to 6:

1 = tokále	4 = ahége ahége
2 = ahége	5 = ahége ahége tokále
3 = ahége tokále or ahewáo	6 = ahége ahége ahége

As may be seen, they have individual words only for the numbers from 1 to 3, and the numbers from 4 to 6 are made up out of ahége and tokále. It was only on the second expedition

/420 cont./

B 171 192 They all had in common a word each for 1) red and orange, 2) yellow, 3) white, 4) black. This therefore corresponds exactly with their dyestuffs. The Auetó had the same word, the "white" of the Tupí language, for white and light yellow. The T 171 192 Trumaí were the only ones who had two words for blue and green; the rest designated these two colors with the same word. Among the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/, however, tamagenéng blue = black and dark brown, and green is tukuéng; it also happened that one of them would use tukuéng for blue as well, but not tamagenéng for green. Now and then the strangest things occurred. A Trumaí and a Nahuquá designated blue with the same word as cadmium yellow, a Bakaïrí and a Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ designated green just the same as red -- if one wished, one could discover the various types of color blindness among any of them one happened to be investigating.

B 171 192 196 Only linguistic research can give the key for these phenomena. For a number of the color words I am able to give the original meaning, and they will suffice to explain possibilities of this kind. It is quite certain that the Kamayurá /Camayura/ word "blue" or "green" i-tsovü-maé = parakeet-colored" from tsovü, the name of the Conurus species or parakeets. These parrots have grass green as well as indigo blue in their feathers. In Tupí the same color word is cúgui, cy, and the parakeet is called tovi, tui, çivi, çiui. Thanks to the Kamayurá form, i-tsovü-mae, the origin of çugui, already obliterated in the Tupí, is still preserved. Whether I showed the Indian a blue or a green daub, a blue string of beads or a green leaf, his answer, "parakeet-colored," was, indeed, correct. It all depends on which part of the coloring he visualized. The Auetó word i-kör-etú, "green" or "blue," perhaps corresponds to the "parrot" of the Tupí, jeru, softened from keru, so that we would have here "parrot-colored."

The tukuéng "green" of the Bakaïrí also goes back to the parakeet zugú-ri.* Now since there is a parakeet species kept in

* The name of the parakeet is onomatopoetic, hence very similar among Bakaïrí, Tupí, and Bororó.

2: Steinen--653 E,D-5 (1884,1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Trumai SP23
Paressi SP19
Bororo SP8

/523/

Appendix.

I. Word List
of the

1. Nahuquá, 2. Yanumakapü-Nahuquá, 3. Mehinakú, 4. Kustenaú, 5. Waurá, 6. Yaulapiti, 7. Auetó, 8. Kamayurá, 9. Trumaí, 10. Paressí, 11. Bororó.

TPB 192 171 The following lists, which I have arranged as uniformly as possible, are limited to substantives, personal pronouns of the first and second person, colors, numbers, negation. With anything else I should necessarily have to enter into grammatical discussions which would lead me too far afield. For this reason I have also been obliged to dispense with any kind of comparison.

TPB 194 171 Anyone who studies the words a little more closely will easily recognize a number of regular forms of phonetic change and will be able to convince himself of the important fact that in the various groups -- especially in a comparison of the Auetó and Kamayurá /Camayura/ with the lingoa geral -- there takes place the same softening of the initial sound of the stem that I pointed out for Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ and the Karaiben /Carib/ idioms. Everywhere, it seems, with lawful certainty, we come across the three series of the p-, t-, and k- initial sounds as the oldest possession of the base-languages.

TPB 104 The spelling has been kept as simple as possible. Note only:

a English a as in walk.
y as in York.
v German w.
ɣ guttural fricative, our German ch formed at the middle palate.
š French ch.
ç French c.
ž French z.

/524/

ϑ English th.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

took the axe, and this is why they have been able to build a great civilization. Indeed, white men, although first encountered in 1884, figure in many Trumaí myths. For instance, Waniwani once seduced Uluwa's wife and took her to the land of the white men, which was thought to lie either downstream near the Yuruna or beyond the headwaters of the Kuluene River.

Many ceremonies were first taught by Sun. He presented Maibu's deceased brother with a spear-thrower and taught him the spear-throwing contest. He also first made the masks which the Trumaí once used. The people of the area received cotton and tobacco from Sun, and he gave the fishtrap to the Mehinaku.

The foregoing creation myths collected by Quain were probably only a small part of the Trumaí cycle. Paradoxically, the historic legend of their migration into the area and the subsequent borrowing of culture elements from their neighbors would seem to negate the creation myths in which the Trumaí appear to have always lived in the upper Xingú area. Quain states that they have reconciled the inconsistencies, but he does not support this point with any concrete data. Undoubtedly this problem bothered the ethnographer far more than the Trumaí.

The After-Life

Waniwani, the village of the afterworld, was located in the heavens. In order to get there one had to travel the Milky Way. This was the abode of Panther, and the road was lined with many panthers who inflicted dangerous wounds on the wayfarers. After passing through this gamut, the dead entered the Trumaí village. Here many Trumaí resided, and the rivers and lagoons teemed with *kate* fish. These were usually caught by poisoning, as the *tawasi* tree grew in abundance. There was no death in this afterworld; it was only on earth that death was feared, said the Trumaí.

Jemenary and Kelenewary

The last of the Trumaí myths collected by Quain concerned Jemenary and his trickster nephew Kelenewary. This story, which has a decided Oedipus theme with the maternal uncle in the father role, was the only context in which these two appeared, and they cannot be identified further than to say that they were mythological beings who lived in the "long ago" of the Trumaí.

Jemenary was angry with Kelenewary because the latter, his *deta*, or sister's son, was sleeping with his wife. Kelenewary knew no shame, for a good Trumaí would never have done such a thing. Jemenary tried by a series of ruses to rid himself of his nephew. He ordered him to

1:Murphy and Quain . E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

zoomorphic benches; the bull roarer; use of the spear-thrower in inter-tribal games; whistling arrows; the mode of hair-cutting and body painting and ornamentation; the use of the *uluri*, or triangular bark pubic cover. The basic subsistence economies of the upper Xingú groups are almost identical, and there are strong similarities in social organization. In the latter sphere, the extended family, bilaterality with some patrilineal emphasis, patrilocality, and the men's cult appear general. The various tribes share many of the same ceremonies and co-participate in some. Insofar as is known, shamanism is much the same among all groups, and there is great similarity in religious beliefs and in mythology.

Trumaí History

Although the linguistic affiliations of the other upper Xingú peoples indicate their origins to be in the north, all available evidence points to a migration of the Trumaí from the southeast. Apparently this move did not occur very long ago, for the Trumaí themselves still tell of it. According to Trumaí tradition they came into their present habitat from a land far to the southeast. There, they say, there is still a Trumaí village. Informants varied as to whether or not the forebears of the Xingú Trumaí knew how to grow manioc. They were said to have had long hair like the Gê-speaking Suyá, to hunt tapir, and to tie up their penes. Matiwana, the old man of the Trumaí, claimed to remember when the Trumaí still treated their genitalia in this way. He also claimed that, when the Trumaí moved into the area and saw the Kamayurá and other tribes, they adopted the customs of hair-cutting and penis freedom. The tale, coupled with the fact that the Trumaí women did not use the true *uluri* pubic cover when von den Steinen first visited them,[8] suggests a fairly recent entry of the Trumaí into the upper Xingú area — perhaps no earlier than the nineteenth century — and due possibly to the pressures of white colonization.

Other evidence also argues for the recency of the present Trumaí habitat. The diffusion of culture traits in the upper Xingú is extensive, and in most cases it is difficult to determine the direction of borrowing. The Trumaí lexicon, however, shows heavy influence from their neighbors, especially the nearby Kamayurá. This influence manifests itself chiefly in names of plants and objects of material culture and in ceremonial songs. The songs of two major Trumaí ceremonies, both of which are practiced also by the Kamayurá, show a preponderance of Kamayurá words and phrases. Carib and Arawakan words are frequent in other songs. Also, the word for bull roarer in both Kamayurá and Trumaí is *uriuri*. The Trumaí words for such typically tropical forest domestica-

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ted plants as beans and gourds and for the flat manioc flour cake, the *beijú*, are almost identical with the corresponding Kamayurá words.

The pre-contact history of the Trumaí is largely inferential and their recent history is poorly documented. The white explorers and scientists who visited the upper Xingú frequently did not encounter the Trumaí, and almost never visited their villages. Historical data indicate that in von den Steinen's time and possibly as late as the 1931 trip of Petrullo the Trumaí lived in two villages. Von den Steinen showed an abandoned Trumaí village, in substantially its present location, and another on the lower end of the Tsahuku, a network of waterways and lagoons west of and parallel to the Kuliseu River.[6] Although Meyer's map did not show this southern village in 1896,[7] it appears in Schmidt's map for 1901.[8] Petrullo encountered Trumaí, most probably of the southern village, on the west bank of the Kuliseu, between the locales of the Nahukwa and Mehinaku villages.[9] M. Moennich, one of a party of American missionaries who descended the Kuliseu in 1937, did not, however, note a Trumaí village near this site.[10] When Quain arrived in 1938 there was only one Trumaí village, which was located at the northern site. This would suggest that the southern village was abandoned in 1937–38, but it is possible that those Trumaí seen by Petrullo and Moennich were the same ones whom Quain visited.

The northern and southern villages mentioned in the literature are the only ones recorded. It is certain that since 1884 there have only been two communities, although each has been located in many different places. Unfortunately, the exact locations of the abandoned sites and their periods of occupation are not well known. Each of the old village locales had a name, and these designations are still known. Among them are Morena, Waniwani, Karajaja, Iakare, Jawpew, and Wahldat. Some of the names, such as Iakare, are obviously of Tupian origin. Jawpew was the name of the northern Trumaí village at the time of von den Steinen's expeditions. Karajaja was the last location before the one in which Quain resided. This site was located near the Kamayurá village on the Tsahuku and appears on Petrullo's map. The Trumaí said that it was a good village, but that they had to move because the Kamayurá and Auetí were practicing sorcery against them. The village to which they moved, and where Quain visited them, was named Anariatan.

People were often referred to by other Trumaí according to the village in which they were born. Thus, a *Wahldat jaxlo* was, literally, a son of Wahldat. Also, garden sites were most commonly named after an abandoned village. The old villages were looked on with reverence as the homes of the ancestors of the Trumaí. They were considered to be places of great interest, and Quain was repeatedly urged to visit them.

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a certain point at least, the take increases geometrically with the number of persons participating.

In gardening, also, which was not practiced collectively, their small number decreased Trumaí security. It was common for nearly all the village men to plant their gardens in clearings adjacent to those of their neighbors. Obviously, if one part of such a single, extended clearing was improperly fired, or if the crops were destroyed by armadillos or wild pigs, the whole village might be without food. Crop failure for a variety of causes is common in the tropical forests, but most aboriginal communities in South America have several separated garden clearings, each owned by an individual or extended family. If one garden fails, the family can, in a period of emergency, reap from others. Oberg relates that the Trumaí once had to turn for food to the Kamayura,[4] perhaps because of the failure of the village clearing.

It is, of course, possible that in the past the Trumaí organized their gardens along the more rational lines of the Kamayurá;[5] and it is also possible that they never made a proper ecological adaptation subsequent to their arrival in the upper Xingú region. But lacking information on their economy prior to their decimation, we cannot make any firm statement on these points. However, it is certain that, despite their small numbers, the individual Trumaí could have cleared and planted much more land. The average size of the gardens observed by Quain was one-half acre, and this area had to feed up to four people. Many men also had old gardens which were planted only to manioc. According to Quain's calculations, the total acreage of Trumaí gardens was only a little over thirteen. Since yields from forest soils are not high, it is evident that this very small area must have barely met the needs of a population of 43 persons. Manifestly, the Trumaí did not work hard enough; and it seems evident that their lack of application did more to impoverish them than any other single factor.

If the other upper Xingú tribes are used as criteria to establish what Trumaí society was like before its decline, some very serious dysfunctions within Trumaí social structure soon become apparent. To be sure, such a comparison is an arbitrary procedure; and it is only invoked here for its heuristic value. Since village and house patrilocality is the usual mode of residence among the Trumaí, a household similar to that of the Kamayurá, and with like functions, might be expected and might indeed have existed in the past. However, the Trumaí death rate in 1938 was so high that these units disintegrated before they had gone beyond the embryonic stage. House membership was shifting, the number of persons involved small, and leadership nebulous. And since kinship was the principal mechanism for structuring interpersonal relationships in Trumaí society, this lack of a stable, kin-structured unit probably did

[4] Oberg 1953, p. 42. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 48.

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serious damage to the individual personality. Also, many individuals could not enact whole sets of kin-determined roles because they had no relatives of the proper complementary status. For example, parents-in-law normally exerted considerable influence and control over younger married couples, but hardly anyone in the village had such relatives. Similarly, cross-cousin marriage was the preferred union, but cross-cousins were generally unavailable. Moreover, because of the shortage of women, marriage came to be more a cause of conflict than a consolidator of kinship bonds.

Not only was the family world of the Trumaí crumbling, but all lines of authority and social control were weak. The Trumaí seemed unable to unite for such culturally approved purposes as economic cooperation or hospitality. Trumaí leadership, like that of many primitive peoples, was predicated on the existence of strong bonds of kinship, economic interdependence, and a general agreement on goals and policies. These preconditions were no longer found among the Trumaí. In this structural vacuum, the Trumaí chief was less and less able to cope with the growing self-assertiveness of certain men, and was increasingly forced into a neutral role. As the community weakened, his position weakened.

A number of reasons account for the factionalism which developed within the Trumaí village. Some are a function of personality, others of the diminished population. Obviously women were at a premium and many men were compelled to do without mates. The resultant competition was, as we have seen, a festering sore in the body politic. Connected with it, but having further ramifications, the bonds of kinship and the expected behavior between kinsmen underwent attrition and upset what social balance could have been achieved under more normal conditions. Indeed fear of the outside world more than internal forces of cohesion held the Trumaí community together.

Other integrative mechanisms in Trumaí culture were also disappearing. Conspicuous among them was the gradual abandonment of many elements in the Trumaí ceremonial cycle. (Significantly this left the highly individual practice of shamanism as the most active religious expression in Trumaí culture). In part, this loss may have been due to the inability of the Trumaí to amass a sufficiently large food surplus for the feasting that was required when visitors from other tribes were present. Not enough is known about the ritual of the Trumaí to warrant any broad generalizations on the effects of depopulation on ceremonial participation, but their numbers may well have been approaching the minimum necessary to carry out the rites. Only a few men who had depended heavily on one old man for their instruction possessed the requisite ceremonial knowledge. When this old man died, Trumaí culture must have suffered a severe blow. Younger men were little interested in learning the ritual and lore. Moreover, the small number of bearers of

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The fishing grounds and the still productive fruit trees of the old villages were considered to be the domain of the Trumaí, and these rights were apparently respected by others. When the village moved in search of new land, it was usually to one of the old sites, whose name the new village would take.

The Trumaí were once feared by the other tribes of the upper Xingú and were evidently a relatively numerous and vigorous people. However, when Quain visited them in 1938, they numbered only 43, and only ten years later, in 1948, the population had shrunken to a meagre 25.[11] Their small numbers had forced them to abandon village life once since Quain's visit, but they subsequently reunited in a new community.[11a]

Warfare

The topography of the flat upper Xingú Basin encourages considerable contact between tribes. The waterways are extensive and have importance beyond subsistence, as they are the chief avenues of trade and warfare. Communication through the river and flood plain system is the main reason for the high degree of cultural homogeneity that has been achieved by these tribes of diverse origins and languages. Intertribal relations are not confined to trade and warfare, but enter the spheres of social organization, ceremonialism and mythology.

Intertribal bonds within the upper Xingú Basin were based on peaceful relations between the tribes. These tribes formed part of a bounded social system in which groups outside the area did not take part. The Bakairí Indians of the Paranatinga River were on a friendly basis with the headwaters groups only because they had once lived on the Batovi River. Other tribes were uniformly enemies, regardless of cultural or linguistic affinities. Despite this peaceful interaction among the upper Xingú villages, there was considerable mutual fear and hostility between them which was expressed in witchcraft, petty thievery and intimidation. The practice of sorcery upon other villages is especially significant, in that sorcery is used in nearly all cultures only between people who share close interpersonal ties. This illustrates better than anything else the high degree of intervillage integration in the upper Xingú River Basin. The component groups constitute far more than a culture area — they form a society.

Despite the nominal peace within the upper Xingú area, the Trumaí lived in dread of their neighbors, and with good reason.[12] Situated

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means that I simply must come back here soon, within the next five years — so I can take advantage of the long delay. I expect to know a lot of useful, but academically unimportant things about the Kuliseu before I get through. This is the place — if I ever heard of one — where a half-dozen ethnologists should be working. Friendly Indians as yet untouched; twenty or more villages within a radius of a month's travel — all of which are culturally different, one from the other. In fact nothing nicer can be imagined.[5]

Although several expeditions had penetrated the upper Xingú area before Quain's time, the greater part of the region was unexplored. Karl von den Steinen is perhaps the best known of the early investigators. Reports of his trips in 1884 and 1887 are given in *Durch Central-Brasilien: Erste Schingu Expedition*[4] and in *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*,[5] respectively. Together they provide us with the first ethnographic data on the tribes of the upper Xingú area. Von den Steinen was warned by the other tribes in the area not to visit the Trumaí, who were said to be dangerous warriors and antagonistic to all outsiders. But contact was made eventually, first with isolated individuals and later with two villages. Von den Steinen describes the small, thin people who received him and his colleagues with solicitous hospitality. Some women still wore the traditional pubic covering, the *aluri*. The German ethnographer also noted the peculiar speech of the Trumaí, their excitability, their uneasy relationships and wars with neighboring tribes, and certain features of material culture.

Von den Steinen's expeditions were followed by numerous others, but only those of Hermann Meyer in 1896 and 1899,[6] Max Schmidt in 1901,[7] and Vincent Petrullo in 1931[8] had ethnological importance. Yet systematic knowledge of the upper Xingú tribes remained relatively scanty, limited to information mainly on material culture and word lists. In fact, until Quain's visit to the Trumaí, most of the ethnographic researches in the area were essentially in the nature of general surveys. Although Quain's data are incomplete, his was the first attempt to study with modern anthropological methods the life of an upper Xingú River tribe, and this at a time when the people of the area were still relatively undisturbed by outside influences.

Today, however, the long isolation of the upper Xingú River area is being broken. In 1945, an expedition of the Central Brazil Foundation, which aimed at opening a road through Brazil to the Amazon, penetrated the region, and constructed a landing strip. The Brazilian Indian Service now maintains a permanent post in the heart of this region, and several anthropologists (and numerous other scientists, journalists, and tourists) have traveled into the area by Brazilian Airforce planes.

[5] Quain letter, July 25, 1938.
[4] Von den Steinen 1886.
[5] Von den Steinen 1897.
[6] Meyer 1896—7 and 1900.
[7] Schmidt 1902—4.
[8] Petrullo 1932.

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line by canoe would involve a journey of several hundred miles through mostly uninhabited country. The southern approach is the only feasible one for surface transportation. Even this is difficult as canoes and pack animals are needed after leaving Cuyabá. Between that city and the upper Xingú, the Planalto de Matto Grosso intervenes. This is an extremely rugged upland, hard to traverse. The isolation of the area made difficulties for ethnologists, but these were more than compensated for by the intactness of the native cultures. The establishment in 1947 of an outpost and airstrip of the Fundação Brasil Central, located below the juncture of the Kuluene and Kuliseu rivers, has done much to overcome the physical obstacles. The near future should see a considerable increase in ethnographic data from the headwaters of the Xingú.

In 1938 the Trumaí village was situated on the Kuluene River near its juncture with the Kuliseu. The Kuluene is the easternmost of the six parallel rivers that form the headwaters of the Xingú. The Xingú, itself, is one of the largest of the rivers tributary to the Amazon. It joins the Amazon about two hundred miles from the mouth of that river, after flowing from south to north for approximately one thousand miles. The six rivers which flow parallel to each other for over two hundred miles and then join to form the Xingú are, from east to west, the Kuluene, Kuliseu, Batoví, Jatobá, Ronuro, and Steinen rivers. They rise in the uplands, flowing through plains country and gallery forest. Further downstream they widen out and begin their descent into the tropical rain forest. The open country between the streams diminishes and the area covered by forest increases. The terrain is flat with but slight elevations between the rivers. Opening on the rivers are marshy subsidiary streams and large systems of lagoons which extend for several miles. Adjacent to the Kuluene and Kuliseu are broad sections of periodically inundated savannah lands, which are little used by the Indian population.

The heavy rains from October to April have the same profound effect upon the annual cycle of life here as they do in other sections of the Brazilian rain forest. Of great importance, also, is the effect of the rains upon the soil. The rains are too heavy to allow the surface soil to retain them. The water runs off or sinks deeply into the loose earth, leaching the surface of minerals and making it poor for agriculture. Since no form of mineral replenishment is used, a garden plot becomes exhausted in about two or three years, or after two plantings.

Nevertheless, the rain forest is suitable for primitive agriculture, since the looseness of the soil makes it ideally adapted to the primitive tools in use. As the open grasslands in this section of South America have extremely poor soil and cannot be tilled with simple hand tools, the Trumaí, like other tropical forest peoples, are forced to make their gardens in forest clearings in locations that are not flooded annually.

[text continues on p. 7]

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although a Mehinaku woman and a Suyá woman who had dwelled among the Waurá were living there. 439

The origin of specialization apparently lies in the diversity of the original cultures of the upper Xingú tribes. While a great degree of cultural homogeneity was subsequently attained through interaction and diffusion, certain culturally specialized items became integral to the trade relationships that were a functional part of intertribal social life. Trade became standardized, and monopolies were thereby perpetuated. The Kamayurá-type bow and the Waurá pot were not only essential to the Trumaí economy, but trade in these items with these tribes was expected and served to reinforce the structure of the supra-village society. 182 439

In addition to trade in specialized products, there was active exchange of other items of Western and native manufacture, such as feathers, fishhooks, line, cotton yarn, cloth, paper, beads, and trinkets. This, however, did not require organized trading trips, as did the exchange of the specialized products. The Trumaí traveled for the specific purpose of trading salt or securing pots and bows, although such transactions were also carried out during ordinary visits and at intertribal ceremonials. The non-specialized items were taken along on all visits in anticipation of a lively afternoon of trading, but they were incidental to such expeditions. 439 484 [177]

Despite the economic foundation of upper Xingú trade, all exchanges were considered gifts. No aspect of trade was recognized as divorced from personal relations. Food was shared freely in the community and did not enter into trade. Quain was the only person in the Trumaí village who traded to obtain food. 439 437 431 [123]

Quain believed that there was a scale of values and a concept of equivalence in trade, as certain proffered articles were rejected by sellers as inadequate. The individual exchanges indicated some equivalence, and there was a tendency for particular categories of goods to be exchanged. Men traded arrows for fishhooks and gourds for small pots. Trinkets also formed a class. However, when dealing in specialized products, payment in another specialty was not required. Western goods were especially desired. Knives and axes were in great demand, and, once given to an Indian by a white man, they entered into active trade circulation. There was sufficient cross-cutting between the classes of articles to suggest the operation of a more comprehensive scale of values, but, unfortunately, Quain had to leave the Trumaí before this could be verified. 439 435 [177]

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The usual procedure was for each man to clear a garden plot adjacent to the others; in this way the two large clearings of Nariatan and Waniwanitan were created. The three isolated small clearings might have been nuclei for future large clearings.

All the trees in the plot to be cleared were felled, and the underbrush was slashed away. This has been done with steel axes since the upper Xingú Indians came in contact with the outside world. Quain noted that much more work must have been involved in clearing the forest when stone axes were used. Even with improved implements, clearing land was the most arduous work done by the Trumaí. Stumps were not uprooted, nor were the fallen trees and shrubs removed. The dead vegetation was allowed to dry, and the plot was burned over just before planting in September. When planting, the Trumaí followed the simple expedient of avoiding burned tree trunks and stumps. One year old garden plots were made ready for replanting simply by pulling out or chopping down weeds.

The heavy work of clearing the land fell to the men. In one case reported by Quain, two men from the same household cleared a plot jointly, but in all other instances each garden was cleared by one man.

Permanent rights to land resided in the community as a whole, but gardens were spoken of as belonging to the man who had cleared the land. He also had proprietary rights over the crops, even when he had not planted them himself. Generally, however, such fine points of property were not an issue, as the man who cleared the land usually planted it. Land tenure was a function of use only.

Absolute, permanent ownership of property in land would have had no purpose, as the gardens were temporary and were abandoned when the soil was exhausted after two consecutive plantings.

The planting season began after the first light rains and lasted from about the middle of September to about the second week in October. The first heavy daytime rains arrive at the beginning of October and become more frequent throughout the month. Thus the sowing was done after the earth was moistened, but before the rains arrived in full force.

Quain made note of a variety of food plants growing in the Trumaí gardens. These included bitter manioc (*ole*), corn (*xotet*), squash, large beans (*kuman*), small beans (*kumana'i*), sweet potatoes (*mani*), sugar cane (*kanaviya*), a species of pineapple (*waxus ruyan*), and banana trees (*tsi tdatdat*). Among the domesticated non-food plants were tobacco, cotton (*amundyu*), the castor bean (*patasy*), and *urucú* (*maidot*). Quain believed that the castor bean was used for the round hollow point of the whistling arrow, but Oberg says that the Kamayurá make theirs with hollow nuts of the tucúm palm.[1] *Urucú* is a plant bearing a pod, the

[1] Oberg 1953, p. 31.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Each man planted his garden without male assistance. However, when planting vegetables other than manioc, he was often aided by his wife or wives. During the whole Trumaí planting season Quain observed only one instance of cooperative labor in manioc planting. This occurred in the garden of Uluku, a Kamayurá, who had cleared a plot in the Trumaí gardens but had not returned in time to plant it. The work was initiated by the Trumaí chief, as this was an obligation of the village to an outsider. However, the men largely ignored his call and, of those who responded, most were co-residents of the chief.

Fishing Techniques

A variety of fish were caught and eaten by the Trumaí. The exact species were not recorded by Quain, but those in Oberg's partial list are also found in other tributaries of the Amazon.[2] A small fish called *kate* by the Trumaí was caught in great quantities during Quain's visit. Fish figured importantly in the diet throughout the year, but they were not as easily caught during the rainy season when the rivers overflowed into the adjacent forest. Fish were taken by hook and line, bow and arrow, poisoning, traps, nets and weirs.

Shooting with the bow and arrow was the most important single method. The fisherman stood in the bow of his bark canoe with bow and arrow poised while his helper paddled slowly in the stern. When a fish was sighted the arrow usually found its mark with surprising accuracy. Insofar as is known, only hooks and lines obtained from the whites by trade or gift were used. Quain found a great demand for them, and he gave many to the Trumaí and other groups.

Two kinds of poison were used to drug fish in the lagoons. The more important was made from the shredded bark of the *tawasi* tree and was effective only upon the small *kate* fish. The other was made from the ripe fruit of the *fit'a* tree, the bark of which was used in the washing of the body after ceremonial scarification.[3]

Fish traps were baited and set out in the lagoon. These were basket containers, long and rounded in shape. An open-ended basket cone, through which the fish swam, was set in the mouth. Once inside, the fish could not find their way out through the small end of the cone, which was pointed towards the inside of the trap. According to one informant, the Mehinaku could make fish traps, but not the Trumaí. Quain, however, found that at least three Trumaí men made traps,

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 25–26.

[3] The exact species of these trees are not known. Oberg (1953, pp. 26–27) refers to the use of *timbó* in a general sense only. *Timbó* commonly refers to the root of a small shrub and not to the above-mentioned drugs. Von den Steinen (1897) makes no reference to fish drugs.

I:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The situation was comparable to the previously mentioned communal planting of the garden of the Kamayurá, Uluku.

Canoes

The standard bark canoe of the upper Xingú was made and used by the Trumaí.[4] Construction was simple and much less time was required to complete it than the typical dugout canoe of the tropical forest. A long, rectangular piece of bark was cut from the *jatobá* tree by men standing on platforms. The bark was then heated over a fire to soften it. The sides were bent up, and the top end of the bark, which narrowed slightly, was made into the bow by bending it upwards. The center of the stern was bent inwards, allowing the whole stern to be well above the water. Leaks were mended with patches of river mud or clay. Propulsion was by paddle, although occasionally poles were used.

There was also one small dugout in the village which belonged to Aloari, Quain's cook and helper. Aloari had been a Yuruna captive, and it was undoubtedly during this experience that he had learned to make this type craft. He also had a bark canoe and was the only Trumaí to own two canoes.

Basketry

The Trumaí men manufactured baskets that were variously shaped and served several purposes. In general, the Trumaí were less skilled in this art than their upper Xingú neighbors. Among the baskets described by Quain was a deep, round tray made of *buriti* fiber and another which was used to store manioc flour and, when equipped with shoulder and forehead tumplines, to carry loads. The latter was an openwork container made of bark strips. A smaller basket of this type was made of *buriti* fibers. The manioc sieve, or *tuafi* was made of stiff *buriti* fronds and was also used to store small articles. It was made by the women. The women also made a bark cloth big known as the *idesnit*, a term that, in addition, designated the female pubic covering.

All of the baskets and similar containers described by Quain were made by other groups of the area, but the art of manufacturing certain varieties was known to only a few Trunaí. Some baskets were obtained in trade.

Textiles

All work in cotton was the exclusive province of the women. Hammocks of both twined and woven types were made. The loom consisted of two upright posts between which a warp of *buriti* fiber was extended.

[4] Cf. von den Steinen 1897, pp. 322-23.

[i.e. building Quain's house -- Analyst]

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Necklaces were made by tying feathers to a cotton cord with *buriti* fibers. Headdresses included one consisting of a ring of cotton threads with colored feathers attached. The front feathers were long and formed a sort of plume. Another headdress, a feather topknot tied to a cotton headnet, was captured in warfare with the Caiabí. A third was a crown woven of bamboo splints traded from the Waurá for arrow feathers. There were probably many other kinds, as intertribal trade in headdresses was lively.

Belts and anklets were also traded between tribes. A few Brazilian type shirts and hats had found their way into the Trumaí village. They had been obtained from travelers in the region, and especially from the missionaries, Thomas Young and his wife.

The men wore their hair cut straight around the head on a line even with the tops of the ears. A small patch on the crown was plucked, but Quain noted that the Trumaí were much less careful about keeping these parts free of new growth than were the neighboring groups. The scissors which Quain gave to one of the men replaced the old method of hair cutting with an instrument made of *piranha* teeth. A composite comb (*kuwau*) was also used. The back was made of two parallel pieces of cane joined by cotton thread and the teeth of splints from the small roots of a palm-like shrub.

The Trumaí used several vegetable paints to decorate their bodies. This method of adornment was always invoked for ceremonies, and often for wrestling, or when there were guests. The paint most commonly used was the red *urucú* (*matdot*) which was grown in the gardens. The *urucú* was made into a paste by mixing it with oil from the visceral fat of a fish. The paste could be rolled into a ball and applied directly, or spread with the fingers or a spatula made from the middle rib of the *buriti* leaf.

Other body paints were *tawariri*, a black tree gum mixed with soot, and a preparation made from *piqui* fruit and fish oil. There was also a dye, *aidot*, which was not described, and one or two other paints which Quain was unable to identify. *Jany*, a non-decorative paste made from the liver of a fish, was used to ward off insects.

Designs included dots, crescents, zig-zags, circles, curves, straight lines, and combinations of these. Quain observed several standard patterns, many of which were symbolic; others were possibly symbolic representations also, but he was unable to learn their meanings.

One man painted crescents on his chest above either nipple which he said represented vaginas. A rattlesnake design consisted of a half ellipse on the flanks with dots in the center. Quain was told that a design of red spots, with two near the nipples ringed in black, was a boa constrictor. Another snake pattern, made by painting zig-zags down the sides and back, was used on one of the posts erected during the *ole* ceremony.

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421 437 524 [156] [527] It was significant that Aloari, probably the most aggressive person in the village, was often an organizer and always a main participant in the games. On the other hand, he never cooperated in group work.

This conventionalized form of exchange, which Quain called the trade game, had a strong functional role in Trumaí culture, but there are indications that it was of outside origin. One informant said that it was [177] a Bakairí custom, and Quain thought that the "game" might have been introduced by Bakairí traders bringing goods from the Indian post on the Paranatinga River.[1]

The Household

171 516 622 Among both the Waurá and the Kamayurá the extended family occupied its own house, and the head of the lineage was considered a sub-chief of the village.[2] Such unilocal, co-resident and extended family groupings, which were typical among tribes of the upper Xingú, were absent in the Trumaí village.

592 613 Consanguineally close male relatives usually formed co-resident units, but these nuclei of kinsmen were very small and did not constitute an entire household. Furthermore, they were related to each other through [591] male or female lines. Due to village patrilocality, there was a tendency for patrilineally related males to live together, but this did not result in [165] the establishment of a patrilineal lineage for several reasons. Among them the high death rate was very important.

592 594 Maibu's house illustrates the eclectic nature of the Trumaí household. Four nuclear families, totaling fourteen people, lived in it. Hanging their hammocks from one of the two center posts were Katauka, his son Kamkuti, his brother's son Autsuki, and another brother's son and his wife. At the opposite end of the house were Maibu and his wife, the wife's son by Maibu's deceased brother, Maibu's sister Ayenuke, Makurawa, a classificatory sister's son, and Makurawa's wife and their three children. Although everyone in the household was related, bonds were closer between those people who hung their hammocks from the same post.

589 592 182 Despite the fact that the household, as a unit, had no specific functions, it established the framework within which certain interpersonal dependencies were worked out. Bride-capture, intertribal warfare, divorce, and early death caused a significant proportion of the Trumaí to be temporarily or permanently without mates. This disadvantage was

[1] The trade game was possibly borrowed from the Bakairí, as its existence among this group has been reported by Oberg (1953, p. 72). However, craft specialization and trade on the upper Xingú predates the Indian post. Cf. von den Steinen 1897, pp. 166, 207. [177]

[2] De Lima (1950, p. 9.) reports this arrangement among the Waurá, and Oberg (1953, p. 45.) adds that the position of house chief tends to pass in the male line in the Kamayurá village.

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CHAPTER FOUR

Religious Beliefs and Practices

182 771 829 The lapse of many religious practices and the lessening of interest in those aspects of culture that we classify as religion were striking features of this dying society. Older informants remembered the time when there were ceremonial masks, the flute house, and other traits that are still found among certain tribes of the upper Xingú. Indeed, if it were not for Matiwana's unusual age, the Trumaí would be even more lacking in ceremonial knowledge. Yet there seems to have been little regret on the part of either the older or younger generations for this culture loss. They shrugged it off, saying that their grandfathers had had such [177] practices, but that they did not. This indifference is not too surprising, since much of their religion was borrowed from their upper Xingú neighbors not too long ago.[1]

771 105 Despite the decline in interest in the ceremonial cycle and the disappearance of certain religious traits, the main outlines of Trumaí religion were still observable in Quain's time. Shamanism was still practiced extensively, but it was simple both in form and supporting ideology. Ceremonialism was related to subsistence and curing. The shaman's individualized power resulted in a specialization of religious functions as did the individual ownership of ceremonial songs and dances. Some Trumaí, like old Matiwana, were better versed in the [193] religious rites than others, but they did not constitute a priestly class. While no one person interceded with the supernatural on behalf of the [182] whole village, the group ceremonials provided a focal point for social participation and village cooperation, and many of them were undertaken by the community for the benefit of all.

Shamanism

756 [184] The shamanistic art of curing was known and employed by nearly all the adult males of the village, and in this sense parallels the practices recorded among the Kamayurá by Oberg.[2] There is, however, a type

[1] Kamayurá ceremonial and religious life, much of which was once shared by the Trumaí, is discussed by Oberg (1953) and Galvão (1949, 1950). The extent of Trumaí culture loss can be roughly inferred from these sources and from the work of the earlier ethnologists.

[2] Oberg 1953, p. 60.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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still too young to "see," but that when he was older he would learn, since his father was a shaman. Aloari said that he, too, would learn when he was old, as would his son Tsirikoan. Matiwana would instruct Aloari and would receive a payment for this tutelage. Indicative of a possible looseness of inheritance was the fact that Matiwana's son Yati was nowhere mentioned as a prospective shaman.

Dreams were considered to be a way of "seeing" while sleeping. This was known as *ohltaxer*. Dreams were taken seriously, at least by the dreamer. Aloari fully believed that the Waurá would come after he had dreamed it. And Maibu was convinced that he should make the trip to the Indian post on the Paranatinga River because he had dreamed that Climaco, the agent, liked him very much and would give him a rifle. However, individual dreams were not a matter of community concern or interest. Village action was taken on the basis of shamanistic "seeing" only.

Witchcraft

The only known sorcerer in the Trumaí village was Oirupa, the brother-in-law of Aloari. Oirupa was said by one man to have learned witchcraft (*okei*) from the Nahukwa, who, with the other Cariban tribes, were dreaded for their black magic. Oirupa's knowledge made him one of the most hated men in the village, but no action was taken against him for fear of incurring his enmity. Also, there have been no reports of the execution of sorcerers in the upper Xingú, and, from all indications, this mode of retaliation is not customary.

When someone fell ill and witchcraft was suspected, the guilt was usually imputed to a neighboring tribe. It was said that the Trumaí had to leave their old village site near the Kamayurá because the latter were killing them off with witchcraft. Sorcery was probably often practiced against other groups by the Trumaí, and the converse was always feared. Oirupa refused to speak above a whisper one night when the Auetí were said to be using black magic on the Trumaí.

It was Quain's belief that witchcraft was a substitute for open violence among the people of the area; significantly, witchcraft was not practiced by the people of the upper Xingú against the Suyá and other hostile tribes outside the Basin.[4] Intertribal black magic functioned as a check upon violence within the village as well. Certainly, it was more conducive to social order to attribute sorcery to another tribe than to some member of the small and already disrupted Trumaí community.

[4] Cf. Galvão 1949; Oberg 1953.

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but continued at the same pace for about three weeks, and then slowly died down. It would be impossible to say on what day the *ole* ceremony ended.

When the *ole* cycle began it consisted of little except songs and dances. These were usually held shortly before daybreak and at night. About a week afterwards decorated posts were erected in the village center. These "*ole* posts" served as "shrines" to which food offerings were made. In the meantime, dancing and singing went on almost every day. On some days two or three *ole* songs and dances were performed; on others there was little activity.

The intensity of the ritual varied with the number of people in the village and according to whim. The participants changed from day to day, and some took part more often than others. Only certain men knew the songs and dances, and they served as leaders. Other men occasionally joined in and performed an accompanying role, while the women followed the dancers and served as a chorus. The usual procedure was for the men to sing and dance their way from the nearby forest into the plaza, where they were joined by the female chorus. They then made the rounds of all the houses, pausing to sing at each.

Only Matiwana and Nitvary served as leaders of the dance processions, as they had inherited the necessary songs. Makurawa also knew *ole* songs, but his role was always secondary. Nitvary, due to his youth and vigor, was the principal dance leader. Most of the other adult men did not participate in the dances and seemed bored by the activity at times. There was no rule governing female participation in the dance. One of the men initiated the performance without consulting the other men, and the women flocked from their houses of their own will to join the procession, falling in behind the older boys. Quain thought this reflected well the respective roles of the men and women in Trumaí culture. Children always followed in the rear and cried out at the beginning and end of each major sequence in the performance.

There were also *ole* songs for solo performance without choral accompaniment, which were not considered to be the special property of any one man. The soloist made the rounds of all the houses, stopping at each to perform a song and a simple dance. Even the women sang certain *ole* songs, and on one occasion Quain observed two women making the customary rounds together without male accompaniment.

Quain mentioned one song as being quite melodious, and stated that there was greater variation of pitch in songs which were distributed throughout the upper Xingú area. The Trumaí had borrowed songs heavily from their neighbors, and, in fact, had probably borrowed the whole ceremony. Kamayurá verses were most frequently heard, but there was also a significant sprinkling of Cariban words.

The chorus that followed Matiwana and Nitvary gave only the sketchiest accompaniment. The women did not seem to know the songs,

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took the axe, and this is why they have been able to build a great civilization. Indeed, white men, although first encountered in 1884, figure in many Trumaí myths. For instance, Waniwani once seduced Uluwa's wife and took her to the land of the white men, which was thought to lie either downstream near the Yuruna or beyond the headwaters of the Kuluene River.

Many ceremonies were first taught by Sun. He presented Maibu's deceased brother with a spear-thrower and taught him the spear-throwing contest. He also first made the masks which the Trumaí once used. The people of the area received cotton and tobacco from Sun, and he gave the fishtrap to the Mehinaku.

The foregoing creation myths collected by Quain were probably only a small part of the Trumaí cycle. Paradoxically, the historic legend of their migration into the area and the subsequent borrowing of culture elements from their neighbors would seem to negate the creation myths in which the Trumaí appear to have always lived in the upper Xingú area. Quain states that they have reconciled the inconsistencies, but he does not support this point with any concrete data. Undoubtedly this problem bothered the ethnographer far more than the Trumaí.

The After-Life

Waniwani, the village of the afterworld, was located in the heavens. In order to get there one had to travel the Milky Way. This was the abode of Panther, and the road was lined with many panthers who inflicted dangerous wounds on the wayfarers. After passing through this gamut, the dead entered the Trumaí village. Here many Trumaí resided, and the rivers and lagoons teemed with *kate* fish. These were usually caught by poisoning, as the *tawasi* tree grew in abundance. There was no death in this afterworld; it was only on earth that death was feared, said the Trumaí.

Jemenary and Kelenewary

The last of the Trumaí myths collected by Quain concerned Jemenary and his trickster nephew Kelenewary. This story, which has a decided Oedipus theme with the maternal uncle in the father role, was the only context in which these two appeared, and they cannot be identified further than to say that they were mythological beings who lived in the "long ago" of the Trumaí.

Jemenary was angry with Kelenewary because the latter, his *deta*, or sister's son, was sleeping with his wife. Kelenewary knew no shame, for a good Trumaí would never have done such a thing. Jemenary tried by a series of ruses to rid himself of his nephew. He ordered him to

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The main motivation for going into the brush to defecate was not modesty, but a feeling of revulsion for body products. One did not eliminate in places frequented by people. Yanahi was disgusted when Quain defecated in his garden and claimed that the garden was ruined. Similarly, it was considered repulsive to defecate in the water. When Quain described the great ship that had brought him to Brazil, the only thing that the Trumaí found hard to believe was that the people aboard would have to eliminate in the water.

The rules of etiquette required a person entering or leaving company to make an appropriate statement. The salutation usually consisted of a phrase stating what the person being greeted was doing at the moment. Thus, typical greetings were, "You are eating," "You have returned from fishing," "You are sitting," and so on. When leaving a person or group it was proper to announce, "I am leaving," followed generally by a statement of what one was going to do. If this last was not observed, the departing person was usually asked where he was going. These formalities were not as regularly invoked in the larger gatherings as in house-visiting.

The rules of etiquette also required the emission of conventionalized cries on particular occasions, such as the bringing of food into the village or the offering of tobacco to guests. In the latter case the person making the presentation cried "*aha*," the recipient "*ha-a-a ha ha ha*." These amenities, which were observed between the Trumaí, were always louder when an outsider was involved.

Hospitality was extended to all upper Xingú Indians and white men who visited the village. In part this was inspired by a fear of their neighbors, in part by etiquette. The Trumaí had little reason to fear Quain; yet he was treated with the greatest kindness and consideration, and everyone was eager to converse with him. Indeed, their attentions were so constant that at times he wanted nothing more than to be left alone.

While the men were far more self-assertive than the women, they were also extremely sensitive. They were insulted at the refusal of a request, or at the denial of what they considered to be the recognition due them as individuals. They did not like to be treated as faceless members of a group. During the argument that followed Quain's complaint that some article of his had been stolen, Maibu criticized him for addressing them collectively as "Trumaí," while they always called him "*capitão*" or by his name.

The Trumaí were greatly interested in Western goods and their behavior toward whites was unrestrained. The following quotation from Quain's field notes describes this succinctly:

> The reason why it is so difficult to live with these people is that they are so "impolite." At least in their dealings with me, an outsider, and with the mission-

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CHAPTER SIX

The Death of a Culture

Today there are but twenty-five remaining Trumaí. The fact that they disbanded once during the recent past shows that this small number approaches a critical point at which such a culture is no longer socially viable. If the present population trend continues, Trumaí society will definitely end, and, with the complete assimilation of the descendants of the Trumaí into other tribes, Trumaí culture, except for those elements of it that have been adopted by their neighbors, will belong to the past.

Primitive cultures and the populations that transmitted them are disappearing in many parts of the world today. In most instances, however, they are being destroyed by extended face-to-face contacts with Western society. This is not precisely the case with the Trumaí. Here, there was no large scale transmission of Western culture and no direct interaction with Brazilian society. But slight though the contact of the upper Xingú Indians with the whites was, it resulted in the introduction of respiratory infections that contributed greatly to their depopulation. In this sense, the white man is responsible for the impending death of the Trumaí.

Although the Trumaí were still carrying on their village life during Quain's residence and were to continue to do so, certain changes were taking place in their culture which were symptomatic of the fundamental instability induced by their low numbers.

It is immediately apparent that their weakness made the Trumaí vulnerable to other tribes, both the nominally friendly ones of the upper Xingú Basin, and the hostile ones of the surrounding country. In 1938 the Trumaí could not have successfully withstood a strong Suyá or Yuruna raid, nor could they have launched an attack upon the Suyá for women, as did the more vigorous Kamayurá. Indeed, the Trumaí had good reason to fear the least sound in the jungle at night.

Also, the Trumaí were held in low esteem by their immediate neighbors at the time of Quain's study. This was a severe blow to their *elan*, and it undoubtedly affected their self-image. It led, too, to more concrete results. As noted above, other tribes took Trumaí women during their most fertile years, and it is almost certain that the few "outside" women, who were brought into the Trumaí village through marriage, failed to restore the balance. Moreover, there were no "outside" men

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APPENDIX

Buell Quain, in a letter to the late Dr. Ruth Benedict written from Brazil on December 21, 1938, summarized several aspects of Trumaí culture which have a direct and immediate bearing on their decline. Following are excerpts of ethnological interest from this letter, which was discovered after this monograph was completed:

"They are a dying culture. Each generation improves its imitation of Kamayurá culture. Everyone in the village knows a few Kamayurá words. Almost all the songs in the manioc fertility ceremony are Kamayurá. Half the people in the village can carry on a conversation in Kamayurá with ease. One household (there are four) uses Kamayurá in preference to Trumaí. The mother of the house owner speaks no Trumaí; she is a Kamayurá woman who has lived with the Trumaí for about twenty-five years. The child of the household, a ten year old girl, confuses Kamayurá kinship terms with Trumaí in classifying the village. All Trumaí women between twenty and forty have been captive wives among the Kamayurá (which puts the Trumaí men in a peculiar position which they fully but fruitlessly resent) .... They have lots of disorganized leisure. They are sleepy (in part because of insects and fear throughout the night). They are ready to imitate not only the Kamayurá, but me, in petty daily habits. No outsider speaks Trumaí.

"There is nobody among them who volunteers information of ethnological value. For three months I dug for structure and got very little... Dullness cannot be attributed to the climate.

"The village is small .... Each of the four households — now five because of a recent split — are organized, or perhaps disorganized, according to different sociological principals. Three of the seventeen women are of foreign birth; one is Kamayurá, one is Mehinaku, and one is Suyá. The first two speak no Trumaí. A fourth woman with ringworm and two sick children is said to be Yaulapití, but she is well set in Trumaí culture. Nobody claims her as a relative (in part because of aversion toward her ringworm); hence she is used as a prostitute by every man in the village — she is the village joke. Among the men, I have found remarkably uniform responses to various 'tests'. (I said 'Draw a picture of a woman and a man.' Every man but one drew the woman first and oriented her in a distinctive way on the paper. The women showed no such regularity. One Kamayurá man tested also lacked this stereotyped response.)

B /201 cont./
*171 in remote epochs, /202/ for the phonetic softening processes
174 and the disappearance of the initial root-sounds, which are
241 present everywhere in the individual dialects, show a development in the same direction, but in different gradations everywhere with respect to degree and limits, show only equivalence, not conformity, and therefore could have started only after the separation from the basic people. Nevertheless, even the basic peoples have names for the most important useful plants; they are entirely different from one basic people to another, but for the individual basic stock they are common among a greater or lesser number of branches. For the Karaiben /Carib/ I believe I have proved these statements in my Bakaïrí grammar, I can likewise maintain them for the Tupí after more recent studies; for the Nu-Aruak /Arawak/, where the material is inadequate and difficult, I reserve all judgment and merely point out that, on the basis of historical and ethnological data, we must conclude that the Nu-Aruak undoubtedly have an older culture than the Karaiben and certainly the Gês, and probably also an older
T [192] one than the Tupí. The Trumaí borrowed their names for the most important useful plants in part from the Nu-Aruak, in part from the Tupí.

B [181] Thus, we have a contradiction with respect to the common conception: ancient agriculture along with the world view of
B [773] hunters. The Bakaïrí said to me: "Our grandfathers did not
[261] know anything about maize and mandioca, instead they ate earth" -- which the present-day Indians only nibble. In the bagadú legend they say that mandioca was first given as a gift
BO [241] to the campo residents. In the Mato Grosso different stages of development are found side by side: in the case of the Bororó we
[153] shall become acquainted with a mighty tribe for whom the cultivation of food plants was an incomprehensible beginning, who, without need, most speedily pulled out and consumed the
T [241] mandioca roots planted for them, before the roots were scarcely more than thin young shoots -- we recognize from the language and
[179] also hear from the tradition that the Trumaí were taught agriculture only recently by their neighbors, and we find among them excellently tended, extensive plantings--

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/321 cont./

How does the artist arrive at this peculiarity? After all, on the frieze (cf. Plate 21/see p. 281/) the fish are drawn as they swim. Well, on the masks the fish also stand on their tails; one need only look at the fish makanari of the Bakaïrí, page 349, and the black Kamayurá mask, page 368. Indeed, the only time we come across the mereschu fish as a single individual outside the net, on the gull mask of the Bakaïrí, page 289, Fig. 44, it is standing vertically. On the woven masks, however, which are the ones that matter since they are the oldest, the fish was drawn in a position unnatural in itself and for the fish, /322/ because they have the elongated oval position corresponding to the face; if one imagines the piava of the fish makanari, page 349, as horizontal, one will realize, first, that the fish would then be contracted, secondly, that it would look positively unnatural to have the fish swimming across the face because it would be contrary to the main direction. A glance at door and window arrangements shows the same requirement for us,

Thus, net and fish were painted with upright rhombuses on the elongated oval mask. Look at the great number of the mask illustrations with the mereschu design: the same position everywhere. We saw only one exception and it proves the rule rather than running counter to it. This is a Trumaí mask. The good Trumaí, however, borrowed the masks from the Kamayurá, just as they learned of cotton and the sieve-mat among them, and they designate them with the Tupí name. They did not take part in the developmental process.

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We now also understand the close connection between net and mereschu fish and the abundant production of this particular fish. Within each mesh was drawn a fish, which had to be small, because otherwise it would not fit in the space, which also had the same rhomboid shape as the net mesh. Finally, we understand how, with the fine work, the representation of the head, fins, and tail was done by filling in the corners. In short, everything agrees so excellently, both for the design and for the course of development, that I regard the proof as demonstrated, insofar as this is possible.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The fishing grounds and the still productive fruit trees of the old villages were considered to be the domain of the Trumaí, and these rights were apparently respected by others. When the village moved in search of new land, it was usually to one of the old sites, whose name the new village would take.

The Trumaí were once feared by the other tribes of the upper Xingú and were evidently a relatively numerous and vigorous people. However, when Quain visited them in 1938, they numbered only 43, and only ten years later, in 1948, the population had shrunken to a meagre 25.[11] Their small numbers had forced them to abandon village life once since Quain's visit, but they subsequently reunited in a new community.[11a]

Warfare

The topography of the flat upper Xingú Basin encourages considerable contact between tribes. The waterways are extensive and have importance beyond subsistence, as they are the chief avenues of trade and warfare. Communication through the river and flood plain system is the main reason for the high degree of cultural homogeneity that has been achieved by these tribes of diverse origins and languages. Intertribal relations are not confined to trade and warfare, but enter the spheres of social organization, ceremonialism and mythology.

Intertribal bonds within the upper Xingú Basin were based on peaceful relations between the tribes. These tribes formed part of a bounded social system in which groups outside the area did not take part. The Bakairí Indians of the Paranatinga River were on a friendly basis with the headwaters groups only because they had once lived on the Batoví River. Other tribes were uniformly enemies, regardless of cultural or linguistic affinities. Despite this peaceful interaction among the upper Xingú villages, there was considerable mutual fear and hostility between them which was expressed in witchcraft, petty thievery and intimidation. The practice of sorcery upon other villages is especially significant, in that sorcery is used in nearly all cultures only between people who share close interpersonal ties. This illustrates better than anything else the high degree of intervillage integration in the upper Xingú River Basin. The component groups constitute far more than a culture area — they form a society.

Despite the nominal peace within the upper Xingú area, the Trumaí lived in dread of their neighbors, and with good reason.[12] Situated

[11] Oberg 1953, p. 4.

[11a] Latest reports state that a measles epidemic has wrought great havoc, and that the few survivors have all joined other groups.

[12] Although fear of neighboring groups is general in the upper Xingú, de Lima (1949, p. 25) noted it to be especially strong among the numerically weak Trumaí.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Incest 835 582 602

taboos and permissible marriages were a part of kinship-determined behavior and will be treated below.

Kinship Terminology

Everyone within the Trumaí village classified everyone else by a term of relationship. Since the community was small, most of these designations expressed a demonstrable bond of consanguinity or affinity, although even outsiders were placed within the kinship system. This was done by establishing a kin tie with one Trumaí, whereupon the rest of the village could automatically place the outsider in the proper context.

Much of the data on the kinship system is uncertain for a number of reasons. The high death rate of the Trumaí, their lack of interest in tracing genealogies, and, most important, a taboo on the names of the dead made the recounting of family lines difficult. Moreover, there is some indication that the Trumaí system was changing rapidly. Many descriptive categories for classifying collateral kinsmen were falling into disuse and being replaced by classificatory terms. The result is an extreme looseness of nomenclature, as can be seen from the accompanying list of terms collected by three ethnologists.[3]

Term	Quain	Oberg[4]	Wagley[5]
Ego's generation			
sibling	apizi*		
younger brother	takwai (v)	ahoát* (m. sp.)	ha-heát* (m. sp.)
	opat (r)	takwai (w. sp.)	ha-pisí (w. sp.)
older brother		apisí (m. or w.sp.)	ha-pisí (m. or w. sp.)
sister	hatdifle		ha-dufle (m. sp.)
younger sister	ta'yj	tain (m. sp.)	
		takwai (w. sp.)	ha-takwai (w.sp.)
older sister		apisí (m. or w.sp.)	ha-pisí (w. sp.)

[3] The three lists of Trumaí kinship terms are listed below, since they, in a sense, complete and correct one another. Quain's list is admittedly incomplete and contains several errors. Wagley's terms likewise are incomplete and based on short interviews with informants during his brief stay among the Trumaí. Oberg says nothing about his Trumaí informants, and neither Oberg nor Wagley collected referential terms. The divergencies, then, may reflect misunderstandings on the part of the ethnologists or informants, or they may actually reflect changes that are taking place in Trumaí society.

[4] Oberg 1953, p. 119.

[5] Wagley, personal communication.

* The prefix "ha" (Wagley and Quain) or "a" (Oberg and Quain) is the Trumaí first person possessive.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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575 the group, and they never participated in any of its activities. Occasionally men gathered in the village center during the day. but at night the circle always formed, generally lasting from sundown until about nine
[516] o'clock. In the afternoon it was often the scene of wrestling matches. Talk usually went on then also, but the gatherings were smaller than at night.

[521] At night most of the men were present, and conversation ranged over a variety of topics. Of greatest interest were neighboring tribes, past warfare and present threats to peace. Gossip, usually about sex, found ready ears. This was the time when the chief made most of his speeches, and the time when plans for a fishing trip, for salt manufacture, or for a journey to the Waurá for pots were discussed. The men's circle was
[756] also the place where the shaman practiced his art, and, as noted above, where grievances were aired.

[626] The social life of the males was centered almost completely in these gatherings, and it was in them that the mechanisms of village authority and social control were expressed. Also, the men's circle underlined the cleavage between the activities of the men and of the women. The women had no formal grouping such as the men's circle, but they showed
[562] solidarity when the need arose. While men were dominant, as Quain
[578] said, they "look on the women as an ungoverned force," and open group quarrels were not infrequent between the sexes.

Status

554 *Aek*, the Trumaí word for chief, also denoted membership in the
565 upper half of what is nominally a status class. Members of the lower
178 half of this class were loosely referred to as *camara*, a term which,
622 according to Galvão, probably diffused into the region from rural
624 Brazil, where workers are called *camaradas*.[10] There was some uncertainty on the part of Quain's informants as to who were members of the *aek* division. In general, it included the chief, the two sub-chiefs, and their families. But while the status appears to have been hereditary, its transmission was loose and uncertain. For instance, Maibu was an *aek*, but he refused to classify his brothers as such. However, the fathers of both Maibu and Katauka, one of the sub-chiefs, were *aek*. Matiwana's three daughters and his son derived their status from him, further supporting the case for patrilineality. On the other hand, the children of one of the daughters were *aek*, even though their father was a *camara*. The significance of being *aek* had probably declined with the weakening of leadership patterns and the lessened importance of the sub-chiefs. Today, the *aek-camara* division is non-functional, membership is confused, and, except for the chieftainship, it is correlated only vaguely

[10] Galvão 1949, p. 40.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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with prestige. Aloari, who later became chief, was classified as a *camara* at the time of Quain's visit.

At the top of the Trumaí prestige scale was the chief. His authority was limited, but he was more respected than any other man. The two sub-chiefs enjoyed some, but not much, prestige. Matiwana was an old man, and old age decreases status among the Trumaí. He took the lead in group curing ceremonies, however, and was the repository of much Trumaí lore and learning. Nor was Katauka, the other sub-chief, very influential. And neither official had the privilege of "talking" to the people as Maibu did. That Katauka was a shaman and Matiwana the chief curer of the village contributed more to their prestige than did their position as sub-chiefs or their membership in the *aek* class. Tun, the shaman, and Oirupa, the sorcerer, ranked just below the chief in importance. The former enjoyed some standing as his prognostications of enemy movements were relied upon and respected by everybody. Oirupa had added power only because he was feared.

The only other criteria of status were youth and aggressiveness. Property was not a point of prestige, but those whose assertive attitudes gave them some status and influence were also those who manifested an accumulative attitude toward property. Youth and sexual prowess were highly regarded. Boasting about sexual exploits was usually done privately, but great pride was taken in them. This was related to the general esteem in which youth, size and vigor were held. To be a successful wrestler, therefore, enhanced a man's position. The Trumaí were also impressed by Quain's height and wanted to know what kind of medicines white men used to make them so tall. There was no warrior class and no special status for success in combat, except insofar as it was an indication of strength and courage.

As noted above, the status of old men was very low, except when they had special knowledge or office. Yet these attributes did not protect Matiwana from being contemptuously referred to as an old man. Moreover, Quain was severely criticized for giving presents to old Yahu, most of whose property had already been claimed by others, since the Trumaí did not think it proper that one so old should have any possessions beyond fishing and hunting equipment and other necessities. A favorite insult among the Trumaí was to tell someone he was old, and by implication that he no longer bathed or was able to fornicate.

Prestige variations, on the whole, were not great in the Trumaí village. The community had no clearly defined social groupings based on status, nor were there social mechanisms for human exploitation. Variations in wealth were slight, and their only significance was that one man might have more tools and trinkets than another. It is possible, however, that before the Trumaí had declined to their present low estate, prestige and authority were more clearly patterned, as they still were in the Kamayurá village.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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CHAPTER SIX

The Death of a Culture

Today there are but twenty-five remaining Trumaí. The fact that they disbanded once during the recent past shows that this small number approaches a critical point at which such a culture is no longer socially viable. If the present population trend continues, Trumaí society will definitely end, and, with the complete assimilation of the descendants of the Trumaí into other tribes, Trumaí culture, except for those elements of it that have been adopted by their neighbors, will belong to the past.

Primitive cultures and the populations that transmitted them are disappearing in many parts of the world today. In most instances, however, they are being destroyed by extended face-to-face contacts with Western society. This is not precisely the case with the Trumaí. Here, there was no large scale transmission of Western culture and no direct interaction with Brazilian society. But slight though the contact of the upper Xingú Indians with the whites was, it resulted in the introduction of respiratory infections that contributed greatly to their depopulation. In this sense, the white man is responsible for the impending death of the Trumaí.

Although the Trumaí were still carrying on their village life during Quain's residence and were to continue to do so, certain changes were taking place in their culture which were symptomatic of the fundamental instability induced by their low numbers.

It is immediately apparent that their weakness made the Trumaí vulnerable to other tribes, both the nominally friendly ones of the upper Xingú Basin, and the hostile ones of the surrounding country. In 1938 the Trumaí could not have successfully withstood a strong Suyá or Yuruna raid, nor could they have launched an attack upon the Suyá for women, as did the more vigorous Kamayurá. Indeed, the Trumaí had good reason to fear the least sound in the jungle at night.

Also, the Trumaí were held in low esteem by their immediate neighbors at the time of Quain's study. This was a severe blow to their *elan*, and it undoubtedly affected their self-image. It led, too, to more concrete results. As noted above, other tribes took Trumaí women during their most fertile years, and it is almost certain that the few "outside" women, who were brought into the Trumaí village through marriage, failed to restore the balance. Moreover, there were no "outside" men

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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105 182 648 in the Trumaí community, for, as Oberg notes, no adult male would choose to live with a people of such low status.[1]

105 162 It might be expected that the Trumaí could have compensated for this drain by raising their birth rate. However, in this population of 43 persons, there were only ten children, an extremely small number when the low average life span is considered. Furthermore, only two of the children were females. Of the approximately twelve women who 105 were capable of bearing children, only one was pregnant, and the others 163 were urging her to abort her child. Thus, infanticide and abortion were 161 taking a heavy toll in the Trumaí village.

847 845 The custom of killing twins and of spacing births three or four years apart are reported by Oberg for the Kamayurá,[2] and these factors may well have been present in the Trumaí situation. The long post-natal [171] taboo on sexual intercourse had the same effect. Wagley, who studied the dying but equally unacculturated Tapirapé, found that traditional practices were contributing to the complete depopulation of that group also.[3]

105 161 178 154 But among the Trumaí there is still another and less tangible dimension. Abortion may have been urged on a pregnant woman because she had no husband, but how is one to explain the killing of two of Aloari's children without his consent, or the fact that there were eight male and only two female children in the community? The limited information available suggests that the Trumaí were purposely restricting their number and committing suicide, perhaps unintentionally, in the process. Two reasons for this extreme behavior may be hypothesized: first, the impasse in which the Trumaí found themselves because of the steady depopulation made them so personally insecure and apathetic regarding both the present and the future that they were no longer willing to rear sizable families, despite their evident devotion to children; and second, they may not have thought it possible to produce the surplus necessary to support such families. Actually, however, even with their diminished numbers the Trumaí could have increased their food supply.

105 511 433 226 Their lowered standard of living was due to more than attitudes. Loss of population no doubt also decreased the yield of Trumaí fishing and therefore limited their chief source of protein. To be sure, bow and arrow fishing was little affected, but fish poisoning, the only communal subsistence technique practiced by them, was much less effective when employed by a small group, for a few people can adequately poison only smaller watercourses and branches of lagoons, while a greater number can cover larger streams and whole lagoons. In the latter circumstance, both the take would be larger and larger species would be available. Moreover, when the waters are heavily poisoned and enough people are present to reap the "harvest," there is less chance of fish escaping. Thus, up to

[1] Oberg 1953, p. 15. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 62. [3] Wagley 1940.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The fishing grounds and the still productive fruit trees of the old villages were considered to be the domain of the Trumaí, and these rights were apparently respected by others. When the village moved in search of new land, it was usually to one of the old sites, whose name the new village would take.

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Warfare

The topography of the flat upper Xingú Basin encourages considerable contact between tribes. The waterways are extensive and have importance beyond subsistence, as they are the chief avenues of trade and warfare. Communication through the river and flood plain system is the main reason for the high degree of cultural homogeneity that has been achieved by these tribes of diverse origins and languages. Intertribal relations are not confined to trade and warfare, but enter the spheres of social organization, ceremonialism and mythology.

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between the warlike Gé-speaking Suyá and the peaceful but overbearing Kamayurá, they were an easy prey to these tribes and to others more peripheral to the region, such as the Caiabí and Kayapó. The tribes the Trumaí feared most were those to the north. These included the Suyá, Yuruna, and an unidentified group. The Yuruna, located by Galvão on the Diauarun River, north of the Suyá, were said to have made raids on the headwater villages,[13] but nothing is known of any aggression by the unnamed tribe. There is definite documentation of numerous assaults by the Suyá, whose reputation for ferocity is unequalled in the area.

The Suyá villages are located several days journey to the north on the Suyá Missú River, and forays into the Kuluene-Kuliseu region have become relatively rare since the establishment of local airfields. Quain was of the opinion that the last Suyá raid on the Trumaí took place about twenty years ago when the brother of the Trumaí chief was killed. Two of Quain's informants had been captured by the Suyá as pre-pubescent boys. Suyá raids into the tributaries resulted in great destruction and von den Steinen reported a Trumaí village to have been recently burned and looted by them.[14]

The upper Xingú peoples were not always passive towards the Suyá. A revenge attack was once launched by the combined forces of the Kamayurá, Mehinaku, Waurá, and Trumaí. Their flotilla of twenty canoes assaulted and burned a Suyá village, starting another cycle of attacks and counter-attacks. This is the only known case of an inter-tribal alliance in war, but there have probably been others.

When Quain was with the Trumaí the memory of past attacks was still strong, and the mere mention of the Suyá was sufficient to cause great anxiety. Indicative of their feeling toward the Suyá is the Trumaí creation myth according to which the Sun made all tribes except the Suyá who are descended from snakes.

Among the Kuliseu tribes, the Kamayurá and Nahukwa were the two most feared. The former, especially, by small acts of aggression against the weakened Trumaí, had done great harm. As a result of the widespread hostility and distrust, Trumaí life was pervaded with insecurity. Tension always increased at night, and the slightest sound from the brush was enough to cause panic. Rumors of an impending attack were often brought to the village by visitors from other groups. These were generally false stories intended to frighten the Trumaí, but, reflecting the prevailing anxiety, they were always accepted as true.

The Kamayurá were the chief instigators of these tales. One visitor from the latter group told the Trumaí that the Kamayurá were coming to kill all of them as soon as Quain left. The Kamayurá attempted to

[13] Galvão 1952, p. 469.
[14] Von den Steinen 1897, p. 115.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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frighten Quain, too. One of their favorite stories was that the Nahukwa chief, Aloike, was coming to take Quain. Aloike was a powerful sorcerer and had a reputation for treachery among all the tribes, and the Nahukwa were probably feared more because of him than because of any traditional enmity.

Wild tales were also told out of sheer perversity. A party of Kamayurá came to visit and announced that Quain's father would arrive in an airplane with gifts for the Trumaí. On another occasion they said that a plane full of *karaíba* (white men) had landed at the house of Thomas Young, an American missionary who lived further up the Kuliseu.

The Trumaí, themselves, aggravated their own fears. One of them spoke at length in the men's circle on how the Kamayurá tortured their captives by piercing their arms and legs with arrow points. He also said that they beheaded them, stirred up their brains over a fire, and ate them. This was undoubtedly a false story born of fear and contrary to all the more reliable information on the treatment of captives. However, torture and ritual cannibalism of this sort once flourished in the tropical forest. It is, therefore, interesting that the Trumaí should know of such practices.

Due to the constant fear of surprise attack shared by all the tribes, it was considered bad policy to enter foreign territory without giving warning. This was done by building a fire. A party from the village then went out to investigate, unless it was definitely known who the intruders were. If a fire was seen by a traveling party, their canoes were beached and an answering fire was built.

Surprise meetings were to be avoided at all costs. When Quain was traveling on the Kuliseu with a Trumaí group, the sight of a Kamayurá canoe caused some concern. The chief was quite happy to note that Quain left his rifle in the bottom of the boat, thereby giving a peaceable appearance.

According to Dyott, an English explorer who descended the Xingú in 1938, arrows planted point first in the ground were "no trespassing" signs.[12] He also said that whistling arrows were shot in the air to warn strangers to stay away. The latter sign was, more accurately, an additional means of letting one's presence be known. Smoke spirals seen to the north or east always caused a great disturbance in the Trumaí village, as these were thought to be Suyá fires. Since the upper Xingú people approached from the south, fires seen in this direction caused little alarm unless there had been rumors of some aggressive act by the Kamayurá or Nahukwa.

Fear of attack at times approached the point of hysteria. The high tension might last a few days, after which it would decline to the normal

[12] Dyott 1930, pp. 283–84.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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level of general anxiety. It was usually the result of several days of rumor, omens, and strange fires in the north.

Late one night during Quain's stay, after most of the village had retired, a near panic occurred when two women shouted that the Suyá were attacking. All the initiated men, even the weak and old, rushed to the village center with their bows and arrows. The women and children from two of the four Trumaí houses hurried with their hammocks to the other two houses. The frightened men milled around in the center of the village with no apparent organization or direction. The chief, who was trembling, did not take command of the situation.

If this had been a real attack, noted Quain, the raiders would have given a loud yell and loosed a volley of arrows. He later made an investigation and found no signs of intruders. One of the women thought that someone had thrown dirt at her. Quain believed this to be a habit of the Suyá, but one that was usually a friendly overture.

The women feared other tribes more than did the men, for one of the main purposes of raids was to capture women. In every upper Xingú community women from other tribes are always found. The dispersal of women takes three forms: capture in warfare (by groups outside the area), open abduction of a woman by intimidation of her fellow-villagers, and peaceful intertribal marriage. According to de Lima, the Suyá raid the Waurá village on the Batoví River for female captives, as the women of the Arawakan tribes are the only potters of the region.[18] The Trumaí lost many young women to the Kamayurá by intimidation, the second of the above means. Most of the women in the Trumaí village were at one time held by the Kamayurá with the result that, in many Trumaí marriages, the woman is several years older than the man. At the time of Quain's visit, Trumaí women were still living among the Kamayurá and other groups. One of them, the sister of the Trumaí chief, ran away from the Kamayurá and returned home because her husband had beaten her, an action that angered the Trumaí greatly. There she picked up the threads of her old life, but after a few weeks a party of Kamayurá took her back to their village. The Trumaí offered no resistance, either physical or verbal, although they outnumbered the visitors, for to have done so would have invited retaliation.

The fact that the Trumaí had lost many women completely, or regained them only after their most fertile years had passed, was probably a contributing factor to the depopulation of the group. The losses were only partially compensated for by the marriage of outside women into the Trumaí village. There were three foreign women in the community in 1938: a Suyá, a Mehinaku, and a Kamayurá. Their status was lower than that of the Trumaí women, and they were at times taunted because of their foreign origin. They did not participate as fully in the

[18] De Lima 1950, p. 5.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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culture as the other women, but their everyday existence was much the same.

Men were also taken as captives, although not to the same extent as were women. Tun and Aloari, two Trumaí men, had lived in captivity among the Yuruna. They had feared their captors at first, but once they had learned the language, they said, they were no longer afraid. Apparently both men had been well treated by the Yuruna, for they were kindly disposed towards that tribe. The elder of the two men had a Yuruna wife, whom he left when he returned to his people. How this was accomplished is not known, but escape could not have been very difficult.

Another factor promoting the incorporation of both women and men into other tribes was the depopulation and extinction of their own groups. When the southern Trumaí village was disbanded many of the survivors joined the northern Trumaí, but some moved in with other tribes. Similarly, de Lima reported that the Yaulapití, who disbanded sometime between 1938 and 1945, were to be found among the Kamayurá, Trumaí, and Auetí.[17]

It is possible that more Yaulapití settled with Arawakan speaking groups, but the three above-named tribes were their closest neighbors. The remnants of a disbanded group might also join villages in which they had close kin or personal relationships. A later report by the Srs. Villas Boas, who maintained the recently established airstrip of the Fundação Brasil Central, stated that, as in the case of the Trumaí, the Yaulapití have reconstituted themselves as a group by the establishment of a one-house village.[18] Clearly, except for the peace that has reigned since the airfield was built, a village of some twenty-five people would not be secure from attack. But while the chances of survival are still far from good, the initiation of such a project shows the eagerness of the participants to preserve their social identity.

The main purposes of warfare in the region are to capture women, take loot, and exact revenge. Captive-taking has a clear economic basis in the sporadic warfare between the Suyá and Waurá, as the Suyá capture Waurá women for their knowledge of pottery-making. Among the tribes of the *alurí* area proper, however, this is not done. Arawakan women are married, but Quain's notes indicate that they do not practice pottery-making in their new villages.

It is possible that male and female captives are taken by upper Xingú groups from tribes outside the region to bolster their waning numerical strength, but infanticide and abortion are also present in the area. However, captives do not have to be reared from infancy, and do not constitute the same strain on the economy that children do. It is also

[17] De Lima 1949, p. 25.

[18] This information was obtained verbally from Dr. Eduardo Galvão. Cf. Oberg 1953, p. 4.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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the greatest time and effort into its building. Quain was reprimanded for speaking of the house in which Maibu lived as "Maibu's," for his brother-in-law, Mata'wai, had built it. This point of property was confirmed by others, despite the fact that Maibu was the head of the household and acted as host when guests entered.

To the Trumaí, the only important property was in the personal possession of transportable, material artifacts. These ranged from tools and weapons to ceremonial objects and trinkets obtained from Quain. The second class of property was probably cherished more than the first, which was viewed as consisting of everyday necessities. The comba, feathers, beads, European novelties, papers, and other such items that all men and women possessed were carefully kept in baskets and gourds near their hammocks. A man and wife would often keep some of their personal belongings in the same containers, but beyond this there was a special category of personal possessions called *wacta*. This highly valued personal property was kept by each individual in separate gourds, where it was safe from the gift claims of kinsmen and reasonably free from the danger of theft.

The privacy of this property was especially observed by opposite sexes, although not as strictly by mates. Quain was told by one man that it was "bad" for a man to look at a woman's *wacta*, although he rummaged at will through the personal belongings of the men. The taboo on male contact with women's *wacta* was due in part to inclusion within it of articles used during menstruation.

Accompanying the stress on personal and private ownership of certain material objects was a strong sense of acquisitiveness. Quain expressed this as follows: "There can be no doubt that property ownership is a paramount drive in this culture. Children are not content to see, as they are in Fiji, but things must be theirs. The possessive pronoun has an importance here which is striking. Once articles are received, they seem to disappear. They are probably carefully guarded among personal belongings." Significantly, the word for "gift-giving," literally translated, also means "to yield to a demand."

The Trumaí were tremendously interested in Quain's belongings and made continual attempts to acquire them. Adults as well as children whined in order to obtain objects from him. This attitude was manifested towards useful objects such as knives and axes, but they also pleaded and begged for articles having only curiosity value to them. As Quain said, to be curious about an object was to want it. Possession was desired for its own sake, for only slight prestige was gained by accumulating material objects, and utilitarian articles, such as knives, axes, and pots, were easily borrowed.

Despite the possessiveness described by Quain, the Trumaí were restricted by strong gift-giving ties. A true brother or a son had a claim

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with prestige. Aloari, who later became chief, was classified as a *camara* at the time of Quain's visit.

At the top of the Trumaí prestige scale was the chief. His authority was limited, but he was more respected than any other man. The two sub-chiefs enjoyed some, but not much, prestige. Matiwana was an old man, and old age decreases status among the Trumaí. He took the lead in group curing ceremonies, however, and was the repository of much Trumaí lore and learning. Nor was Katauka, the other sub-chief, very influential. And neither official had the privilege of "talking" to the people as Maibu did. That Katauka was a shaman and Matiwana the chief curer of the village contributed more to their prestige than did their position as sub-chiefs or their membership in the *aek* class. Tun, the shaman, and Oirupa, the sorcerer, ranked just below the chief in importance. The former enjoyed some standing as his prognostications of enemy movements were relied upon and respected by everybody. Oirupa had added power only because he was feared.

The only other criteria of status were youth and aggressiveness. Property was not a point of prestige, but those whose assertive attitudes gave them some status and influence were also those who manifested an accumulative attitude toward property. Youth and sexual prowess were highly regarded. Boasting about sexual exploits was usually done privately, but great pride was taken in them. This was related to the general esteem in which youth, size and vigor were held. To be a successful wrestler, therefore, enhanced a man's position. The Trumaí were also impressed by Quain's height and wanted to know what kind of medicines white men used to make them so tall. There was no warrior class and no special status for success in combat, except insofar as it was an indication of strength and courage.

As noted above, the status of old men was very low, except when they had special knowledge or office. Yet these attributes did not protect Matiwana from being contemptuously referred to as an old man. Moreover, Quain was severely criticized for giving presents to old Yahu, most of whose property had already been claimed by others, since the Trumaí did not think it proper that one so old should have any possessions beyond fishing and hunting equipment and other necessities. A favorite insult among the Trumaí was to tell someone he was old, and by implication that he no longer bathed or was able to fornicate.

Prestige variations, on the whole, were not great in the Trumaí village. The community had no clearly defined social groupings based on status, nor were there social mechanisms for human exploitation. Variations in wealth were slight, and their only significance was that one man might have more tools and trinkets than another. It is possible, however, that before the Trumaí had declined to their present low estate, prestige and authority were more clearly patterned, as they still were in the Kamayurá village.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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He then started a song about the post in which he was joined by Nitvary and the women. After two repetitions, the women poured a bowl of the soup on Matiwana's head and shoulders, making a dripping mess of him. He retired amid general laughter. The second bowl of soup was then poured over the pole. A full explanation of the beliefs surrounding the *ole* posts was not obtained.

Due to the fact that Quain had only recently arrived in the village when the ceremony was held, there is also a lack of clarity in the system of relationships known as *ole aton*. The word "*aton*" means "pet" in Trumaí, but in the present context it applies to a temporary ceremonial identification between people, and between people and the *ole* posts. The interpersonal ties set up were only between persons of opposite sex. However, a man could have more than one woman for *aton*, and vice versa.

Kinship may be the determinant of these ties, but the data are inconclusive. Interestingly, the greatest number of *ole aton* relationships existed between people of the previously mentioned pairs of houses, suggesting a ceremonial reinforcement of this moiety-like arrangement.

Except for reciprocal gift-giving obligations, nothing is known of the behavioral roles called for by these connections. The owners of the *ole* posts were said to have their particular posts for *atons*. Their chief ceremonial duties were to peel and paint the pole, and supply it with food offerings. It may be hypothesized that the posts represent certain spirits with which individuals are identified, perhaps as the result of shamanistic experiences, as described by Oberg for the Kamayurá.[8]

During the *ole* ceremony, as during the cure described above, Quain was impressed by the lack of interest in the proceedings. Those who were not part of the immediate activity sat and smoked, indulging in the usual topics of conversation. The loose patterning and secularity which characterized the ritual bespoke the general lassitude that permeated all aspects of the culture.

The Piquí Ceremony

The *piquí (tsinon)* ceremony occurred at the end of the harvest of that fruit, during the first half of the rainy season. It was similar to the *ole* celebration, but not as lengthy nor as important. Quain's information on the festival, obtained from Aloari, is very limited. Jakwanari, the main functionary, occupied a position similar to that of Matiwana and Nitvary in the *ole* ceremony. As Aloari phrased it, "Jakwanari had *tsinon* as *aton*." There was house-to-house dancing by the women, accompanied by singing of a certain series of songs. At the end of the dancing Jakwanari's wife made a large quantity of *t'ak*, the *piquí* flour cake, which

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Changes in status and expected behavior were connected with the transition to manhood, and new modes of participation in the culture were open to the young man. It is necessary, however, to differentiate between the transition consequent upon increased age and that which resulted specifically from passage through the life crisis rites. Ideally, such a distinction should not have existed, as the achievement of physical maturity should have been heralded by the socio — religious observances. But there were two young married men, Yanahi and Aloari, who had not completed the ritual — the former because of disinclination, the latter due to the delay caused by his captivity among the Yuruna. Aloari, although both vocal and aggressive, and having the men's haircut, was definitely not one of the men's group yet. His smoking was only of the "lying" kind. He still needed the ritual admittance to the smoking group. Yanahi, on the other hand, still had the youthful haircut, but, for unknown reasons, was already a full-fledged member of the men's group. He was frequently seen with the adolescent boys, however, and his activities were characterized by a youthful lack of gravity. His history shows that there was no sudden break with boyhood among the Trumaí. The puberty rites were spread over a long enough time to allow a slow incorporation into the adult world.

Upon reaching man's estate, the young man became an integral part of the household and village economies. To be sure, property attitudes had been developed early, but he now had a greater opportunity to express them, inasmuch as he was able to participate in the upper Xingú trade system and thus accumulate more personal possessions. His entrance into the men's circle gave him a larger voice in community affairs, but at the same time it involved him in many village squabbles, which were intensified by his search for sexual partners or a wife. Also, among his added responsibilities was the defense of the village.

In short, the status of the newly arrived man brought greater economic independence and a fuller participation in the social and ceremonial life of the community. In return for his heightened importance he was expected to act with sobriety and self-reliance, to show courage and fortitude, and to be more aggressive in asserting his new rights and prerogatives. This last was largely a matter of degree, for Quain had been impressed at the extent to which children asserted themselves and shared the mannerisms and attitudes of adults.

Female Puberty

The only data available on female puberty observances concern the first menses (*wasipanes*), when the girl is confined for a period during which she wears her hair over her face. Rodrigues Ferreira, in commenting on a Trumaí girl in seclusion, states that she must remain in her

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888 [561] [181] grades except in the broadest sense, as the term for "younger" covered everyone from infants to people in the prime of life. The terms, however, indicate a keen consciousness that those who have passed their prime are distinct from those who are still developing or are at the height of their physical powers.

The Trumaí believed that it was good to be young, vigorous, and strong, while advancing years were a stigma. Quain always met with a stout denial whenever he suggested to someone that he was older than someone else. An old person, they said with contempt, was one who did not bathe or shave the crown of his head any more. Mayuva did not [626] bother to bathe one morning and was derided by Kerami, who accused him of being old. A short time later he reappeared freshly bathed.

[162] While several individuals were considered "older," the only ones who fell into the Trumaí category of true old age were Matiwana and Yahu. [563] The latter's status was further lowered by the fact that he was considered to be a Kamayurá; his father was a member of that tribe and he had a son living with them. However, Yahu was still sexually potent and a full participant in the economy.

[195] A person of truly advanced old age was called *dewon*. This term, which has uncomplimentary connotations, was applied only to men "whose penis is dead" or to women past menopause. Matiwana was the only person of either sex who fitted the *dewon* category. The only tasks for which he was suited were light craft work, gathering firewood, and an occasional fishing trip. He was, however, the fount of nearly all Trumaí ceremonial knowledge. Matiwana was well cared for by his son and by his household. The son's affection and loyalty to his father were deep, and he was the old man's constant companion. The rest of the villagers remained aloof from Matiwana.

888 554 [756] The Trumaí abhorred the thought of their own future old age, and they transferred some of this fear to the persons of the aged. Status declined with age, and Matiwana had his ceremonial lore and shamanistic skill to thank for what position he still maintained.

Death

768 764 Neither the village site nor the house of the deceased had to be abandoned following death. Burial took place in the village plaza. The corpse was interred lying on its back in an extended position, wrapped and bound in its hammock. Numerous cooking utensils, including a *ja'meo* (ceramic griddle for baking *beijú*) were buried with both male and female deceased.

765 No deaths occurred while Quain was in residence, but mourning was still going on for a man who had recently died. The burden of mourning fell on the female relatives of the deceased. The only observance in-

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master at this dead-pan type of humor. When the women attempted to talk to him and Quain, he remained entirely disinterested, occasionally breaking in on them to address himself solely to the ethnographer. Although the women affected exasperation, they really enjoyed this negative attention.

The women were easy to frighten. Aloari teased his wife and sister-in-law by chasing them with a live snake in his hands. The women were also sensitive to touch (few men could resist brushing a hand lightly over an ever-exposed buttock when a crowd was present), and they became nervous when they saw that such teasing was impending. On a day when all the women had crowded into Quain's house, he pulled on the perineal cord of one of them. She immediately loosed a scream and ran out the door followed by the others, who laughed hilariously. Thereafter all the women expected to be teased by Quain, and they identified him somewhat more with the other men than they had before. The men often threatened rape in jest, but even when the women recognized the humorous intent, their basic anxiety was never completely allayed.

Pranks were frequent among the men. It was particularly amusing for a man to inform the others that Quain had given him a gift. Yati went to the trouble of filling a cartridge box with dirt and soberly telling all the men that the box was full of rifle shells. He was among the more popular jokers of the village. And pranks were played on him also. One night, in jest, Aloari shot at Yati's chicken with Quain's rifle on the pretext that it had been crowing. (The noise of the rifle report was also calculated to terrify the village.) Tun and Jakwanari occasionally tried to be funny by sitting alone and talking to themselves rapidly and incoherently. This was considered forced humor, and no one so much as chuckled.

A major source of diversion was gossip about who was cohabiting with whom. While this sometimes led to shouting arguments, it was more often merely playful talk, and it was treated as such. Accusations of sexual intercourse, sometimes true and sometimes false, were tossed back and forth between the men, usually with accompanying leers.

Manners and Morals

The Trumaí gossiped about sex, not because it was held to be morally wrong to do so, but because they had a frank and honest interest in it. Sex was considered a part of the "good life," but it was also thought to be a distraction from work. Thus, the chief made lengthy speeches castigating the men for being interested in nothing but sex when they should have been out planting. Similarly, Yanahi should have finished his puberty rites, but, as one of his kinsmen bluntly put it, all he wanted to do was "*tsidi*" (copulate). In reality the men took vicarious enjoyment in watching Yanahi exert his newly found sex prowess.

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Trumaí culture and the shortness of their average life span must have seriously interfered with the instruction of the young. In addition, the very eclecticism of Trumaí culture militated against conservatism and is indicative of the low value which they placed on their own culture.

In the chapter on religion, the disinterest of the people in their religious activities was often noted. Such behavior may appear paradoxical, but ethnographic literature provides many instances of the decline of traditional belief systems in the face of cultural crisis. In the case of the Trumaí, disinterest in the religious sphere was closely related to disinterest in other aspects of their culture. The Trumaí world view had become a philosophy of despair. While depopulation was causing social and cultural disintegration, cultural factors in their turn were furthering depopulation. The Trumaí were set in a steady downward spiral.

In summary it can be said that, on the basis of Quain's notes, the Trumaí were an anxiety ridden people. They were extremely sensitive and their feelings were easily hurt. They demanded individual recognition and attention. They were disinclined to work in their own interest or to join with each other in community projects. Apathetic towards their own world, they were distrustful of the world outside. These observations find considerable confirmation in de Lima's comments on the Trumaí:

> The behavior of this tribe which lives today in a state of humiliation and withdrawal in the face of the other peoples, is quite different from that of the Tupians. They are extremely distrustful Indians; they do not have a frank and happy expression and no matter how long one lives with them they remain always shut off. They do not have the dynamism, nor the disposition to work of the Kamayurá.[6]

It seems certain that this personality structure was not a survival of their more prosperous pre-contact period, when the Trumaí enjoyed some renown as warriors, but was a product of the growing distress which emerged during the period when the their whole security system of the individual — kinship and community — was breaking down. Under the new circumstances the individual Trumaí was no longer lodged in the matrix of the extended family. No longer did the rules of kinship that had formerly guided interpersonal relations operate smoothly for him. No longer did a vigorous community intervene between him and the outside world. There was no strong family, community, or tradition with which he could identify himself. The weakening of the socio-cultural structure precipitated him into conflict with his fellows; and it caused him to transfer some of his dependence to other and stronger groups. And in this effort also, he was unsuccessful, for other tribes looked down upon him as a member of an irredeemably inferior group.

[6] De Lima 1949, p. 25.

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"Tremendous interest in property, together with a simple and declining culture, results in my being a seriously disturbing element in their lives. Casual conversation always degenerates into a squabble about gift-giving .... There is intense pleasure in possession. Children get no sympathy when they are hurt, but objects are usually given to them. Every child has the right at least 'to see' anything he desires. In this respect children are pampered. Adults whine for things; withholding a desired object makes them intensely unhappy. Aggressive possession is admired.. Trade games make the exchange of property very fluid. Yet values in trade are well defined, and there is no prestige in giving more than one gets. Within the kinship circle, however, the old lavish property on the young. A father's garden is spoken of as that of his five year old son. There is a deliberate attempt to instill aggressive ownership attitudes in the young. A three year old girl is taught to claim objects in a loud voice. This is done by shouting the possessive pronoun....

"These are a settled people who live within the strict limits of their village. Their small number has advantage in the study of individuals. They have no knowledge of the world beyond the Kuluene-Kuliseu. It has no more real existence than the various inhabited regions of the heavens. The half dozen expeditions which have passed down the river have communicated with the natives only with signs. The one important result of such contact was division from peripheral tribes and the rise of metal tools. The disappearance of the stone industry, on which a defunct Trumaí moiety had a monopoly, has occurred within the last generation.[1] The increased leisure which probably resulted is not utilized economically.

"The complete lack of self-consciousness among these people makes behavior observation remarkably easy. Before I knew any of the language, I could sit by the hour in various households and time the actions of people while they paid no attention to me. For instance, one man during twenty minutes of leisure lay down to rest in his hammock fifteen different times, but each time disturbed himself with the remembrance of some petty chore undone....

"The only restriction of behavior that I have seen in casual intra-village personal relations is that the children are told not to litter the floor. The only positive rule is that the head of a household must sit with a guest and converse while the guest is inside his house .... Furthermore, extra-marital sexual intercourse has occurred in a shadowy corner of my house.. This lack of self-consciousness contrasts strongly with the Karajá, who are more prudish than the Fijians....

"Shortage of women, because of theft of young women, polygamy, lack of sexual interest in old wives (of which there are several), and

[1] Quain refers here to the moiety-like division of the Trumaí which has been discussed in Chapter Three. This appears to be rather a result of the merger of the northern and southern Trumaí villages. The latter specialized in axe-making.

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post-natal sexual taboos is a serious social problem. A large group of not very pretty bachelors must use the woman with ringworm or the Suyá captive, whose present marriage is considered dishonorable. These women have no brothers or fathers. In contrast with Karajá, there is no stylized homosexuality. Yet the complete freedom of sexual play results in activities which might be considered overt homosexuality. But to the Trumaí such activity has little emotional content. It does not seem to set up special personal relationships.

"Women are in constant fear of attack. Yet a wife tyrannizes her husband by withholding her favors and pulling the hair of anyone whom she suspects her husband has used sexually. Between married people, sex occurs at night — preferably when everyone else is asleep — or while going to the forest on various gathering tasks. A man and his wife engage in many things together, such as afternoon relaxation, fishing, and gardening. There is companionship even between those spouses among whom the wife is much older and no longer of interest to the man sexually.

"Between themselves, the men are extremely individualistic. Cooperation rarely exceeds kin limits even at the explicit order of the chief. Only when outsiders are present do men band together in a mock display of solid cooperation.... There is only one old man, who is about seventy — all others are under 45 ..... All death is murder. Nobody expects to live longer than the next rainy season. Men always carry bows and arrows for protection. Shamans keep the village in constant fear of attack from the Suyá or Kamayurá.... There are imaginary attacks quite often. Men gather in terror at the center of the village — the most exposed spot — and wait to be shot at from the dark bushes at the margin of the village....

"Authority is lax. The patrilineally hereditary chief does no work and is a parasite on his household. He is self-conscious of the rank of his wife whose marriage has elevated her. He lounges in his hammock, but it is his duty to orate from the center of the village at night and sometimes in the morning, urging the men to undertake group projects. He is the only man who has the courage to be an executive. This contrasts with the Kamayurá where there are several chiefs who, uniquely in their culture, are shy and ashamed to speak and whose orders must be referred through special talkers. It also contrasts with the Karajá where the chief is the best worker .... When the season changes, the Trumaí chief urges the people to engage in the new work, which they would do anyway. An example of the complete independence of spirit is illustrated by the two brothers who would not help the brother-in-law of one build the house in which they all were living, because they thought the mosquitoes would be bad in that location during the rainy season. The brother-in-law built the tremendous house all by himself — the two brothers lived comfortably in it.

III. Hunting, Agriculture, and "Stone Age" Culture.

Population figures. Location of the villages. Combination of ancient agriculture and the world view of hunters. Hunting and fishing must furnish the most important tools for the tribes lacking metals, for whom the expression "Stone Age" is incorrect. Stone-ax monopoly, teeth, bones, shells, feathers. List of useful plants and distribution according to tribes. No bananas. Plant names as evidence of continuous development. Lack of intoxicating flour-beverages proves that simplicity is not the same as degeneration. Combination of hunting and agriculture made possible through the division of labor of the sexes. Indian women do the agriculture; they invent pots to replace gourds; the men do the roasting, the women the boiling. Culture with agriculture, pottery, and the preparation of flour was spread and maintained by foreign women after wars, in particular by Nu-Aruak women.

The population of the Schingú /Xingu/ source region probably amounts to approximately 2500-3000 souls. I am not in a position to give more than a very superficial estimate. Even in the third Bakaïrí village, the young women and girls fled into the woods when we arrived. Usually the fugitives gradually returned, to be sure, but we never knew for certain whether we were seeing before us the normal number of inhabitants. The opposite also occurred, namely, that visitors from the neighboring villages had come in, and the company surrounding us seemed too large. The smallest villages consisted of only two family-houses, the largest of almost 20. In general, it will be correct if one reckons for the villages, depending on their size, a population of 30 to 150 and, where it is high, up to 200 inhabitants.

Only the Trumaí and, beyond Schingú-Koblenz, the Suyá lived along the river bank. These were the most warlike and restless tribes; one might regard the Suyá as the pike in a fish pond. The rest lived in peaceful security, often more than two hours of travel inland from the river. But while the river in the region of the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ was still narrow and had

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perienced. He told me of the effect of the tropical dawn on tropical forest peoples. Traveling in the dark, he noted, Indian canoemen tend to break the monotony by singing and talking, but just before the sun appears, they suddenly fall silent, as if in expectation of a sacred moment. Again and again, in camps and while traveling with Brazilian Indians, I was reminded of Quain's perception.

Although Robert Murphy rightly points out the decline of population and the trend toward disintegration of Trumaí culture even in 1938, the Trumaí were a functioning primitive society when Quain visited them. The upper Xingú River area was still very difficult to reach at that time. In 1938 access was by way of Cuyabá, the capital of Matto Grosso. Quain traveled from Cuyabá to the Indian post Simões Lopes by truck, then over savanna grasslands for six days on oxen, then down the Kuliseu River by canoe for seven days to a mission station maintained by Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Young. After a delay here of almost three weeks, he spent another three weeks reaching the Trumaí, traveling slowly and visiting several tribal groups *en route*. The Kamayurá, at whose village he stayed shortly, provided him with canoemen for the last lap of his journey. It took Quain 38 days to return up river and cross the savanna country to Simões Lopes on leaving the Trumaí in late 1938.

Quain's letters to his mother and to his colleagues describe his trip to the Trumaí vividly. To quote a passage telling of his experiences on the upper Kuliseu River on his way to the mission station:

> The river journey was pleasant, until we began to have trouble. Even then I enjoyed it thoroughly. I had too much baggage for two canoes as I had planned. We had to use three. Besides myself I have two Brazilian men and a boy to help with the canoes. I had to paddle one myself and I enjoyed it thoroughly — despite the fact that white men aren't supposed to do that kind of thing. I gave the largest canoe with the most valuable cargo to the Brazilian whom I thought was the best canoeist. He had the boy to help with the paddling and poling through the rapids. Nevertheless it was his canoe which filled with water on the second day. We had to stop on a rock ledge and spread the things out to dry. Lots of rice and beans, papers and books, etc. It was evening. Not until the next morning did we realize that the sun barely touched the rocky ledge that we had chosen for drying the cargo. There was a wind — the worst of the dampness was removed before nightfall. Everything went well until we struck some swift rapids on the fifth day, when the same large canoe wrapped itself around a rock and the cargo went sailing down the river about eight miles an hour. I managed to rescue everything but a bag of farinha, a frying pan, a fishline and a couple of cakes of the hard unrefined sugar, which forms an important part of the diet throughout Matto Grosso.[1]

And about the Indians he wrote from the missionary station:

> My work for the next month is going to be a jumble of languages. It may take a month to reach the Trumaí because the Indians like to rest all the time. This means that I will have ample time to contact several in each of three different linguistic families (Carib, Arawak, Tupí). The Trumaí are entirely unrelated. This

[1] Quain letter, July 13, 1938.

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Recent ethnographic researches have for the most part concentrated upon the Kamayurá (Galvão 1949, 1950, and 1952; Oberg 1953), the Waurá (de Lima 1949, 1950), and the Kuikuru (Robert Carneiro and Gertrude E. Dole, unpublished). Only incidentally have these observers commented upon the Trumaí. Therefore, in 1953 when I had the opportunity to spend a little time in the upper Xingú area, I made a point of remaining a few days with the remants of the Trumaí. They were camped temporarily at Karajaja, the old village site, on a lake about half a mile away from the Kuluene River; their permanent houses were then at Anariatan, near the village site during Quain's visit. It was the dry season and the Trumaí were fishing. There were only 24 persons in the group — six adult males, ten adult females, four boys and four girls. Three of the women were unmarried widows, and there was one unmarried girl just past puberty. The chieftain whose current name was Ilitoari (no doubt the Aloari of Quain's notes), was married to two sisters, and there were four monogamous families. Two of the men were old and unmarried. Thus, the Trumaí were again united as a village (they had disbanded for a while). In 1953, however, there were not even enough men for the Trumaí to participate in the intertribal spear-throwing contests, a sport in which they had once been famous throughout the area.

The process of steady social and cultural disintegration and depopulation, which was already apparent among the Trumaí in 1938, has been a continuing one; and it is only a question of a very short time before these people cease to exist as a separate tribal group. Thus, the information and insights that Robert Murphy has brought together from Buell Quain's field work may be all that we shall ever have on Trumaí life and society.

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February 1955

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[P. x contains no textual material]

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possible that more women may be needed for polygamous marriages, but the data do not indicate plural marriage to be of great significance.

Pillage, also, inspires raids. The Kamayurá threatened to descend on the Trumaí, after Quain left, to rob them of all the Western goods they had obtained. The Suyá took all the Trumaí pots in a raid which occurred immediately before von den Steinen's second trip through the region.[15] The desire for goods is undoubtedly a motivating factor in particular raids, and it may also be a contributing factor in warfare generally, but since the material surplus is low throughout the area and retaliation almost certain, it is doubtful that this is a basic cause.

Insults, too, could provoke aggression. The Kamayurá threatened to chastise the Trumaí because the latter were rumored to have made defamatory remarks about them. Continuous fear and insecurity can also lead a tribe to attack. Quain observed that the Trumaí worked themselves up into such a state of terror that they were capable of desperate deeds. Needless to say, revenge expeditions tended to perpetuate hostility.

Among the Trumaí, no special prestige was derived from warfare, and the men did not boast of their prowess as warriors. Trumaí men showed scars of old wounds to Quain, but only to impress him with the brutality of other tribes. To the Trumaí, warfare was an occasion for fear, and not an opportunity to enhance one's status.

Warfare, however, is important in maintaining social cohesion within the communities. Quain noted that intra-social harmony and cooperation was low in the Trumaí village. Leadership was weak, and there was little friendliness between the men. However, when an attack threatened, quarrels were forgotten and aggressions and anxieties were directed toward the outside world. Also, when members of other tribes were in the village, the whole tone and tempo of life changed, and the Trumaí presented a united front.

This was made manifest during a visit of several Kamayurá. Despite their apprehension, the Trumaí treated their guests as long absent brothers. There was much forced and nervous jocularity and talk. The men expressed tremendous affection towards each other and the Kamayurá by embraces and linking of arms. Industry and activity were high. The Trumaí men went to catch fish to feed the guests and, upon returning, marched into the village singing gaily and led by their chief. After the Kamayurá left, the village lapsed with relief into its normal way of life. The men ceased to show affection for their comrades, and old quarrels broke out anew.

[15] Von den Steinen 1897, p. 144.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Specialization and Trade

439 Among the more distinctive features of upper Xingú culture are community craft specialization and a widespread system of trade relationships. The Trumaí traded among themselves, but the most important exchanges took place on the intertribal level, and it is here that the products of tribal specialization become significant to the economy. At the time of Quain's investigations, the Arawakans maintained a monopoly on pottery, but the once active Trumaí stone axe manufacture had fallen into disuse. In its place, the Trumaí were specializing in the preparation of salt, obtained by burning a species of water-lily and sifting the ashes. The Trumaí depended on the Kamayurá for a highly prized type of bow, as the proper wood was not found in their territory. According to Oberg, this black, rectangular bow was eagerly sought by other tribes, also.[20]

While the Kamayurá monopoly on these bows can be explained by the local availability of the raw materials, craft specialization cannot be looked upon simply as a function of the exclusive possession of certain skills. Other arts diffused rapidly among the tribes, and it is evident that the specialties remained such for non-economic reasons. For example, the three Arawakan tribes, the Mehinaku, Kustenaú and Waurá, all made pottery, but each traded their wares only with certain tribes. The Bacairi obtained their pottery from the Kustenaú, who were, in von den Steinen's time, their neighbors on the Batoví River. On the Kuliseu, the Nahukwa traded for ceramics with the nearby Mehinaku, while the Tupian-speaking tribes and the Trumaí relied on the Waurá. Despite the fact that each Arawakan tribe dealt with its nearest neighbors, the exclusiveness of these relationships is not a physical necessity. The Trumaí could have obtained Mehinaku pottery. They had many kinship ties with the Mehinaku, and even conducted joint puberty rites. The distance between them was not great. Manifestly some standardized channeling of trade relationships existed.

This is further confirmed by the confinement of pottery manufacture to the Arawakans. It is probable that when the various groups first settled in the area, the Arawakans were the only ceramicists. With the development of close intertribal relationships, however, there was every opportunity for the craft to diffuse. It could have been learned by outsiders in trips to Arawakan villages and then practiced at home, as the clay is easily gotten from the river bottoms. Obvious means for its diffusion were marriage or capture of Arawakan women. But the manufacture of pottery was not observed by Quain in any non-Arawakan village of the area, despite the fact that Arawakan women were living in many such communities. In the Trumaí village no pottery was made,

[20] Oberg 1953, p. 30.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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although a Mehinaku woman and a Suyá woman who had dwelled among the Waurá were living there. 439

The origin of specialization apparently lies in the diversity of the original cultures of the upper Xingú tribes. While a great degree of cultural homogeneity was subsequently attained through interaction and diffusion, certain culturally specialized items became integral to the trade relationships that were a functional part of intertribal social life. Trade became standardized, and monopolies were thereby perpetuated. The Kamayurá-type bow and the Waurá pot were not only essential to the Trumaí economy, but trade in these items with these tribes was expected and served to reinforce the structure of the supra-village society. 182 439

In addition to trade in specialized products, there was active exchange of other items of Western and native manufacture, such as feathers, fishhooks, line, cotton yarn, cloth, paper, beads, and trinkets. This, however, did not require organized trading trips, as did the exchange of the specialized products. The Trumaí traveled for the specific purpose of trading salt or securing pots and bows, although such transactions were also carried out during ordinary visits and at intertribal ceremonials. The non-specialized items were taken along on all visits in anticipation of a lively afternoon of trading, but they were incidental to such expeditions. 439 484 [177]

Despite the economic foundation of upper Xingú trade, all exchanges were considered gifts. No aspect of trade was recognized as divorced from personal relations. Food was shared freely in the community and did not enter into trade. Quain was the only person in the Trumaí village who traded to obtain food. 439 437 431 [123]

Quain believed that there was a scale of values and a concept of equivalence in trade, as certain proffered articles were rejected by sellers as inadequate. The individual exchanges indicated some equivalence, and there was a tendency for particular categories of goods to be exchanged. Men traded arrows for fishhooks and gourds for small pots. Trinkets also formed a class. However, when dealing in specialized products, payment in another specialty was not required. Western goods were especially desired. Knives and axes were in great demand, and, once given to an Indian by a white man, they entered into active trade circulation. There was sufficient cross-cutting between the classes of articles to suggest the operation of a more comprehensive scale of values, but, unfortunately, Quain had to leave the Trumaí before this could be verified. 439 435 [177]

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421 It was
437 significant that Aloari, probably the most aggressive person in the
524 village, was often an organizer and always a main participant in the
[156] games. On the other hand, he never cooperated in group work.
[527] This conventionalized form of exchange, which Quain called the trade
game, had a strong functional role in Trumaí culture, but there are
indications that it was of outside origin. One informant said that it was
[177] a Bakairí custom, and Quain thought that the "game" might have
been introduced by Bakairí traders bringing goods from the Indian
post on the Paranatinga River.[1]

The Household

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596 Among both the Waurá and the Kamayurá the extended family
occupied its own house, and the head of the lineage was considered a
622 sub-chief of the village.[2] Such unilocal, co-resident and extended
family groupings, which were typical among tribes of the upper Xingú,
were absent in the Trumaí village.

592 Consanguineally close male relatives usually formed co-resident units,
613 but these nucleii of kinsmen were very small and did not constitute an
entire household. Furthermore, they were related to each other through
[591] male or female lines. Due to village patrilocality, there was a tendency
for patrilineally related males to live together, but this did not result in
[165] the establishment of a patrilineal lineage for several reasons. Among
them the high death rate was very important.

592 Maibu's house illustrates the eclectic nature of the Trumaí household.
594 Four nuclear families, totaling fourteen people, lived in it. Hanging
their hammocks from one of the two center posts were Katauka, his son
Kamkuti, his brother's son Autsuki, and another brother's son and his
wife. At the opposite end of the house were Maibu and his wife, the
wife's son by Maibu's deceased brother, Maibu's sister Ayenuke, Makurawa,
a classificatory sister's son, and Makurawa's wife and their three children. Although everyone in the household was related, bonds were closer
between those people who hung their hammocks from the same post.

589 Despite the fact that the household, as a unit, had no specific func-
592 tions, it established the framework within which certain interpersonal
182 dependencies were worked out. Bride-capture, intertribal warfare, di-
vorce, and early death caused a significant proportion of the Trumaí to
be temporarily or permanently without mates. This disadvantage was

[1] The trade game was possibly borrowed from the Bakairí, as its existence
[177] among this group has been reported by Oberg (1953, p. 72). However, craft
specialization and trade on the upper Xingú predates the Indian post. Cf. von den
Steinen 1897, pp. 196, 207.

[2] De Lima (1950, p. 9.) reports this arrangement among the Waurá, and Oberg
(1953, p. 45.) adds that the position of house chief tends to pass in the male line
in the Kamayurá village.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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mitigated by intra-household sharing and the performance of services, normally done by mates, by co-resident relatives of the opposite sex. In this way unmarried persons could be integrated within the Trumaí economy.

Among the twenty-eight persons of marriage age in the Trumaí village, there were only eight unions involving seventeen persons. The eleven unmarried included one widower with a young child, one divorced man with a child, three widows with children, four unmarried men, and two unmarried women.

One of the widows was married during Quain's sojourn, but the other two were considered too old. One of the unmarried women subsequently took a mate, but the other, who had a clubfoot, was thought to be too old and ugly for marriage, although several men had sexual relations with her. Two of the unmarried men were probably also considered too old for marriage, a third was seeking a wife, and the fourth showed little interest in obtaining one. Neither the widower nor the divorced man were seeking wives at the time.

All these persons had made some sort of adjustment through their relatives. The incorporation of two of the unmarried men and of one of the widows into Nitvary's household shows how a functional interdependence within the household was achieved, despite the lack of a lineage in residence. Living at one end of the house were two old unmarried men, Yahu and Yakuma. At the other end were Nitvary, his wife Kaiti, his widowed mother Fayeru, and his young sister Kayaya. Gift-giving and food-sharing went on between all of the people in the house, but the two single men depended most on Fayeru, whom they called "sister," while Nitvary's needs were provided for by his wife. The members of the household were all dependent on each other, as Kaiti alone would have been hard pressed to do woman's work for two more men. Their presence, however, meant more food for the house.

In Aloari's house his unmarried brother Tun provided food for the cooking pots of Aloari's wife Yumununwa, while her brother Oirupa exchanged services with his classificatory sister Yawala, the club-footed woman. By this free flow of food and service, which was especially marked between the sexes, each individual was economically fully functional, and everyone in the household was adequately cared for.

Most of the arguments in the village occurred between members of different houses. Aloari, his brother, and his brother-in-law showed considerable personal antipathy toward Maibu and jealousy of his status as chief. When a serious conflict broke out in the village over a marriage, it took the form of verbal quarrels between members of different houses.

The greater amity between co-residents was due to a number of factors. First, closer kinship ties usually prevailed, second, people on

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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CHAPTER FOUR

Religious Beliefs and Practices

182 771 829 The lapse of many religious practices and the lessening of interest in those aspects of culture that we classify as religion were striking features of this dying society. Older informants remembered the time when there were ceremonial masks, the flute house, and other traits that are still found among certain tribes of the upper Xingú. Indeed, if it were not for Matiwana's unusual age, the Trumaí would be even more lacking in ceremonial knowledge. Yet there seems to have been little regret on the part of either the older or younger generations for this culture loss. They shrugged it off, saying that their grandfathers had had such practices, but that they did not. This indifference is not too surprising, [177] since much of their religion was borrowed from their upper Xingú neighbors not too long ago.[1]

771 105 Despite the decline in interest in the ceremonial cycle and the disappearance of certain religious traits, the main outlines of Trumaí religion were still observable in Quain's time. Shamanism was still practiced extensively, but it was simple both in form and supporting ideology. Ceremonialism was related to subsistence and curing. The shaman's individualized power resulted in a specialization of religious functions as did the individual ownership of ceremonial songs and dances. Some Trumaí, like old Matiwana, were better versed in the [193] religious rites than others, but they did not constitute a priestly class. While no one person interceded with the supernatural on behalf of the [182] whole village, the group ceremonials provided a focal point for social participation and village cooperation, and many of them were undertaken by the community for the benefit of all.

Shamanism

756 [184] The shamanistic art of curing was known and employed by nearly all the adult males of the village, and in this sense parallels the practices recorded among the Kamayurá by Oberg.[2] There is, however, a type

[1] Kamayurá ceremonial and religious life, much of which was once shared by the Trumaí, is discussed by Oberg (1953) and Galvão (1949, 1950). The extent of Trumaí culture loss can be roughly inferred from these sources and from the work of the earlier ethnologists.

[2] Oberg 1953, p. 60.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Jakwanari then presented to the dancers as payment. In another part of the ceremony, a gourd of the *piquí* fruit drink was poured on Jakwanari in the same manner that the manioc gruel was poured on Matiwana during the *ole* festival.

The Spear-Throwing Contest

The spear-throwing contest involved intertribal participation and was completely secular. The core of the celebration, which took place at the end of the rainy season, was a duel between rival teams representing the tribes of the area. The purpose of the duel was for a member of the team on the offensive to strike a member of the defending team with a blunt-ended spear propelled by an *atlatl*, or spear-thrower. The defendant held a few sticks vertically, one end resting on the ground, and tried to deflect the oncoming spear with them. The distance between the two was about twenty paces and hits were frequently scored. After each turn, the defender went on the offensive. The games were conducted in a spirit of friendship and festivity. Bruises, some of which must have been severe, were compensated for by gift exchanges.

The participants painted their bodies elaborately for the combat. One informant erroneously stated that the masks for which the area is famous (but which were no longer made by the Trumaí) were worn during one part of the festival.[7] Intertribal wrestling matches were also held at this gathering.

The Bull Roarer

Information on the defunct bull roarer rites, as for other ceremonies, is extremely meagre. As the Trumaí express it, they have "buried the *kutà*" (bull roarer), but most of the adult men knew the ritual connected with it and remembered when it was still in use. The Trumaí formerly went to the Kamayurá village and took part in the ceremony there. One man told Quain that dancing in the Trumaí village preceded the ritual, whereupon they all went to the Kamayurá village and "did things that the women cannot see." Then, he said, there was a great deal of wrestling and copulation. Yati, Maibu, and Tun played a ceremonial role known only to them, while Yati, Oirupa, and Nitvary sang certain songs at night when everyone was asleep. The ceremonial flutes found throughout the upper Xingú are not mentioned in Quain's notes. Apparently, they were no longer used by the Trumaí.

[7] These masks are worn during a ceremony called the *jabuí* by the Kamayurá, which, according to Galvão (1950, p. 385.) takes place in the same season, thus explaining the confusion.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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CHAPTER SIX

The Death of a Culture

Today there are but twenty-five remaining Trumaí. The fact that they disbanded once during the recent past shows that this small number approaches a critical point at which such a culture is no longer socially viable. If the present population trend continues, Trumaí society will definitely end, and, with the complete assimilation of the descendants of the Trumaí into other tribes, Trumaí culture, except for those elements of it that have been adopted by their neighbors, will belong to the past.

Primitive cultures and the populations that transmitted them are disappearing in many parts of the world today. In most instances, however, they are being destroyed by extended face-to-face contacts with Western society. This is not precisely the case with the Trumaí. Here, there was no large scale transmission of Western culture and no direct interaction with Brazilian society. But slight though the contact of the upper Xingú Indians with the whites was, it resulted in the introduction of respiratory infections that contributed greatly to their depopulation. In this sense, the white man is responsible for the impending death of the Trumaí.

Although the Trumaí were still carrying on their village life during Quain's residence and were to continue to do so, certain changes were taking place in their culture which were symptomatic of the fundamental instability induced by their low numbers.

It is immediately apparent that their weakness made the Trumaí vulnerable to other tribes, both the nominally friendly ones of the upper Xingú Basin, and the hostile ones of the surrounding country. In 1938 the Trumaí could not have successfully withstood a strong Suyá or Yuruna raid, nor could they have launched an attack upon the Suyá for women, as did the more vigorous Kamayurá. Indeed, the Trumaí had good reason to fear the least sound in the jungle at night.

Also, the Trumaí were held in low esteem by their immediate neighbors at the time of Quain's study. This was a severe blow to their *elan*, and it undoubtedly affected their self-image. It led, too, to more concrete results. As noted above, other tribes took Trumaí women during their most fertile years, and it is almost certain that the few "outside" women, who were brought into the Trumaí village through marriage, failed to restore the balance. Moreover, there were no "outside" men

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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in the Trumaí community, for, as Oberg notes, no adult male would choose to live with a people of such low status.[1]

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It might be expected that the Trumaí could have compensated for this drain by raising their birth rate. However, in this population of 43 persons, there were only ten children, an extremely small number when the low average life span is considered. Furthermore, only two of the children were females. Of the approximately twelve women who

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were capable of bearing children, only one was pregnant, and the others were urging her to abort her child. Thus, infanticide and abortion were taking a heavy toll in the Trumaí village.

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The custom of killing twins and of spacing births three or four years apart are reported by Oberg for the Kamayurá,[2] and these factors may well have been present in the Trumaí situation. The long post-natal

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taboo on sexual intercourse had the same effect. Wagley, who studied the dying but equally unacculturated Tapirapé, found that traditional practices were contributing to the complete depopulation of that group also.[3]

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But among the Trumaí there is still another and less tangible dimension. Abortion may have been urged on a pregnant woman because she had no husband, but how is one to explain the killing of two of Aloari's children without his consent, or the fact that there were eight male and only two female children in the community? The limited information available suggests that the Trumaí were purposely restricting their number and committing suicide, perhaps unintentionally, in the process. Two reasons for this extreme behavior may be hypothesized: first, the impasse in which the Trumaí found themselves because of the steady depopulation made them so personally insecure and apathetic regarding both the present and the future that they were no longer willing to rear sizable families, despite their evident devotion to children; and second, they may not have thought it possible to produce the surplus necessary to support such families. Actually, however, even with their diminished numbers the Trumaí could have increased their food supply.

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Their lowered standard of living was due to more than attitudes. Loss of population no doubt also decreased the yield of Trumaí fishing and therefore limited their chief source of protein. To be sure, bow and arrow fishing was little affected, but fish poisoning, the only communal subsistence technique practiced by them, was much less effective when employed by a small group, for a few people can adequately poison only smaller watercourses and branches of lagoons, while a greater number can cover larger streams and whole lagoons. In the latter circumstance, both the take would be larger and larger species would be available. Moreover, when the waters are heavily poisoned and enough people are present to reap the "harvest," there is less chance of fish escaping. Thus, up to

[1] Oberg 1953, p. 15. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 62. [3] Wagley 1940.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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105 174 571 602 serious damage to the individual personality. Also, many individuals could not enact whole sets of kin-determined roles because they had no relatives of the proper complementary status. For example, parents-in-law normally exerted considerable influence and control over younger married couples, but hardly anyone in the village had such relatives. [582] Similarly, cross-cousin marriage was the preferred union, but cross-cousins were generally unavailable. Moreover, because of the shortage of women, marriage came to be more a cause of conflict than a consolidator of kinship bonds.

105 182 626 Not only was the family world of the Trumaí crumbling, but all lines of authority and social control were weak. The Trumaí seemed unable to unite for such culturally approved purposes as economic cooperation or hospitality. Trumaí leadership, like that of many primitive peoples, was predicated on the existence of strong bonds of kinship, economic interdependence, and a general agreement on goals and policies. These preconditions were no longer found among the Trumaí. In this structural vacuum, the Trumaí chief was less and less able to cope with the growing self-assertiveness of certain men, and was increasingly forced into a neutral role. As the community weakened, his position weakened.

105 182 578 A number of reasons account for the factionalism which developed within the Trumaí village. Some are a function of personality, others of the diminished population. Obviously women were at a premium and many men were compelled to do without mates. The resultant competition was, as we have seen, a festering sore in the body politic. Connected with it, but having further ramifications, the bonds of kinship and the expected behavior between kinsmen underwent attrition and upset what social balance could have been achieved under more normal conditions. Indeed fear of the outside world more than internal forces of cohesion held the Trumaí community together.

[596] 105 182 771 Other integrative mechanisms in Trumaí culture were also disappearing. Conspicuous among them was the gradual abandonment of many elements in the Trumaí ceremonial cycle. (Significantly this left the highly individual practice of shamanism as the most active religious expression in Trumaí culture). In part, this loss may have been due to the inability of the Trumaí to amass a sufficiently large food surplus for the feasting that was required when visitors from other tribes were present. Not enough is known about the ritual of the Trumaí to warrant any broad generalizations on the effects of depopulation on ceremonial participation, but their numbers may well have been approaching the minimum necessary to carry out the rites. Only a few men who had depended heavily on one old man for their instruction possessed the requisite ceremonial knowledge. When this old man died, Trumaí culture must have suffered a severe blow. Younger men were little interested in learning the ritual and lore. Moreover, the small number of bearers of

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Trumaí culture and the shortness of their average life span must have seriously interfered with the instruction of the young. In addition, the very eclecticism of Trumaí culture militated against conservatism and is indicative of the low value which they placed on their own culture.

In the chapter on religion, the disinterest of the people in their religious activities was often noted. Such behavior may appear paradoxical, but ethnographic literature provides many instances of the decline of traditional belief systems in the face of cultural crisis. In the case of the Trumaí, disinterest in the religious sphere was closely related to disinterest in other aspects of their culture. The Trumaí world view had become a philosophy of despair. While depopulation was causing social and cultural disintegration, cultural factors in their turn were furthering depopulation. The Trumaí were set in a steady downward spiral.

In summary it can be said that, on the basis of Quain's notes, the Trumaí were an anxiety ridden people. They were extremely sensitive and their feelings were easily hurt. They demanded individual recognition and attention. They were disinclined to work in their own interest or to join with each other in community projects. Apathetic towards their own world, they were distrustful of the world outside. These observations find considerable confirmation in de Lima's comments on the Trumaí:

> The behavior of this tribe which lives today in a state of humiliation and withdrawal in the face of the other peoples, is quite different from that of the Tupians. They are extremely distrustful Indians; they do not have a frank and happy expression and no matter how long one lives with them they remain always shut off. They do not have the dynamism, nor the disposition to work of the Kamayurá.[6]

It seems certain that this personality structure was not a survival of their more prosperous pre-contact period, when the Trumaí enjoyed some renown as warriors, but was a product of the growing distress which emerged during the period when the their whole security system of the individual — kinship and community — was breaking down. Under the new circumstances the individual Trumaí was no longer lodged in the matrix of the extended family. No longer did the rules of kinship that had formerly guided interpersonal relations operate smoothly for him. No longer did a vigorous community intervene between him and the outside world. There was no strong family, community, or tradition with which he could identify himself. The weakening of the socio-cultural structure precipitated him into conflict with his fellows; and it caused him to transfer some of his dependence to other and stronger groups. And in this effort also, he was unsuccessful, for other tribes looked down upon him as a member of an irredeemably inferior group.

[6] De Lima 1949, p. 25.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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182 The dilemma of the individual, itself a function of the deterioration of the group, strengthened the centripetal forces within the society. Similarly, the apathy induced by the process of ego-destruction rendered the Trumaí economically incompetent, and reduced the village to a marginal level of subsistence. Under these conditions, his failure to procreate is understandable.

But no one factor explains the passing of the Trumaí. This was not the result of an acculturative process, since the Trumaí were not adapting to anything new. Their recent history, however, underlines a development in which depopulation, cultural disintegration and personality disorganization engendered further depopulation, cultural disintegration, and personality disorganization. That such a development is cataclysmic in a group as small as the Trumaí is shown by the marginality of the twenty-five survivors and the precarious position of their social identity only seventeen years after Quain left their midst.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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"Tremendous interest in property, together with a simple and declining culture, results in my being a seriously disturbing element in their lives. Casual conversation always degenerates into a squabble about gift-giving .... There is intense pleasure in possession. Children get no sympathy when they are hurt, but objects are usually given to them. Every child has the right at least 'to see' anything he desires. In this respect children are pampered. Adults whine for things; withholding a desired object makes them intensely unhappy. Aggressive possession is admired.. Trade games make the exchange of property very fluid. Yet values in trade are well defined, and there is no prestige in giving more than one gets. Within the kinship circle, however, the old lavish property on the young. A father's garden is spoken of as that of his five year old son. There is a deliberate attempt to instill aggressive ownership attitudes in the young. A three year old girl is taught to claim objects in a loud voice. This is done by shouting the possessive pronoun....

"These are a settled people who live within the strict limits of their village. Their small number has advantage in the study of individuals. They have no knowledge of the world beyond the Kuluene-Kuliseu. It has no more real existence than the various inhabited regions of the heavens. The half dozen expeditions which have passed down the river have communicated with the natives only with signs. The one important result of such contact was division from peripheral tribes and the rise of metal tools. The disappearance of the stone industry, on which a defunct Trumaí moiety had a monopoly, has occurred within the last generation.[1] The increased leisure which probably resulted is not utilized economically.

"The complete lack of self-consciousness among these people makes behavior observation remarkably easy. Before I knew any of the language, I could sit by the hour in various households and time the actions of people while they paid no attention to me. For instance, one man during twenty minutes of leisure lay down to rest in his hammock fifteen different times, but each time disturbed himself with the remembrance of some petty chore undone....

"The only restriction of behavior that I have seen in casual intra-village personal relations is that the children are told not to litter the floor. The only positive rule is that the head of a household must sit with a guest and converse while the guest is inside his house .... Furthermore, extra-marital sexual intercourse has occurred in a shadowy corner of my house.. This lack of self-consciousness contrasts strongly with the Karajá, who are more prudish than the Fijians....

"Shortage of women, because of theft of young women, polygamy, lack of sexual interest in old wives (of which there are several), and

[1] Quain refers here to the moiety-like division of the Trumaí which has been discussed in Chapter Three. This appears to be rather a result of the merger of the northern and southern Trumaí villages. The latter specialized in axe-making.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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105 626 578 [622] [123] [622] "Angry stylized quarreling is a legal device. The village hoots in derision at him whose argument is poor. The chief must be a master at this kind of argument, but all men and even women participate .... Though everyone makes speeches, it is only the chief who makes executive speeches. Quarrels have always been about women, with the exception of the one which occurred upon my arrival in the village (one party disapproved of me...). The chief does not interfere in personal quarrels. The other men sit quietly in the center of the village smoking and trying to disregard the quarrel, which may be going on over their very heads. When the contenders have retired from the village green, they are perfectly calm. The argument is suspended until it can be carried on publicly. There seem to be no secret alliances among the men.

105 182 771 796 "Another thing I must mention is the complete lack of emotional content in religious ceremonies. These are mildly pleasant chores. Although their structure is designed for a public pageant, nobody pays attention."

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CHAPTER FOUR

Religious Beliefs and Practices

182 771 829 The lapse of many religious practices and the lessening of interest in those aspects of culture that we classify as religion were striking features of this dying society. Older informants remembered the time when there were ceremonial masks, the flute house, and other traits that are still found among certain tribes of the upper Xingú. Indeed, if it were not for Matiwana's unusual age, the Trumaí would be even more lacking in ceremonial knowledge. Yet there seems to have been little regret on the part of either the older or younger generations for this culture loss. They shrugged it off, saying that their grandfathers had had such [177] practices, but that they did not. This indifference is not too surprising, since much of their religion was borrowed from their upper Xingú neighbors not too long ago.[1]

771 105 Despite the decline in interest in the ceremonial cycle and the disappearance of certain religious traits, the main outlines of Trumaí religion were still observable in Quain's time. Shamanism was still practiced extensively, but it was simple both in form and supporting ideology. Ceremonialism was related to subsistence and curing. The shaman's individualized power resulted in a specialization of religious functions as did the individual ownership of ceremonial songs and dances. Some Trumaí, like old Matiwana, were better versed in the [193] religious rites than others, but they did not constitute a priestly class. While no one person interceded with the supernatural on behalf of the [182] whole village, the group ceremonials provided a focal point for social participation and village cooperation, and many of them were undertaken by the community for the benefit of all.

Shamanism

756 [184] The shamanistic art of curing was known and employed by nearly all the adult males of the village, and in this sense parallels the practices recorded among the Kamayurá by Oberg.[2] There is, however, a type

[1] Kamayurá ceremonial and religious life, much of which was once shared by the Trumaí, is discussed by Oberg (1953) and Galvão (1949, 1950). The extent of Trumaí culture loss can be roughly inferred from these sources and from the work of the earlier ethnologists.

[2] Oberg 1953, p. 60.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The fishing grounds and the still productive fruit trees of the old villages were considered to be the domain of the Trumaí, and these rights were apparently respected by others. When the village moved in search of new land, it was usually to one of the old sites, whose name the new village would take.

The Trumaí were once feared by the other tribes of the upper Xingú and were evidently a relatively numerous and vigorous people. However, when Quain visited them in 1938, they numbered only 43, and only ten years later, in 1948, the population had shrunken to a meagre 25.[11] Their small numbers had forced them to abandon village life once since Quain's visit, but they subsequently reunited in a new community.[11a]

Warfare

The topography of the flat upper Xingú Basin encourages considerable contact between tribes. The waterways are extensive and have importance beyond subsistence, as they are the chief avenues of trade and warfare. Communication through the river and flood plain system is the main reason for the high degree of cultural homogeneity that has been achieved by these tribes of diverse origins and languages. Intertribal relations are not confined to trade and warfare, but enter the spheres of social organization, ceremonialism and mythology.

Intertribal bonds within the upper Xingú Basin were based on peaceful relations between the tribes. These tribes formed part of a bounded social system in which groups outside the area did not take part. The Bakairí Indians of the Paranatinga River were on a friendly basis with the headwaters groups only because they had once lived on the Batoví River. Other tribes were uniformly enemies, regardless of cultural or linguistic affinities. Despite this peaceful interaction among the upper Xingú villages, there was considerable mutual fear and hostility between them which was expressed in witchcraft, petty thievery and intimidation. The practice of sorcery upon other villages is especially significant, in that sorcery is used in nearly all cultures only between people who share close interpersonal ties. This illustrates better than anything else the high degree of intervillage integration in the upper Xingú River Basin. The component groups constitute far more than a culture area — they form a society.

Despite the nominal peace within the upper Xingú area, the Trumaí lived in dread of their neighbors, and with good reason.[12] Situated

[11] Oberg 1953, p. 4.

[11a] Latest reports state that a measles epidemic has wrought great havoc, and that the few survivors have all joined other groups.

[12] Although fear of neighboring groups is general in the upper Xingú, de Lima (1949, p. 25) noted it to be especially strong among the numerically weak Trumaí.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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between the warlike Gé-speaking Suyá and the peaceful but overbearing Kamayurá, they were an easy prey to these tribes and to others more peripheral to the region, such as the Caiabí and Kayapó. The tribes the Trumaí feared most were those to the north. These included the Suyá, Yuruna, and an unidentified group. The Yuruna, located by Galvão on the Diauarum River, north of the Suyá, were said to have made raids on the headwater villages,[13] but nothing is known of any aggression by the unnamed tribe. There is definite documentation of numerous assaults by the Suyá, whose reputation for ferocity is unequalled in the area.

The Suyá villages are located several days journey to the north on the Suyá Missú River, and forays into the Kuluene-Kuliseu region have become relatively rare since the establishment of local airfields. Quain was of the opinion that the last Suyá raid on the Trumaí took place about twenty years ago when the brother of the Trumaí chief was killed. Two of Quain's informants had been captured by the Suyá as pre-pubescent boys. Suyá raids into the tributaries resulted in great destruction and von den Steinen reported a Trumaí village to have been recently burned and looted by them.[14]

The upper Xingú peoples were not always passive towards the Suyá. A revenge attack was once launched by the combined forces of the Kamayurá, Mehinaku, Waurá, and Trumaí. Their flotilla of twenty canoes assaulted and burned a Suyá village, starting another cycle of attacks and counter-attacks. This is the only known case of an inter-tribal alliance in war, but there have probably been others.

When Quain was with the Trumaí the memory of past attacks was still strong, and the mere mention of the Suyá was sufficient to cause great anxiety. Indicative of their feeling toward the Suyá is the Trumaí creation myth according to which the Sun made all tribes except the Suyá who are descended from snakes.

Among the Kuliseu tribes, the Kamayurá and Nahukwa were the two most feared. The former, especially, by small acts of aggression against the weakened Trumaí, had done great harm. As a result of the widespread hostility and distrust, Trumaí life was pervaded with insecurity. Tension always increased at night, and the slightest sound from the brush was enough to cause panic. Rumors of an impending attack were often brought to the village by visitors from other groups. These were generally false stories intended to frighten the Trumaí, but, reflecting the prevailing anxiety, they were always accepted as true.

The Kamayurá were the chief instigators of these tales. One visitor from the latter group told the Trumaí that the Kamayurá were coming to kill all of them as soon as Quain left. The Kamayurá attempted to

[13] Galvão 1952, p. 489.
[14] Von den Steinen 1897, p. 115.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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frighten Quain, too. One of their favorite stories was that the Nahukwa chief, Aloike, was coming to take Quain. Aloike was a powerful sorcerer and had a reputation for treachery among all the tribes, and the Nahukwa were probably feared more because of him than because of any traditional enmity.

Wild tales were also told out of sheer perversity. A party of Kamayurá came to visit and announced that Quain's father would arrive in an airplane with gifts for the Trumaí. On another occasion they said that a plane full of *karahiba* (white men) had landed at the house of Thomas Young, an American missionary who lived further up the Kuliseu.

The Trumaí, themselves, aggravated their own fears. One of them spoke at length in the men's circle on how the Kamayurá tortured their captives by piercing their arms and legs with arrow points. He also said that they beheaded them, stirred up their brains over a fire, and ate them. This was undoubtedly a false story born of fear and contrary to all the more reliable information on the treatment of captives. However, torture and ritual cannibalism of this sort once flourished in the tropical forest. It is, therefore, interesting that the Trumaí should know of such practices.

Due to the constant fear of surprise attack shared by all the tribes, it was considered bad policy to enter foreign territory without giving warning. This was done by building a fire. A party from the village then went out to investigate, unless it was definitely known who the intruders were. If a fire was seen by a traveling party, their canoes were beached and an answering fire was built.

Surprise meetings were to be avoided at all costs. When Quain was traveling on the Kuliseu with a Trumaí group, the sight of a Kamayurá canoe caused some concern. The chief was quite happy to note that Quain left his rifle in the bottom of the boat, thereby giving a peaceable appearance.

According to Dyott, an English explorer who descended the Xingú in 1938, arrows planted point first in the ground were "no trespassing" signs.[15] He also said that whistling arrows were shot in the air to warn strangers to stay away. The latter sign was, more accurately, an additional means of letting one's presence be known. Smoke spirals seen to the north or east always caused a great disturbance in the Trumaí village, as these were thought to be Suyá fires. Since the upper Xingú people approached from the south, fires seen in this direction caused little alarm unless there had been rumors of some aggressive act by the Kamayurá or Nahukwa.

Fear of attack at times approached the point of hysteria. The high tension might last a few days, after which it would decline to the normal

[15] Dyott 1930, pp. 283–84.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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level of general anxiety. It was usually the result of several days of rumor, omens, and strange fires in the north.

Late one night during Quain's stay, after most of the village had retired, a near panic occurred when two women shouted that the Suyá were attacking. All the initiated men, even the weak and old, rushed to the village center with their bows and arrows. The women and children from two of the four Trumaí houses hurried with their hammocks to the other two houses. The frightened men milled around in the center of the village with no apparent organization or direction. The chief, who was trembling, did not take command of the situation.

If this had been a real attack, noted Quain, the raiders would have given a loud yell and loosed a volley of arrows. He later made an investigation and found no signs of intruders. One of the women thought that someone had thrown dirt at her. Quain believed this to be a habit of the Suyá, but one that was usually a friendly overture.

The women feared other tribes more than did the men, for one of the main purposes of raids was to capture women. In every upper Xingú community women from other tribes are always found. The dispersal of women takes three forms: capture in warfare (by groups outside the area), open abduction of a woman by intimidation of her fellow-villagers, and peaceful intertribal marriage. According to de Lima, the Suyá raid the Waurá village on the Batoví River for female captives, as the women of the Arawakan tribes are the only potters of the region.[18] The Trumaí lost many young women to the Kamayurá by intimidation, the second of the above means. Most of the women in the Trumaí village were at one time held by the Kamayurá with the result that, in many Trumaí marriages, the woman is several years older than the man. At the time of Quain's visit, Trumaí women were still living among the Kamayurá and other groups. One of them, the sister of the Trumaí chief, ran away from the Kamayurá and returned home because her husband had beaten her, an action that angered the Trumaí greatly. There she picked up the threads of her old life, but after a few weeks a party of Kamayurá took her back to their village. The Trumaí offered no resistance, either physical or verbal, although they outnumbered the visitors, for to have done so would have invited retaliation.

The fact that the Trumaí had lost many women completely, or regained them only after their most fertile years had passed, was probably a contributing factor to the depopulation of the group. The losses were only partially compensated for by the marriage of outside women into the Trumaí village. There were three foreign women in the community in 1938: a Suyá, a Mehinaku, and a Kamayurá. Their status was lower than that of the Trumaí women, and they were at times taunted because of their foreign origin. They did not participate as fully in the

[18] De Lima 1950, p. 5.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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culture as the other women, but their everyday existence was much the same.

Men were also taken as captives, although not to the same extent as were women. Tun and Aloari, two Trumaí men, had lived in captivity among the Yuruna. They had feared their captors at first, but once they had learned the language, they said, they were no longer afraid. Apparently both men had been well treated by the Yuruna, for they were kindly disposed towards that tribe. The elder of the two men had a Yuruna wife, whom he left when he returned to his people. How this was accomplished is not known, but escape could not have been very difficult.

Another factor promoting the incorporation of both women and men into other tribes was the depopulation and extinction of their own groups. When the southern Trumaí village was disbanded many of the survivors joined the northern Trumaí, but some moved in with other tribes. Similarly, de Lima reported that the Yaulapití, who disbanded sometime between 1938 and 1945, were to be found among the Kamayurá, Trumaí, and Auetí.[17]

It is possible that more Yaulapití settled with Arawakan speaking groups, but the three above-named tribes were their closest neighbors. The remnants of a disbanded group might also join villages in which they had close kin or personal relationships. A later report by the Srs. Villas Boas, who maintained the recently established airstrip of the Fundação Brasil Central, stated that, as in the case of the Trumaí, the Yaulapití have reconstituted themselves as a group by the establishment of a one-house village.[18] Clearly, except for the peace that has reigned since the airfield was built, a village of some twenty-five people would not be secure from attack. But while the chances of survival are still far from good, the initiation of such a project shows the eagerness of the participants to preserve their social identity.

The main purposes of warfare in the region are to capture women, take loot, and exact revenge. Captive-taking has a clear economic basis in the sporadic warfare between the Suyá and Waurá, as the Suyá capture Waurá women for their knowledge of pottery-making. Among the tribes of the *alurí* area proper, however, this is not done. Arawakan women are married, but Quain's notes indicate that they do not practice pottery-making in their new villages.

It is possible that male and female captives are taken by upper Xingú groups from tribes outside the region to bolster their waning numerical strength, but infanticide and abortion are also present in the area. However, captives do not have to be reared from infancy, and do not constitute the same strain on the economy that children do. It is also

[17] De Lima 1949, p. 25.

[18] This information was obtained verbally from Dr. Eduardo Galvão. Cf. Oberg 1953, p. 4.

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Intermarriage

648 Despite occasional semi-hostile encounters between the upper Xingú groups, most contacts within the area are peaceful. Intermarriage is [591] common, and, since patrilocality is general, the wives are usually brought back to the village of the groom. There are, however, exceptions to this rule. For instance, if the man has strong enough kinship ties with the bride's village, he may stay there. This was true in the case of a member of the Trumaí village who was half Kamayurá. [167] [598] Friction with one's fellow tribesmen can also lead to a move to another village, as in the case of a Trumaí man and his wife who went to live with the Kamayurá because they believed that someone in their own group was practicing witchcraft against them.

602 648 One result of this mixing process, in addition to its obvious function as a mechanism of diffusion, is that all of the upper Xingú groups are cross-cut by ties of kinship. Nearly every man on the Kuliseu River knows all others so located, and they are often related. Most of the extra-tribal kin ties of the Trumaí were with the Kamayurá and Mehinaku, but they also extended to many other villages of the area. For reasons not fully explored by Quain, the chief contacts of the Trumaí were with Tupian and Arawakan groups, especially those of the Kuliseu River. Little mention is found in Quain's notes of the Cariban tribes of the Kuluene River.

602 648 186 Kinship ties were probably responsible for the preference shown by certain Trumaí men for particular tribes. While most men said that the Kamayurá were "bad," a few claimed that they were really "good" and that the other tribes were the ones to be feared. One day a fire was sighted which, it was decided, had been lit by the Yuruna. A man having kinsmen among them left the village to tell them of his presence there and so prevent an attack. The alarm in this instance proved false.

648 186 Another basis for preference was past residence with a tribe, even as a captive. However, if there was gossip of an attack by some tribe, even those most kindly disposed toward the potential enemy would become nervous and seek out their bows and arrows.

648 574 There was a great deal of friendly visiting between villages. The host village was expected to provide food for their guests, but if women were brought, they joined in the women's work of preparing it. In the afternoon the men traded with each other and engaged in wrestling [517] contests. At night, singing, shamanism and speech-making were in order in the men's circle. Tobacco and large quantities of food were [602] passed around at all times. If the visitors were staying overnight, they slept in the house of their closest kinsman. The latter was also expected to greet them upon arrival and act as their host during their stay.

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it before it rots. The Trumaí worked hard at this, and Quain heard the sounds of women boiling and stirring the *ke'jau* far into the night. Some of the *ke'jau* was placed in gourds for immediate use. It was mixed with water, making a rich yellow drink, and was frequently stirred into the manioc gruel, or *ats aek*. *Ke'jau* was considered an excellent food for canoe trips, and was carried by fishermen and travelers.

The *piquí* fruit when roasted whole "tastes like egg yolk, or, vaguely, like deviled eggs," Quain wrote. In addition to cooking the pulp of the fruit, the kernel of the *piquí* pit was used. It was sometimes eaten raw, but usually it was cooked. The kernel has a fragrant, coconut-like flavor. A pudding was made by boiling down *piquí* kernels to the consistency of paste and, to Quain, the flavor was much like that of the caramelized coconut sauce prepared in Fiji. Another preparation called *t'ak*, which resembled *beijú*, was made from a flour prepared from *piquí* kernels. Fish and various other foods were piled on top of the *t'ak* and eaten with it, or pieces of the cake were broken off and eaten plain.

Maize, beans, and squash were grown in the Trumaí gardens, but due to the season none of these was eaten during Quain's stay. While making house inventories he saw small amounts of maize and beans stored in gourds sealed with tree gum, undoubtedly to be used as seed. Two varieties of maize were eaten. The more common type was called *xotet*; the other was a red species known as *hy kapsik*.

Pineapples and bananas did not figure importantly in the diet. Although the Trumaí grew sugar cane (*kanaviya*), there is no information on its use. Sweet potatoes were roasted by the men, but were probably prepared in other ways also. A paste was made from cotton seeds by pounding them in a mortar and then boiling the mashed seeds. The paste was kept in a gourd and eaten by scooping it up with the fingers.

Quain's notes contain little on the preparation of wild foods other than *piquí* fruit. Guava were eaten raw, but there is no information on how the various kinds of palm fruits were prepared.

The abdomen of a large ant called *xokoldomat'ek* was considered a delicacy, and flying ants were popped into the mouth like peanuts. A tremendous green grasshopper with long horns (*tawarero*) was roasted and eaten. A small red tick (*tekwu*) was also consumed, but a fuzzy caterpillar known as the *ma'yryr* was looked upon with revulsion. The Trumaí claimed contemptuously that only the Suyá ate them.

It would appear that the Trumaí seldom drank plain water. Instead, beverages such as the manioc or *piquí* drinks were used. A gourdful of one of these drinks was usually available in the houses, and a supply was taken on canoe trips. No intoxicating beverages were made, but Quain was told by a former captive of the Yuruna that the Yuruna brew "kills you for a day or two, and they stay up all night shouting and singing." The informant did not approve of its taste or effects.

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Quain was told that the Kamayurá were "bad," because they permitted marriage with a sister's daughter.[8]

Cross-cousin marriage is correlated with sororal polygyny among the Trumaí and with the sexual privileges that a man may take with his wife's sister. No indication was found of the sororate, despite its probable acceptability. There was only one case of the levirate, and that was the marriage of the chief to his dead brother's wife. That the levirate is expected but not compulsory is apparent in the case of Yati and his brother's widow Vatsiat. She resided in Yati's house, and they performed many necessary, sexually specialized functions for each other. Although their hammocks were some distance apart, Vatsiat called him *ece* (husband) and became quite incensed at one of his paramours. However, Yati called her *apizi* (sibling), and apparently felt that there were no marital obligations between them. He had his love-life, which did not include her, and he showed no sign of annoyance at her escapades. It was a standing joke that every man in the village had sexual relations with Vatsiat, except where an incest taboo prohibited it.

Marriage between people of different generations, especially between older women and younger men, was frequent; but the rules governing such unions are obscure. It was specifically frowned upon for a man to marry his mother's brother's widow. However, when one young man did so, he was only mildly ridiculed and censured, and his status in the village was [illegible]ted.

Joking Relations

Cross-cousins were not the only acceptable marriage partners, but they were the only ones with whom marriage was expected and especially approved. Also, patterned and expected joking existed only between these kin. Cross-cousins of the same sex, especially males, bantered with each other, but most sexual joking occurred between men and women. Thus, Aloari enjoyed making suggestive remarks to the rather old and ugly Vatsiat and frequently accused her of improprieties with various men. On one occasion, partly for Quain's benefit, he threw her on her back and went through the motions of coitus.

Cross-cousins of the same sex confined their joking to pranks and good-natured raillery, *ami tarajau*, which Quain translates as "cross-cousin talk." Mayuva teased Yati, who had a phobia of frogs, by chasing after him with a frog hanging from a stick. Both men and women made great sport of urging Quain to throw their cross-cousins out of his house. On one occasion, Quain, experimentally, made sexual suggestions to several women who had congregated in his house. They all ran out laughing shrilly, but one came back later to be reassured that it was

[8] Cf. Oberg 1953, p. 44.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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626 828 154 On these occasions the men usually unburdened themselves in the village center. Malice was expressed either by a verbal interchange with the opponent or an angry speech. The substance of the latter type of demonstration often was not related to the cause of the dispute or to the speaker's discontent. Manifestly, the function of the harangue was to provide an emotional outlet rather than a forum. Maibu's suggestion that Quain should make a speech in his own language underlines the fact that the externalization of anger was the paramount purpose.

154 626 123 Emotional release could also be found in contrived performances. Quain, feeling depressed one evening, refused to sing when the Trumaí asked him to. However, when Maibu proposed a mock argument, Quain, being a good ethnologist, complied. Facing each other in the village center, the two men hurled epithets and insults at each other at the top of their voices. When Quain was at a loss for something to say, Maibu suggested that he repeat a speech he had made about the theft of his supplies. At the conclusion Quain reported, "I felt very good when I shouted at him for a while, and I was quite willing to sing."

683 692 In cases of physical harm, settlement could be obtained by paying the injured person. Quain was told that after the spear-throwing contest, the Kamayurá and the Trumaí each paid indemnities for bruises inflicted.[9] No case of physical violence was observed by Quain, but when [123] he slapped the flour from the boy's hand, and again when he stepped on a child's foot, the Trumaí suggested that he pay something. The latter case was an obvious attempt at petty extortion, for a week later the same child had his foot stepped on by a Trumaí, but this time the only result was an admonition from his father to be quiet.

626 954 [186] Still another alternative to violence was found in witchcraft. Only one or two Trumaí knew the practice of sorcery, and these men were said to have learned it from the Nahukwa, who were much feared because of their dangerous skill. Sorcery was usually invoked covertly, but at least once in an argument its use was openly threatened. This, however, was regarded as a most reprehensible action.

578 154 The chief source of conflict in the village was sex. Quarrels over who was to marry the three available women raged throughout Quain's stay. Bride-capture, the large percentage of older women, and polygamy combined to make the allotment of women an extremely sore point. The story of the battle over one woman is worth reporting, as it illustrates both patterned interpersonal relationships and the ways in which anger could be expressed and channeled.

578 584 154 Three men wanted to marry Kuyafi, a widow with a child. They were Oirupa the sorcerer, Mayuva, her sister's husband, and Nitvary. Kuyafi, it was said, had once had a child by Nitvary, so his claim was a strong one. So also was Mayuva's, as he had recognized sexual rights over her

[9] Cf. Galvão 1950, p. 363.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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868 867 way the child was taught the kinship terms applying to his immediate family and age mates. He did not, however, learn to classify the whole village until much later.

Pre-Pubescence

593 866 A good deal of a youngster's time was spent around his house, and his attachment to his parents first, and then to other members of his household, was very strong. Dependence on the parent was expressed in a variety of ways. When the motherless Matsiripi's father, Oirupa, left the village for a few days, the boy was dispirited. When someone approached from the canoe landing, he would run anxiously to see who it was. His joy was obvious as he clung to the hand of his returned father. This pattern was repeated, but with less intensity, by children having both a father and mother.

152 855 Night terrors were common among the children. They were afraid of the dark and, if they awakened in the night, sought immediately for their father or mother, or howled if both were absent. The early pattern of sleeping with a parent undoubtedly had much to do with these fears, but ample justification for them can be found in other aspects of the culture. Adults communicated to the children their own nocturnal anxieties, which were stimulated by fears of enemy attack. The young made frequent references to the Suyá. One little boy, after an especially uneasy night, marched around the village chanting the word "Suyá" in a deep, serious voice. A frightened child's cries were immediately answered by his parents, who recognized it by tone. Tay, an orphan boy, often awakened with loud howls, but the people of his house paid little attention, and listened instead for their own children.

[186]

857 The children played and lolled about in the house, and had closer ties with co-residents than with others bearing the same kin relationships. When Kuyafi shifted her hammock to the house of her new spouse, her child cried lustily at the change of residence. The boys frequently visited in other houses, and there were no restrictions on lying in the nearest hammock, no matter to whom it belonged. This liberty was taken by the adults also. To keep visitors out of his hammock, Quain had to tell everyone that his "wife would be angry" if anyone used it. This was the standard excuse for turning down such requests.

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867 Children were given considerable freedom. Adults were interested in them, but made little effort to direct their activities. Encouragement was given, but the child was never forced to do anything. There were few "do nots." However, the child learned that he did not have an unlimited claim to all property, and sometimes he was punished for his transgressions. He also learned that he should not disturb older people unduly. The adults had a high tolerance for the noises of children, but

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always used to treat the wounds made by scraping. Jawaku walked away in a hurt and angry mood, his body covered with blood. 881 304

A few days later, in recognition of his advancement, Jawaku made the afternoon serving of food to the assembled men, a custom associated with the *ole* (manioc) ceremony. A further sign of his new position was the drinking of an herbaceous emetic before eating the first *piquí* fruit. Only boys who had not yet had their stomachs scraped could eat *piquí* without first taking the medicine. [264] [278]

One important purpose of body-scraping, the Trumaí thought, was to make the boy grow and give him strength. For this reason even the adult males occasionally scraped their arms. The scars themselves were very much admired. Of still greater value was the size of the muscles of the arms, chest, shoulder, and back of the neck, which the Trumaí believed to be the result of the scraping. 88 856 304 826

Another method of inducing growth was by drinking medicines made from herbs. All of the upper Xingú peoples were said to know of these preparations. The Suyá were said to have learned to make them also, but not the Yuruna. Adults drank these medicines, but they were especially important during the final phase of the puberty rites. 881 278 856

The perforation of the ear lobes was a distinct and separate part of the cycle of puberty rites, and the only one in which the boys went through a prescribed phase as a group. This observance took place during the equinoctial festive period which follows the rainy season and involved intertribal participation. At the next dry season festival, Quain was told, all the boys would have their ears pierced. Jawaku's ears, however, had been pierced before, whereas Autsuki, who was older and had entered the puberty cycle earlier, had not yet had his ears perforated. Manifestly, the time of the first perforation varied. 881 304 [48] [56]

At the first piercing the young boy added the name of his mother's father to the name of his paternal grandfather, which he had been given previously. This was also an occasion for scarifying the arms. [553]

Quain was informed that ear-piercing was done by all the upper Xingú area tribes. The Suyá, in common with other Gê-speaking peoples, made very large, and to the Trumaí, very unsightly, perforations in the lobes. Two Trumaí men who had been Suyá captives had such perforations and also pierced lower lips. The latter condition explained satisfactorily to the Trumaí why the Suyá "cannot speak properly." [171] [826] [186]

The puberty ceremonies were climaxed by a final series of tests of strength and courage: wrestling with a small anaconda, a subsequent intensive drinking of *okeis*, and further body-scraping. After this the boy was kept in seclusion until his ears were again pierced. [866]

Both Jawaku and Autsuki were at this stage. One day a snake was located in the lagoon, and Jawaku was urged to go after it. He and Makurawa ran through the brush to the lagoon and searched for it along 881 866

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

would be terminated by mutual consent and without the need for either contestant to concede defeat.[5] The wrestlers were often pushed around considerably, but except for grunts of effort, there were no expressions of pain or anger. However, when Quain tried to teach the Trumaí men to box, even the lightest punch caused them to retire. They claimed that the *karahiba* sport was much too rough.

Trumaí women do not "know how" to wrestle, but the Kamayurá women wrestled to entertain guests. It was common opinion in the region that Trumaí women did not compare favorably with Kamayurá women. Even the Trumaí men agreed on this point. After a visit to the Kamayurá village, the precocious young Yanahi was vociferous in his approval of them. His admiration was due chiefly to the *jamyrikuma*, a Kamayurá female song and dance in which the women flapped their breasts and went through other provocative motions. He also described how they had pushed their twine belts down low on their buttocks, which to him was a very suggestive act. After the dance the women wrestled. Jakwalu, a Mehinaku, was the only woman in the Trumaí village who could wrestle, a fact that suggests that the females of this group also practiced the sport. She demonstrated her ability only on intertribal visits.

The Trumaí women did not entertain guests, except insofar as visitors forced their attentions on the unmarried ones. The only occasions on which they were known to sing and dance were at certain ceremonies when they served as a chorus to the men.

Except for the use of pan-pipes, which the men played in the morning, all music was connected with religious ceremonial. The pan-pipes consisted of a half-dozen hollow reeds of different lengths laced together. Ceremonial singing was melodious, and the Trumaí enjoyed singing. They frequently requested Quain to sing in the men's circle. The requests were always phrased on behalf of the women and children. Visits from members of other tribes always called for a performance by the ethnographer.

Humor consisted mostly of practical jokes played at the expense of others. Jokes were always perpetrated by the men; the women served occasionally as butts. This does not mean that the men were gayer or more light-hearted than the women, for the contrary was actually the case. The women enjoyed each other's company more. They gossiped and laughed together, worked together, and generally wore a pleasanter expression. For the men, jokes were important as a means of recognition and assertion. They were always performed for an audience.

Teasing the women was also a popular male diversion. This was often done by ignoring them completely during a conversation. Yati was a

[5] This may be true only of bouts between Trumaí, as Oberg (1953, p. 59) notes that a man is defeated when he is thrown on his back.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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APPENDIX

Buell Quain, in a letter to the late Dr. Ruth Benedict written from Brazil on December 21, 1938, summarized several aspects of Trumaí culture which have a direct and immediate bearing on their decline. Following are excerpts of ethnological interest from this letter, which was discovered after this monograph was completed:

"They are a dying culture. Each generation improves its imitation of Kamayurá culture. Everyone in the village knows a few Kamayurá words. Almost all the songs in the manioc fertility ceremony are Kamayurá. Half the people in the village can carry on a conversation in Kamayurá with ease. One household (there are four) uses Kamayurá in preference to Trumaí. The mother of the house owner speaks no Trumaí; she is a Kamayurá woman who has lived with the Trumaí for about twenty-five years. The child of the household, a ten year old girl, confuses Kamayurá kinship terms with Trumaí in classifying the village. All Trumaí women between twenty and forty have been captive wives among the Kamayurá (which puts the Trumaí men in a peculiar position which they fully but fruitlessly resent) .... They have lots of disorganized leisure. They are sleepy (in part because of insects and fear throughout the night). They are ready to imitate not only the Kamayurá, but me, in petty daily habits. No outsider speaks Trumaí.

"There is nobody among them who volunteers information of ethnological value. For three months I dug for structure and got very little... Dullness cannot be attributed to the climate.

"The village is small .... Each of the four households — now five because of a recent split — are organized, or perhaps disorganized, according to different sociological principals. Three of the seventeen women are of foreign birth; one is Kamayurá, one is Mehinaku, and one is Suyá. The first two speak no Trumaí. A fourth woman with ringworm and two sick children is said to be Yaulapití, but she is well set in Trumaí culture. Nobody claims her as a relative (in part because of aversion toward her ringworm); hence she is used as a prostitute by every man in the village — she is the village joke. Among the men, I have found remarkably uniform responses to various 'tests'. (I said 'Draw a picture of a woman and a man.' Every man but one drew the woman first and oriented her in a distinctive way on the paper. The women showed no such regularity. One Kamayurá man tested also lacked this stereotyped response.)

B /191 cont./
171 industrious women did not have a hip cord. Smaller boys were
291 usually already provided with the cord, but then always had a couple of dainty trifles strung on it.

/192/ The purpose of the hip cord is to extend the praeputium. The penis is placed upward against the body and pushed under the hip cord in such a way that the uppermost section of the praeputium remains pinched off. The young man is made to do this when the first erections set in. He tries to adhere to the procedure for days and removes the annoying pubic hair.

T
291
[283] The Trumaí had a bizarre method which is also reported from other Brazilian tribes. They tied up the praeputium in front of the glans with a cotton string usually dyed red with urucú. The front end of the penis looked like the end of a sausage. Thus they achieved permanently what the others with their hip cord managed only temporarily. Unfortunately, we were unable to observe them in their village life under normal conditions. When we

BO
[291]
Fig. 17. Penis cuff of the Bororó.

found them in the vicinity of the Auetö, on their flight from the Suyá, we did not notice the strange string on all of the men, although those not provided with it showed the tying-off marks on
B the praeputium caused by its use. It would not be inconceivable
T that the men were somewhat embarrassed in front of the Auetö; at
[186] any rate, the rest of the tribes, when we spoke to them about the Trumaí, always manifested very special amusement over the wool /Woll/ cord which they mocked and found as funny as we did. We met the company, however, when they were entirely

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Visits might be made to obtain a bride, engage in trade, participate in some intertribal ceremony, or for a combination of any of these reasons. Most visits were ostensibly of a purely social nature, but they were also used to frighten and impress. Stealing was frequent, especially when the host tribe, like the Trumaí, was weak. The Trumaí rarely protested against thefts while the visitors were still in the village, although they vehemently expressed their indignation later. Such discretion was due more to fear than etiquette.

The inferior position of the Trumaí was most evident when visitors were in the village. The Kamayurá, especially, treated the Trumaí with arrogance and contempt. At times they would enter the Trumaí village without having built the customary warning fire. The Trumaí, on the other hand, did everything possible to please their visitors and prove their generosity and good will toward them. Quain was berated by the Trumaí chief for being too niggardly toward the Kamayurá, and he found that greater respect was accorded to the Kamayurá chief than to either himself or the Trumaí chief. The Kamayurá felt slighted that Quain had not visited them instead of the contemptible Trumaí, and, when Quain went to meet the visiting Kamayurá chief, the latter turned away with an air of bored indifference.

The Kamayurá chief was immediately given a stool to sit on and was plied with cigarettes. When he threw one away after a few puffs, he was promptly given another. Deference was also paid to ordinary Kamayurá, although to a lesser degree. Once when such a member came to the Trumaí village alone, the man who received him rushed to Quain's house to borrow a chair in order to reach some tobacco which had been placed on a high shelf. He was in a great hurry, for it would not be good to keep his guest waiting.

This behavior stands in sharp contrast to a visit to the Kamayurá village made by Quain and a party of Trumaí. The chief delegated their reception to his brother. No special attention was paid to them, although the villagers were active and industrious in an apparent effort to impress. The Trumaí were not even asked to sit on the log in the village center.

Due to the extensive intertribal relations, command of a language besides one's own is common in the area generally. But since Trumaí is an independent tongue and the number of Trumaí small, it is probable that multilingual people were more frequent among them than in other tribes. Their "second" language was usually Kamayurá, but few outsiders spoke Trumaí, although more understood it. When Kamayurá came to visit, conversation was ordinarily in their tongue. Of the three foreign women in the Trumaí village, only the Suyá woman could speak even a broken Trumaí. Since the Suyá had no peaceful relations with the tribes of the headwaters, the Gé language was not widely known there. The other two foreign women merely understood Trumaí.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Waura SP18
Aueto SP6
Camayura
Paressi SP19
Trumai SP23 ●
Bororo SP8
Yaruma SP25

/For word lists (in German) of the Nahuquá, Yanumakapü-Nahuquá, Mehinacu, Custenaú, Waura, Yaulapiti, Aueto, Camayura, Trumai, Paressi and Bororo, consult 2: Steinen, SP7 Bacairi (category 116 in the foreign text) as follows:

Nahuquá--pp. 524-526
Yanumakapü-Nahuquá--pp. 526-527
Mehinacu--pp. 527-529
Custenaú--pp. 529-530
Waura--pp. 531-532
Yaulapiti--pp. 532-534
Aueto--pp. 535-537
Camayura--pp. 537-540
Trumai--pp. 540-542
Paressi--pp. 542-544
Bororo--pp. 545-547.

The orthographies associated with the above word lists will be found translated into English in 2: Steinen, SP7 Bacairi, category 116, pp. 653-654./

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

171 zoomorphic benches; the bull roarer; use of the spear-thrower in inter-tribal games; whistling arrows; the mode of hair-cutting and body painting and ornamentation; the use of the *uluri*, or triangular bark pubic cover. The basic subsistence economies of the upper Xingú groups are almost identical, and there are strong similarities in social organization. In the latter sphere, the extended family, bilaterality with some patrilineal emphasis, patrilocality, and the men's cult appear general. The various tribes share many of the same ceremonies and co-participate in some. Insofar as is known, shamanism is much the same among all groups, and there is great similarity in religious beliefs and in mythology.

Trumaí History

174 Although the linguistic affiliations of the other upper Xingú peoples
167 indicate their origins to be in the north, all available evidence points to a migration of the Trumaí from the southeast. Apparently this move did not occur very long ago, for the Trumaí themselves still tell of it. According to Trumaí tradition they came into their present habitat from a land far to the southeast. There, they say, there is still a Trumaí village. Informants varied as to whether or not the forebears of the Xingú
[291] Trumaí knew how to grow manioc. They were said to have had long hair like the Gê-speaking Suyá, to hunt tapir, and to tie up their penes. Matiwana, the old man of the Trumaí, claimed to remember when the Trumaí still treated their genitalia in this way. He also claimed that,
[177] when the Trumaí moved into the area and saw the Kamayurá and other tribes, they adopted the customs of hair-cutting and penis freedom.
[291] The tale, coupled with the fact that the Trumaí women did not use the true *uluri* pubic cover when von den Steinen first visited them,[1] suggests a fairly recent entry of the Trumaí into the upper Xingú area — perhaps no earlier than the nineteenth century — and due possibly to the pressures of white colonization.

174 Other evidence also argues for the recency of the present Trumaí
177 habitat. The diffusion of culture traits in the upper Xingú is extensive, and in most cases it is difficult to determine the direction of borrowing. The Trumaí lexicon, however, shows heavy influence from their neighbors, especially the nearby Kamayurá. This influence manifests itself
[533] chiefly in names of plants and objects of material culture and in ceremonial songs. The songs of two major Trumaí ceremonies, both of which are practiced also by the Kamayurá, show a preponderance of Kamayurá words and phrases. Carib and Arawakan words are frequent in
[192] other songs. Also, the word for bull roarer in both Kamayurá and Trumaí is *uriuri*. The Trumaí words for such typically tropical forest domestica-

[1] Von den Steinen, 1897, p. 188.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

ted plants as beans and gourds and for the flat manioc flour cake, the *beijú*, are almost identical with the corresponding Kamayurá words.

The pre-contact history of the Trumaí is largely inferential and their recent history is poorly documented. The white explorers and scientists who visited the upper Xingú frequently did not encounter the Trumaí, and almost never visited their villages. Historical data indicate that in von den Steinen's time and possibly as late as the 1931 trip of Petrullo the Trumaí lived in two villages. Von den Steinen showed an abandoned Trumaí village, in substantially its present location, and another on the lower end of the Tsahuku, a network of waterways and lagoons west of and parallel to the Kuliseu River.[6] Although Meyer's map did not show this southern village in 1896,[7] it appears in Schmidt's map for 1901.[8] Petrullo encountered Trumaí, most probably of the southern village, on the west bank of the Kuliseu, between the locales of the Nahukwa and Mehinaku villages.[9] M. Moennich, one of a party of American missionaries who descended the Kuliseu in 1937, did not, however, note a Trumaí village near this site.[10] When Quain arrived in 1938 there was only one Trumaí village, which was located at the northern site. This would suggest that the southern village was abandoned in 1937–38, but it is possible that those Trumaí seen by Petrullo and Moennich were the same ones whom Quain visited.

The northern and southern villages mentioned in the literature are the only ones recorded. It is certain that since 1884 there have only been two communities, although each has been located in many different places. Unfortunately, the exact locations of the abandoned sites and their periods of occupation are not well known. Each of the old village locales had a name, and these designations are still known. Among them are Morena, Waniwani, Karajaja, Iakare, Jawpew, and Wahldat. Some of the names, such as Iakare, are obviously of Tupian origin. Jawpew was the name of the northern Trumaí village at the time of von den Steinen's expeditions. Karajaja was the last location before the one in which Quain resided. This site was located near the Kamayurá village on the Tsahuku and appears on Petrullo's map. The Trumaí said that it was a good village, but that they had to move because the Kamayurá and Auetí were practicing sorcery against them. The village to which they moved, and where Quain visited them, was named Anariatan.

People were often referred to by other Trumaí according to the village in which they were born. Thus, a *Wahldat jaxio* was, literally, a son of Wahldat. Also, garden sites were most commonly named after an abandoned village. The old villages were looked on with reverence as the homes of the ancestors of the Trumaí. They were considered to be places of great interest, and Quain was repeatedly urged to visit them.

[6] *Ibid.*, 1897, p. 93.
[7] Meyer 1897, Plate I.
[8] Schmidt 1942.
[9] Petrullo 1932, p. 180.
[10] Moennich 1942.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

was working on the roof, the other thatched the wall facing the forest, and the house was subsequently occupied while work was still proceeding on that wall. The wall toward the village was temporarily hung with cloth drapes for privacy, although for purposes of protection from enemies the opposite side was thatched first. 342

Additional thatch was placed on the house at the beginning of the rainy season. At that time light poles were bound to the frame for greater support. The chief's house began to sag from the weight of the thatch, and braces had to be put under the ridge pole. Two posts, as heavy as the center posts, were crossed just below the ridge pole and bound together. A few men got behind each post and pushed so that the poles would assume a more nearly vertical position and give firmer support to the ridge poles. When this had been accomplished, the bases of the posts were set in holes. 342 335

Quain had the opportunity to observe two houses being constructed: his own and a fifth dwelling being built by two Trumaí men. His own small house took one week to build. The work started off with a great burst of effort, and in four hours all the wall posts, center posts and the ridge pole were in place. However, every day thereafter progress became increasingly slower. 123 342 461

House styles and construction were not rigidly conventionalized. The Trumaí helped build a house for the missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Young, and they thought that Quain, being a *karahiba* (white man), would like one such as the Youngs had designed for themselves. When they were half finished with the frame, Quain realized what was happening, and asked for a haystack house like theirs. The revision was made easily and the result was a hybrid. This, added to the fact that two of the houses in the village were much larger than the other two, indicated a certain flexibility and willingness to imitate. The Kamayurá classified the different posts and poles that went into house building, but the Trumaí had only very broad terms for the corresponding parts. 123 341 [197] [192] [335]

The heavy work of raising the ridge pole, stepping in braces, and carrying and inserting center posts was done cooperatively. These joint labors, although brief and infrequent, made for a festive occasion and gave rise to laughter and gaiety, an unusual thing among the men. With the exception of operations requiring the combined efforts of more men, the house was built by the males who were to occupy it. Women took no part in the building. Yanahi and Mayuva, who were building a new house, shared the work unequally, Yanahi doing the larger part. They did not always work at the same time, and, when they did, they worked on separate sections of the house. 335 342 476 [462]

Quain's house was built cooperatively because he was an outsider, and it was the obligation of the whole community to accommodate him. 123 342 476 574

B /156 cont./
101 couple of foreign individuals enter one of these family communi-
128 ties, they will, it is readily admitted, bring about a crossbreeding
197 which is not disclosed by a study of the language. But inter-
619 mixtures on a greater scale also change the language tremendously.
The foreign women who become mothers exert an influence on
the language of the children, which, in the Island Karaiben, for
080 example, is plainly evident. The children of the Karaiben men
and Aruak women did not by any means speak Karaiben, as the
young mulattoes in Brazil speak Portuguese, but rather spoke a
new language which had important grammatical elements and
phonetic peculiarities from the mothers. This is not very sur-
prising, for the cultural differences between the two tribes were
not basic, the number of foreign women was large, and they
brought all their local traditions into the marriage, since the
conquering men came from the outside. The children were com-
pelled both to make a compromise with the language materials
on the father's and the mother's side, and to choose between the
prefixes and suffixes offered by the one and the other, which are
of decisive importance for the alteration of the word roots as a
result of the influence on the stem's initial or final sound, and
they experienced the reciprocal effect, uncurbed by any school-
master culture, but instead freely active, of the phonetic laws
B valid up to then in the two parental tribes. Among these primi-
101 tive peoples, the measure of linguistic differentiation will also
197 be roughly the measure of anthropological differentiation.

If we wish to cast about for linguistic relationship among the Kulisehu "tribes" and thus reduce the list, we must dwell for a moment on the linguistic groups occurring in the rest of Brazil.

T There are still many individual tribes who, either because
101 their linguistic relatives are no longer living or because we do
197 not know them, speak isolated languages. We must first of all
put the Trumaí among them, in order to dispose of them im-
T mediately. I did not succeed in finding a place for them anywhere,
[192] near or far. They have borrowed a good many words from the
culture of their neighbors, the Kamayurá and Auetö, but the core
and essence of the idiom is peculiar and of a different origin.

B /201 cont,/
*171 in remote epochs, /202/ for the phonetic softening processes
174 and the disappearance of the initial root-sounds, which are
241 present everywhere in the individual dialects, show a development in the same direction, but in different gradations everywhere with respect to degree and limits, show only equivalence, not conformity, and therefore could have started only after the separation from the basic people. Nevertheless, even the basic peoples have names for the most important useful plants; they are entirely different from one basic people to another, but for the individual basic stock they are common among a greater or lesser number of branches. For the Karaiben /Carib/ I believe I have proved these statements in my Bakaïrí grammar, I can likewise maintain them for the Tupí after more recent studies; for the Nu-Aruak /Arawak/, where the material is inadequate and difficult, I reserve all judgment and merely point out that, on the basis of historical and ethnological data, we must conclude that the Nu-Aruak undoubtedly have an older culture than the Karaiben and certainly the Gēs, and probably also an older
T one than the Tupí. The Trumaí borrowed their names for the
[192] most important useful plants in part from the Nu-Aruak, in part from the Tupí.

B [181] Thus, we have a contradiction with respect to the common conception: ancient agriculture along with the world view of
B hunters. The Bakaïrí said to me: "Our grandfathers did not
[773] know anything about maize and mandioca, instead they ate
[261] earth" -- which the present-day Indians only nibble. In the bagadú legend they say that mandioca was first given as a gift
BO to the campo residents. In the Mato Grosso different stages of de-
[241] velopment are found side by side: in the case of the Bororó we
[153] shall become acquainted with a mighty tribe for whom the cultivation of food plants was an incomprehensible beginning, who, without need, most speedily pulled out and consumed the
T mandioca roots planted for them, before the roots were scarcely
[241] more than thin young shoots -- we recognize from the language and
[177] also hear from the tradition that the Trumaí were taught agriculture only recently by their neighbors, and we find among them
excellently tended, extensive plantings--

/238 cont./

171 411 No. 2 in the accompanying figure or pear-shaped, like No. 3. Only a small part of the stone peeked out of the wax covering; cf. No. 9. The wooden points had different forms, spherical or, corresponding to the stone pear, with a long stem to be shoved into the shaft: No. 1, or (the common form) Nos. 4 and 10, a cylindrical piece that tapered at the bottom for insertion -- in No. 11 also one with a pointed projection, furthermore a knob, No. 12, and a fork, No. 8. In Figure 6 on [531] page 91, the center arrow bears a long, narrow wooden cone which is decorated with a long black linear or dot design on a white background.

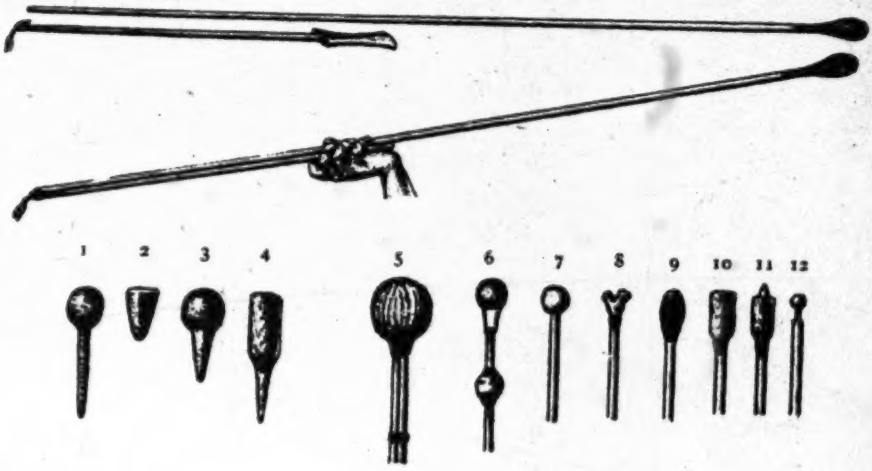

Fig. 28. Throwing board (1/13 nat. size/ as shown in the original illustration/) and the tips of the darts.

already the purely decorative weapon for the dance. Many darts bore [824] only wax knobs. Finally, we see in Nos. 6 and 7 one or two tucum nuts (Astrocaryum) set on in the manner of the noise-making arrows, and in No. 5 a fist-size tucum nut on two reed shafts lashed together.

[192] The throwing board gets its name from the tucum palm: yauarí. It is not unusual for the plant that furnishes the material to provide the name for the implement as well; the Kamayurá added a more specific identification, yauarí amomoáp, which means (amo, far; mo, causative; ap, to break apart, to wound) "tucum shattering far away." Apollo amomoáp, the one hitting far away. In a legend

/420 cont./

B 171 192 They all had in common a word each for 1) red and orange, 2) yellow, 3) white, 4) black. This therefore corresponds exactly with their dyestuffs. The Auetŏ had the same word, the "white" of the Tupí language, for white and light yellow. The T 171 192 Trumaí were the only ones who had two words for blue and green; the rest designated these two colors with the same word. Among the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/, however, tamagenéng blue = black and dark brown, and green is tukuéng; it also happened that one of them would use tukuéng for blue as well, but not tamagenéng for green. Now and then the strangest things occurred. A Trumaí and a Nahuquá designated blue with the same word as cadmium yellow, a Bakaïrí and a Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ designated green just the same as red -- if one wished, one could discover the various types of color blindness among any of them one happened to be investigating.

B 171 192 196 Only linguistic research can give the key for these phenomena. For a number of the color words I am able to give the original meaning, and they will suffice to explain possibilities of this kind. It is quite certain that the Kamayurá /Camayura/ word "blue" or "green" i-tsovü-maé = parakeet-colored" from tsovü, the name of the Conurus species or parakeets. These parrots have grass green as well as indigo blue in their feathers. In Tupí the same color word is cúgui, çy, and the parakeet is called tovi, tui, çivi, çiui. Thanks to the Kamayurá form, i-tsovü-mae, the origin of çugui, already obliterated in the Tupí, is still preserved. Whether I showed the Indian a blue or a green daub, a blue string of beads or a green leaf, his answer, "parakeet-colored," was, indeed, correct. It all depends on which part of the coloring he visualized. The Auetŏ word i-kŏr-etú, "green" or "blue," perhaps corresponds to the "parrot" of the Tupí, jeru, softened from keru, so that we would have here "parrot-colored."

The tukuéng "green" of the Bakaïrí also goes back to the parakeet zugú-ri.* Now since there is a parakeet species kept in

* The name of the parakeet is onomatopoetic, hence very similar among Bakaïrí, Tupí, and Bororŏ.

2: Steinen--653 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Trumai SP23
Paressi SP19
Bororo SP8

/523/

Appendix.

I. Word List of the

1. Nahuquá, 2. Yanumakapü-Nahuquá, 3. Mehinakú, 4. Kustenaú, 5. Waurá, 6. Yaulapiti, 7. Auetó, 8. Kamayurá, 9. Trumaí, 10. Paressí, 11. Bororó.

The following lists, which I have arranged as uniformly as possible, are limited to substantives, personal pronouns of the first and second person, colors, numbers, negation. With anything else I should necessarily have to enter into grammatical discussions which would lead me too far afield. For this reason I have also been obliged to dispense with any kind of comparison. Anyone who studies the words a little more closely will easily recognize a number of regular forms of phonetic change and will be able to convince himself of the important fact that in the various groups -- especially in a comparison of the Auetó and Kamayurá /Camayura/ with the lingoa geral -- there takes place the same softening of the initial sound of the stem that I pointed out for Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ and the Karaiben /Carib/ idioms. Everywhere, it seems, with lawful certainty, we come across the three series of the p-, t-, and k- initial sounds as the oldest possession of the base-languages.

The spelling has been kept as simple as possible. Note only:

a English a as in walk.
y as in York.
v German w.
ɣ guttural fricative, our German ch formed at the middle palate.
š French ch.
s French c.
ž French z.

/524/

ð English th.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

the greatest time and effort into its building. Quain was reprimanded for speaking of the house in which Maibu lived as "Maibu's," for his brother-in-law, Mata'wai, had built it. This point of property was confirmed by others, despite the fact that Maibu was the head of the household and acted as host when guests entered. 423

To the Trumaí, the only important property was in the personal possession of transportable, material artifacts. These ranged from tools and weapons to ceremonial objects and trinkets obtained from Quain. The second class of property was probably cherished more than the first, which was viewed as consisting of everyday necessities. The combs, feathers, beads, European novelties, papers, and other such items that all men and women possessed were carefully kept in baskets and gourds near their hammocks. A man and wife would often keep some of their personal belongings in the same containers, but beyond this there was a special category of personal possessions called *wacta*. This highly valued personal property was kept by each individual in separate gourds, where it was safe from the gift claims of kinsmen and reasonably free from the danger of theft. 422 [415]

The privacy of this property was especially observed by opposite sexes, although not as strictly by mates. Quain was told by one man that it was "bad" for a man to look at a woman's *wacta*, although he rummaged at will through the personal belongings of the men. The taboo on male contact with women's *wacta* was due in part to inclusion within it of articles used during menstruation. [841]

Accompanying the stress on personal and private ownership of certain material objects was a strong sense of acquisitiveness. Quain expressed this as follows: "There can be no doubt that property ownership is a paramount drive in this culture. Children are not content to see, as they are in Fiji, but things must be theirs. The possessive pronoun has an importance here which is striking. Once articles are received, they seem to disappear. They are probably carefully guarded among personal belongings." Significantly, the word for "gift-giving," literally translated, also means "to yield to a demand." 181 425 [193]

The Trumaí were tremendously interested in Quain's belongings and made continual attempts to acquire them. Adults as well as children whined in order to obtain objects from him. This attitude was manifested towards useful objects such as knives and axes, but they also pleaded and begged for articles having only curiosity value to them. As Quain said, to be curious about an object was to want it. Possession was desired for its own sake, for only slight prestige was gained by accumulating material objects, and utilitarian articles, such as knives, axes, and pots, were easily borrowed. 123 181 425 [454] [556]

Despite the possessiveness described by Quain, the Trumaí were restricted by strong gift-giving ties. A true brother or a son had a claim 431 602

/122 cont./

123 half an hour renewed howling and women's screams announced
152 the arrival of Wilhelm and Carlos, who were led up and likewise gave expression to their friendly intentions with words and gestures.

142 /123/ There were mostly small, frail figures with small heads, receding chins, and ugly faces; among the old women there were truly magnificent specimens of witch-models. The
291 women in part wore the triangular uluri, in part a wardrobe garment new to us, a grayish-white bast loop that was drawn over
• 194 the hips and thickened into a small roll. The language in its cadence reminded us not a little of that of the Suyá, with which it had in common the nagging, squeezed habitus and could be immediately distinguished from all the Kulisehu languages by the frequent terminal sound of ts and by the f.

727 It was strange that the Trumaí had let themselves be taken by surprise in this way. Probably they had fled from the Suyá who had plundered their villages and from us at the same time. Their scouts, who were roving about among the Auetó, Yaulapiti, and Kamayurá, probably believed that we would not return directly to the Auetó from the Kamayurá, but would go to Schingú-Koblenz in order to join Perrot and Vogel, whose trip was already known to them, and reach the Auetó harbor on the river. The camp of the fugitives presented a spectacle of
[162] disorder and confusion. There were about 50 persons in all;
[352] numerous small fires were burning beside the brown hammocks, bundles of all kinds lay about and hung from the trees; the shelter-huts of the Auetó plantation remained unused. The
[501] Indians had come in part by way of the canals: a small flotilla of canoes had drawn up in the swampy water nearby, many of them in bad shape and where necessary pasted up merely with lumps of loam.

437 The beijús, the filled gourd bowls, and the cigars were necessarily lacking at this reception. They brought small balls of cotton and asked for beads. Unfortunately, we had given away almost everything to the Kamayurá and could therefore not offer much. With the remains, however, a few

2: Steinen--653 E,D-5 (1884,1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Trumai SP23
Paressi SP19
Bororo SP8

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Appendix.

I. Word List
of the

1. Nahuquá, 2. Yanumakapü-Nahuquá, 3. Mehinakú, 4. Kustenaú, 5. Waurá, 6. Yaulapiti, 7. Auetó, 8. Kamayurá, 9. Trumaí, 10. Paressí, 11. Bororó.

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a English a as in walk.
y as in York.
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š French ch.
ś French c.
ž French z.

/524/

ϑ English th.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

the banks, while men crowded into a canoe. The reptile was located, but instead of the one-foot diameter that it was at first said to have, it turned out to be only three inches thick. But, as Quain laconically observed, it was hungry. The men shouted at Jawaku to jump in the water and grab it.

The boy approached the reptile cautiously and with obvious fear. The anaconda, aroused, slithered through the water to the other side of the lagoon. Jawaku's unwillingness to fight was now apparent. There were shouts that he was frightened. These goads temporarily overcame his reluctance, and he waded through the water and grabbed the snake around the middle, lifting it out of the water. The anaconda began throwing its coils, while striking at the boy. In a panic, Jawaku stumbled blindly for the shore, tripped over a log, and released his hold on the snake. All the men shouted, "He's afraid!" as the crestfallen boy dragged himself out of the water and silently walked home.

That night, Maibu made a lengthy speech in which he absolved himself from any responsibility for Jawaku's cowardice. The next day another reptile was sighted, but Jawaku did not even bother to look at it.

On the other hand, Autsuki measured up to what was expected of him, and thus was able to continue the ritual that marked his maturation. Immediately upon the successful outcome of his struggle with an anaconda, he went to his house. He had now entered the seclusion phase of his puberty rites. Tun, his mother's brother, who was acting as next of kin, built a partition screening him off from the rest of the house. He was allowed nothing to eat but a medicinal preparation called *wyryx*, and he could leave his confinement to defecate only when everyone was asleep.

The seclusion period was to last until the ear-piercing festival which was to be held several months later, but Autsuki was cheerful about it. In accordance with normal practice, he had his arms scraped shortly after he entered confinement, and he was also given the adult tonsure.

There remained only one more step in the cycle of initiation rites: initiation into the shamanistic art of curing. Completion of this final phase was necessary for full participation in the men's circle and for the privilege of smoking tobacco.[3] All of the uninitiated Trumaí youths knew how to smoke and occasionally did so, but the adults referred to this as "lying smoking." In order to "really" smoke it was necessary to have a ceremony performed by Matiwana. Exactly when this occurred is open to question, but ideally it was supposed to follow the final seclusion and ear-piercing. Aloari had not yet had the ceremony performed, although he was married and had a child. In his own words, he was still "too young." Aloari was evidently equating maturation with the puberty rites.

[3] Oberg (1953, p. 60) reports that uninitiated men may not smoke among the Kamayurá, either.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

888 [561] grades except in the broadest sense, as the term for "younger" covered everyone from infants to people in the prime of life. The terms, however, [181] indicate a keen consciousness that those who have passed their prime are distinct from those who are still developing or are at the height of their physical powers.

The Trumaí believed that it was good to be young, vigorous, and strong, while advancing years were a stigma. Quain always met with a stout denial whenever he suggested to someone that he was older than someone else. An old person, they said with contempt, was one who did not bathe or shave the crown of his head any more. Mayuva did not [626] bother to bathe one morning and was derided by Kerami, who accused him of being old. A short time later he reappeared freshly bathed.

[162] While several individuals were considered "older," the only ones who fell into the Trumaí category of true old age were Matiwana and Yahu. The latter's status was further lowered by the fact that he was [563] considered to be a Kamayurá; his father was a member of that tribe and he had a son living with them. However, Yahu was still sexually potent and a full participant in the economy.

[195] A person of truly advanced old age was called *dewan*. This term, which has uncomplimentary connotations, was applied only to men "whose penis is dead" or to women past menopause. Matiwana was the only person of either sex who fitted the *dewan* category. The only tasks for which he was suited were light craft work, gathering firewood, and an occasional fishing trip. He was, however, the fount of nearly all Trumaí ceremonial knowledge. Matiwana was well cared for by his son and by his household. The son's affection and loyalty to his father were deep, and he was the old man's constant companion. The rest of the villagers remained aloof from Matiwana.

888 The Trumaí abhorred the thought of their own future old age, and 554 they transferred some of this fear to the persons of the aged. Status [756] declined with age, and Matiwana had his ceremonial lore and shamanistic skill to thank for what position he still maintained.

Death

768 Neither the village site nor the house of the deceased had to be 764 abandoned following death. Burial took place in the village plaza. The corpse was interred lying on its back in an extended position, wrapped and bound in its hammock. Numerous cooking utensils, including a *ja'meo* (ceramic griddle for baking *beijú*) were buried with both male and female deceased.

765 No deaths occurred while Quain was in residence, but mourning was still going on for a man who had recently died. The burden of mourning fell on the female relatives of the deceased. The only observance in-

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumaí SP23

The rapid exhaustion of the soil forces them into a life which, although not nomadic, involves frequent moves. As the soil in old plots is exhausted, new ones have to be opened up. The area of exploitable land around the village is limited by the need to transport the produce and protect the villagers from their enemies. Thus, after the land available to the village has been used, the group moves.

The main subsistence of the nine village groups now living in the upper Xingú area is derived from this typically Amazonian shifting horticulture coupled with fishing in the extensive streams, lagoons, and estuaries. Apparently, the population of the region was never great enough to cause any pressure on land or other resources. Each village maintained exclusive rights of exploitation over certain waterways and areas of land within which the village always moved. There evidently were not, and still are not, any clearly defined territorial boundaries; but village rights are implicitly recognized.

The Neighbors of the Trumaí

Although there is considerable uniformity in the cultures of the upper Xingú tribes, their linguistic affiliations are diverse. The main language stocks of aboriginal Brazil are represented. On the Kuluene River are the linguistically independent Trumaí and the Cariban Kuikuru, Kalapalo, Tsuva, and Naravute. Near the waters of the Kuliseu River live the Tupian Kamayurá and Auetí, the Arawakan Mehinaku and Yaulapití, and the Cariban Nahukwa. The Batoví River is inhabited by the Arawakan Waurá and Kustenaú.[1] All these villages maintain a rather distrustful peace among themselves, but live in fear of their hostile Gê- and Tupian-speaking neighbors on the perimeters of the upper Xingú drainage area.

The upper Xingú "tribes" consist of one village each. It seems evident from the linguistic heterogeneity of the region that it is a *cul de sac* — one of the aboriginal refuge areas which characterize the cultural landscape of the headwaters of the Amazon and its tributaries.

The cultural uniformity of the above peoples has impressed all observers, as has the extensive contact that they maintain with each other. Descriptions of this homogeneity are to be found in von den Steinen[2] and, latterly, in Galvão[3] and Oberg.[4] Among the principal material traits which distinguish the area as opposed to neighboring, but outside, groups are: haystack-shaped houses arranged in a circle around a central plaza; bark canoes; dependence upon fish for protein;

[1] Oberg (1953, p. 4) states that the Yaulapití, Kustenaú, Tsuva, and Naravute no longer live in independent villages, but reside among other groups, usually of the same linguistic family.

[2] Von den Steinen 1886. [3] Galvão 1949. [4] Oberg 1953.

B /156 cont./
101 couple of foreign individuals enter one of these family communi-
128 ties, they will, it is readily admitted, bring about a crossbreeding
199 which is not disclosed by a study of the language. But inter-
619 mixtures on a greater scale also change the language tremendously.
The foreign women who become mothers exert an influence on
the language of the children, which, in the Island Karaiben, for
080 example, is plainly evident. The children of the Karaiben men
and Aruak women did not by any means speak Karaiben, as the
young mulattoes in Brazil speak Portuguese, but rather spoke a
new language which had important grammatical elements and
phonetic peculiarities from the mothers. This is not very sur-
prising, for the cultural differences between the two tribes were
not basic, the number of foreign women was large, and they
brought all their local traditions into the marriage, since the
conquering men came from the outside. The children were com-
pelled both to make a compromise with the language materials
on the father's and the mother's side, and to choose between the
prefixes and suffixes offered by the one and the other, which are
of decisive importance for the alteration of the word roots as a
result of the influence on the stem's initial or final sound, and
they experienced the reciprocal effect, uncurbed by any school-
master culture, but instead freely active, of the phonetic laws
B valid up to then in the two parental tribes. Among these primi-
101 tive peoples, the measure of linguistic differentiation will also
197 be roughly the measure of anthropological differentiation.

If we wish to cast about for linguistic relationship among the Kulisehu "tribes" and thus reduce the list, we must dwell for a moment on the linguistic groups occurring in the rest of Brazil.

T There are still many individual tribes who, either because
101 their linguistic relatives are no longer living or because we do
197 not know them, speak isolated languages. We must first of all
put the Trumaí among them, in order to dispose of them im-
T mediately. I did not succeed in finding a place for them anywhere,
[192] near or far. They have borrowed a good many words from the
culture of their neighbors, the Kamayurá and Auetö, but the core
and essence of the idiom is peculiar and of a different origin.

T 101 197 /156 cont./ and essence of the idiom is peculiar and of a different origin, just as their physical type is different from all Kulisehu tribes.

B 197 From the Cordilleras to the Atlantic Ocean, from the La Plata to the Antilles, there are four large linguistic families: Tapuya, Tupí, Karaiben /Carib/, and Nu-Aruak /Arawak/.

B 197 101 131 /157/ The Tapuya are the east Brazilian aborigines, the forest dwellers of the coastal region and the occupants of the interior as far as a western boundary, of which the Schingú may be regarded as the main portion. They fall into two divisions, a western one, the Gēs according to Martius, and an eastern one, to which belong the primitive forest tribes of the east and the Botokuden /Botocudo/. The western outposts of the Gēs are the Kapayó and Suyá. With the latter we need not concern ourselves further, in view of the report about our second expedition, except that now there must be added the interesting fact that formerly the Suyá lived still much farther west. They were settled west of the Paranatinga, along its left tributary, the Rio Verde, in the neighborhood of the Kayabí /Cayabi/ and Bakaïrí, and from here they were not long ago driven back, one might say, to the Schingú. The entire mass of Gēs has lived east of the Schingú from time immemorial, and the nearest relatives of the Suyá, the Apinagēs /Apinaye/, live in the angle where the Araguay /Araguaia/ and Tokantins /Tocantins/ flow together.

The Tupí are dispersed over vast areas. By and large their northern boundary lies along the northern tributaries of the Amazon; they occupied the coast from the mouth of the Amazon to that of the La Plata; the Guaraní of Paraguay merely speak a dialect of Tupí. We encounter Tupí on the upper course of the Schingú, of the Tapajoz, of the Madeira, even of the Maranhão. Their language was elevated by the Jesuits to be the language for communication, the "lingoa geral." A great practical benefit, but unfortunate for the science of language. The interest in Tupí has caused scholarship in Brazil to treat all other languages in a most stepmotherly fashion; countless volumes from ancient and modern times are devoted to it; there is nothing more than meager vocabularies from any of the Tapuya tribes, either the Botokuden or a Gēs tribe, the linguistic study of which would be one of the

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The Nu-Aruak fall into the subdivisions of the Nu tribes and the Aruak. "Nu-" is the characteristic fossil of these tribes, the pronominal prefix of the first person, highly characteristic for most of them, which we come across from Bolivia and the Mato Grosso to the Lesser Antilles. In the Guianas we see the Nu-Aruak in intimate contact with the Karaiben; on the Lesser Antilles, where the Aruak were attacked and oppressed by the Karaiben, a true amalgamation would in all probability have come about without the arrival of the Europeans, bringing destruction. Father Raymond Breton in 1665 left us a dictionary of the Island Karaiben, whose Indian-French part, unfortunately only this, has become generally available in a facsimile edition, thanks to Julius Platzmann (Leipzig, 1892), and strove earnestly to separate the words of the Karaiben men and the Aruak women, where they differed, but proved by his compilation that two languages were no longer spoken independently of each other, as was mentioned above, but that the Karaiben men had allowed the substance and form of their old "mother tongue" to be tremendously changed by the new "language of their mothers."

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On the distant Kulisehu we met the exact mirror image of the conditions in the Guianas. The Mehinakú, Kustenaú, Waurá, and Yaulapiti are Nu-Aruak; their influence was clearly asserted in language and culture traits among the Nahuquá who had taken several Mehinakú women.

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Therefore, according to linguistic investigation, the tribes of the Schingú source region are to be classified as follows (the number of villages in parentheses):

Karaiben: Bakaïrí (8), Nahuquá (9);
Nu-Aruak: Mehinakú (3), Waurá (1), Kustenaú (1), Yaulapiti (2);
Tupí: Kamayurá (4), Auetó (1);
Isolated: Trumaí (2).

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/159/ Just as the Nahuquá embrace nine different "tribes," which correspond merely to nine different independent villages, we could likewise put the Mehinakú, Waurá, and Kustenaú together as one tribe. These three tribes speak exactly the same idiom. They also, as we shall see, form an ethnological unit,

2: Steinen--135 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Trumaí SP23

B 101 171 197 /159 cont./

and, in order not to do violence to the perfectly justified tribal names, as actually happened in the case of the Nahuquá, we may call them, where we need a comprehensive term, the potter tribes, according to their most important ethnological characteristic. Beside them stand the Yaulapiti as a closely related Nu-Aruak tribe, but one already clearly different in dialect and revealing other influences.

B I 101 197 Thus the arithmetical problem has been simplified to the extent that we have before us Karaiben in the Bakaïrí and Nahuquá, Nu-Aruak in the potter tribes and the Yaulapiti, Tupí in the Auetö and the Kamayurá, and, as an indivisible remainder, the Trumaí.

II. Anthropological.

B I 126 128 141 In order to have a record of the physical appearance of the Kulisehu Indians, insofar as was possible during our brief acquaintance with the individual tribes, a series of measurements were taken, which did not turn out to be very numerous and are not evenly distributed according to the different tribes or the two sexes, yet nevertheless offer interesting material. Possible sources of error on the part of the observer may be put down as constant, since the measurements were all taken by Ehrenreich. He also took a far greater number of photographs than could be reproduced here; some of them, however, became very spotty and difficult to reproduce.* He expects to make further use of the illustrative

B I 128 141

* As is shown in detail in the list of illustrations, the following are reproduced here in photographs: both sexes of the Bakaïrí, Mehinakú and Kamayurá, as well as only men of the Nahuquá and Auetö, while Yaulapiti and Trumaí are missing altogether.

material and to deal with the collected material of the measurements in detail and according to its comparative value for the

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932

Aneto SP6
SP8 Bororo
Yaruma SP25
Waura SP18
Trumai SP23 ● Y
Bacairi SP7

that of the Naravute on the Kuluene, where the rapids end. Thus habitation of the banks of these two rivers begins where the rapids end, and the rivers become deep and, in the case of the Kulene, broad. This seems the line likewise of the end of the open lands of the chapadão and the beginning of the forest belt that stretches northward to the Amazon. Thus the region occupied by the aborigines having permanent settlements is that which borders on deeper waters well stocked with large fish, where mammalian life is poorer, but bird life richer and the soil is better.

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According to Von den Steinen, the Mehinaku, Anra and Yawalapiti speak Arawak; the Auiti and Kumayula are Tupi, and the Bakairi and the Anahuka are Caribs. The Trumai speak an isolated language. Keeping this classification, we must include in the Carib stock Naravute, Kuikuti (Cuicuru) and Tsuva, if the fact that these groups could converse freely with the Anahuka and that my Bakairi, who knew a little Anahuka, is an indication that they have a common language.

WATBY
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Thus, three of the four linguistic stocks of South America that have the widest geographic distribution are well represented on these headwaters of the Xingu. The fourth, the Tapuya,[1] is spoken by tribes in the surrounding region, most of whom are scarcely known by name. It is generally held that the Tapuya are the oldest inhabitants of eastern Brazil and that they were dislodged by the Tupi. In this region, it seems that the Tupi, Carib and Arawak are holding the more desirable locations near the rivers, and that all of them have as their common enemies tribes speaking some form of Tapuya, who are kept away from the deep waters and the fish. The most numerous are the Caribs, with five villages; the Tupi have two, and the Arawak have three. However, it must not be implied that because the villages speak languages which belong to the same stock that they are united politically. Each is a separate political community and apparently language affiliation plays little part in political or social alliances.

Since Von den Steinen's visit, the tribes have shifted their habitat somewhat. Changes of village site is often caused by the necessity of fresh manioc fields, death or warfare. The Anahukua, for instance, gave the information that their former home was to the east of the Kuluene, but that following a disastrous attack by the Jaruma they

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[1] [Tapuya means "enemy" in Tupi. Perhaps this fourth stock is Ge.—Analyst]

TRUMAI SP23

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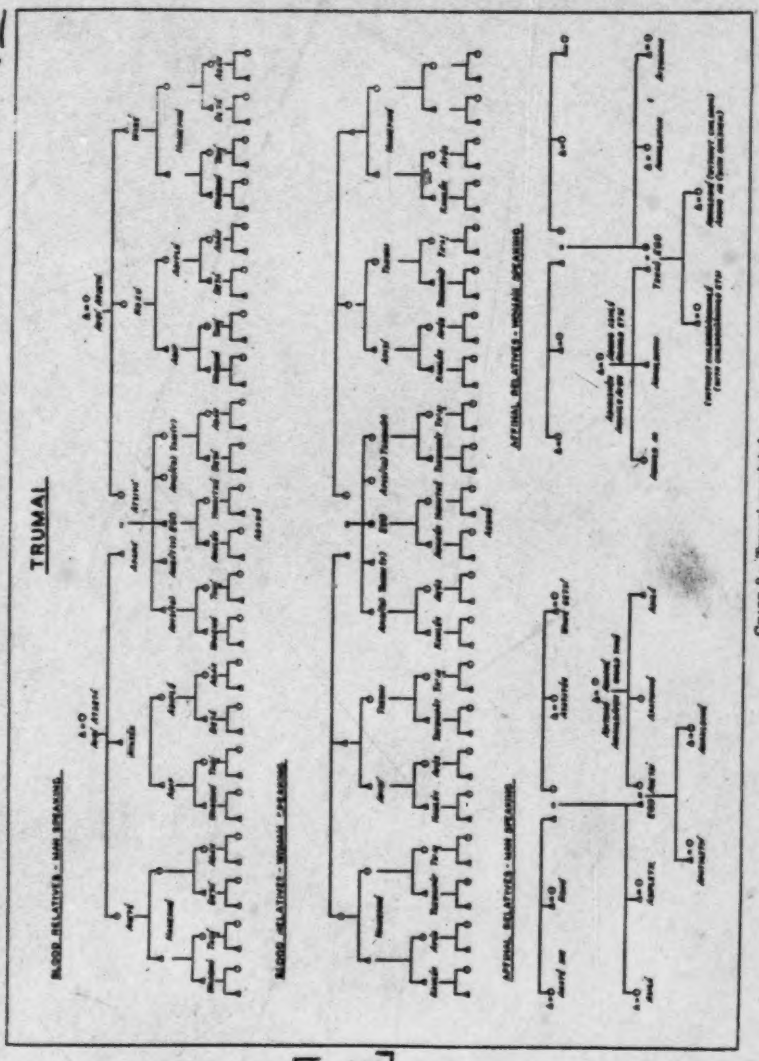

CHART 9.—Trumai, unrelated.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

frighten Quain, too. One of their favorite stories was that the Nahukwa chief, Aloike, was coming to take Quain. Aloike was a powerful sorcerer and had a reputation for treachery among all the tribes, and the Nahukwa were probably feared more because of him than because of any traditional enmity.

Wild tales were also told out of sheer perversity. A party of Kamayurá came to visit and announced that Quain's father would arrive in an airplane with gifts for the Trumaí. On another occasion they said that a plane full of *kavaiba* (white men) had landed at the house of Thomas Young, an American missionary who lived further up the Kuliseu.

The Trumaí, themselves, aggravated their own fears. One of them spoke at length in the men's circle on how the Kamayurá tortured their captives by piercing their arms and legs with arrow points. He also said that they beheaded them, stirred up their brains over a fire, and ate them. This was undoubtedly a false story born of fear and contrary to all the more reliable information on the treatment of captives. However, torture and ritual cannibalism of this sort once flourished in the tropical forest. It is, therefore, interesting that the Trumaí should know of such practices.

Due to the constant fear of surprise attack shared by all the tribes, it was considered bad policy to enter foreign territory without giving warning. This was done by building a fire. A party from the village then went out to investigate, unless it was definitely known who the intruders were. If a fire was seen by a traveling party, their canoes were beached and an answering fire was built.

Surprise meetings were to be avoided at all costs. When Quain was traveling on the Kuliseu with a Trumaí group, the sight of a Kamayurá canoe caused some concern. The chief was quite happy to note that Quain left his rifle in the bottom of the boat, thereby giving a peaceable appearance.

According to Dyott, an English explorer who descended the Xingú in 1938, arrows planted point first in the ground were "no trespassing" signs.[15] He also said that whistling arrows were shot in the air to warn strangers to stay away. The latter sign was, more accurately, an additional means of letting one's presence be known. Smoke spirals seen to the north or east always caused a great disturbance in the Trumaí village, as these were thought to be Suyá fires. Since the upper Xingú people approached from the south, fires seen in this direction caused little alarm unless there had been rumors of some aggressive act by the Kamayurá or Nahukwa.

Fear of attack at times approached the point of hysteria. The high tension might last a few days, after which it would decline to the normal

[15] Dyott 1939, pp. 303–04.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

226 although not everyone owned one. Quain also described Trumaí fish nets, but netting must have been a minor technique, as he did not see it practiced during his stay.

[171] Throughout the upper Xingú area it was common practice to construct fish dams across the mouths of lagoons. There were two such fish weirs in the Trumaí lagoon, one near its mouth, the other across a small inlet near the village. Their purpose was to block the fish from escape to the main stream when drugs were placed in the water. They were built by driving upright stakes into the floor of the lagoon, after which a wall of rubbish and branches was built against the fence. One dam was constructed by the village cooperatively, while the other was said to have been built by a single man.

226 The Trumaí lagoon was considered the property of the community,
413 and the Trumaí maintained exclusive fishing rights in it. The water in the lagoon is clear in comparison to the muddy Kuluene, and the fishing excellent. A good proportion of the fishing was done there, especially when traps and poisons were used, but they also had fishing rights in other lagoons within the territory of abandoned Trumaí villages. In addition, they fished in the Kuluene and Kulisu and ranged as far afield as the Batoví River.

576 While most fishing trips were carried out within a day, some lasted
[201] two or three days. When the fishermen returned, they were greeted with a conventional shout by all the villagers. The shout was meant to welcome the food rather than the fishermen, and similar cries were heard when well laden gathering parties returned from a short jaunt into the forest.

501 About one-half of the men owned canoes, and according to Quain's
422 informants, only six did not know how to build them. The bark canoes
226 of the upper Xingú are not difficult to make, and it can be assumed that the community did not need more, inasmuch as fishing parties always consisted of two men. Larger groups went out of the village in a body when many fish were needed for a ceremony or to feed guests, but they usually split into pairs. Cooperative fishing groups of more than two men were needed only for drugging and perhaps for netting. On one *tucasi* fishing expedition over half the males of the village went to the lagoon with bundles of shredded bark. Quain noted that this was one of the few examples of group labor transcending the immediate family.

226 Two-man fishing expeditions were composed of the owner or borrower
571 of the canoe and his helper (*tau*). The *tau* generally paddled while the owner fished. Only while serving as a helper was he referred to as the *tau* of that man. Thus, if a person went as the helper of Makurawa, he was referred to as "Makurawatau." He shared in the catch, but whether he received less than the canoe owner is not indicated by the field notes. There seemed to be no fixed standard for the selection of the *tau*, nor

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were the teams always the same. Old Matiwana and his son Yati fished together most of the time, as did Aloari and his true brother Tun. Other true brothers often fished together, but, with the exception of the two above-mentioned steadfast teams, men chose their fishing companions according to their mutual needs or plans for the day. Since such agreements occurred most often between members of the same household, co-residents often cooperated. One man, Jakuma, spent much of his time fishing as the *tau* of different canoe owners or borrowers. He had no wife, and his garden, which he did not till very diligently, was very small. His fishing partners included men from every household, who were related to him in various degrees.

Although the position of *tau* was a temporarily subordinate one, it caused no loss of status. Even the Trumaí chief, since he owned no canoe, went fishing as a *tau*. Occasionally men took their wives along, but fishing was a man's specialty, and the woman's function was restricted to paddling.

Gathering

The two most important food products that the Trumaí gathered were turtle eggs and the fruit of the *piquí* tree, or *tsinon*. Throughout the dry season, turtle eggs were gathered in great quantity on the banks and sandbars of the rivers. By September they were no longer available and, in the following month, *piquí* became the main objective of the gathering parties. The harvest of this fruit was stored and lasted nearly to the end of the rainy season. *Piquí* was an important staple, especially in the period before crops ripened. Most of the *piquí* trees grow wild, but there is a suggestion in Quain's notes that they might also have been transplanted when young. All of the *piquí* trees were individually owned, and proprietary rights of individuals to groups of trees were clearly understood by all. In order to make the fruit ripen fast, the owner of the trees built a slow-burning fire of grass underneath them at night. The early rainy season was a rather lean period, so that there was great joy when the *piquí* was heard falling in the forest. Everyone broke into shouts of "*kaha kaha kaha-a-a*," which was the conventional cry for greeting the first *piquí*. These shouts were slightly different from those welcoming fish brought into the village.

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Due to the constant fear of surprise attack shared by all the tribes, it was considered bad policy to enter foreign territory without giving warning. This was done by building a fire. A party from the village then went out to investigate, unless it was definitely known who the intruders were. If a fire was seen by a traveling party, their canoes were beached and an answering fire was built.

Surprise meetings were to be avoided at all costs. When Quain was traveling on the Kuliseu with a Trumaí group, the sight of a Kamayurá canoe caused some concern. The chief was quite happy to note that Quain left his rifle in the bottom of the boat, thereby giving a peaceable appearance.

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[12] Dyott 1930, pp. 283–84.

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level of general anxiety. It was usually the result of several days of rumor, omens, and strange fires in the north.

Late one night during Quain's stay, after most of the village had retired, a near panic occurred when two women shouted that the Suyá were attacking. All the initiated men, even the weak and old, rushed to the village center with their bows and arrows. The women and children from two of the four Trumaí houses hurried with their hammocks to the other two houses. The frightened men milled around in the center of the village with no apparent organization or direction. The chief, who was trembling, did not take command of the situation.

If this had been a real attack, noted Quain, the raiders would have given a loud yell and loosed a volley of arrows. He later made an investigation and found no signs of intruders. One of the women thought that someone had thrown dirt at her. Quain believed this to be a habit of the Suyá, but one that was usually a friendly overture.

The women feared other tribes more than did the men, for one of the main purposes of raids was to capture women. In every upper Xingú community women from other tribes are always found. The dispersal of women takes three forms: capture in warfare (by groups outside the area), open abduction of a woman by intimidation of her fellow-villagers, and peaceful intertribal marriage. According to de Lima, the Suyá raid the Waurá village on the Batoví River for female captives, as the women of the Arawakan tribes are the only potters of the region.[16] The Trumaí lost many young women to the Kamayurá by intimidation, the second of the above means. Most of the women in the Trumaí village were at one time held by the Kamayurá with the result that, in many Trumaí marriages, the woman is several years older than the man. At the time of Quain's visit, Trumaí women were still living among the Kamayurá and other groups. One of them, the sister of the Trumaí chief, ran away from the Kamayurá and returned home because her husband had beaten her, an action that angered the Trumaí greatly. There she picked up the threads of her old life, but after a few weeks a party of Kamayurá took her back to their village. The Trumaí offered no resistance, either physical or verbal, although they outnumbered the visitors, for to have done so would have invited retaliation.

The fact that the Trumaí had lost many women completely, or regained them only after their most fertile years had passed, was probably a contributing factor to the depopulation of the group. The losses were only partially compensated for by the marriage of outside women into the Trumaí village. There were three foreign women in the community in 1938: a Suyá, a Mehinaku, and a Kamayurá. Their status was lower than that of the Trumaí women, and they were at times taunted because of their foreign origin. They did not participate as fully in the

[16] De Lima 1950, p. 5.

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Visits might be made to obtain a bride, engage in trade, participate in some intertribal ceremony, or for a combination of any of these reasons. Most visits were ostensibly of a purely social nature, but they were also used to frighten and impress. Stealing was frequent, especially when the host tribe, like the Trumaí, was weak. The Trumaí rarely protested against thefts while the visitors were still in the village, although they vehemently expressed their indignation later. Such discretion was due more to fear than etiquette.

The inferior position of the Trumaí was most evident when visitors were in the village. The Kamayurá, especially, treated the Trumaí with arrogance and contempt. At times they would enter the Trumaí village without having built the customary warning fire. The Trumaí, on the other hand, did everything possible to please their visitors and prove their generosity and good will toward them. Quain was berated by the Trumaí chief for being too niggardly toward the Kamayurá, and he found that greater respect was accorded to the Kamayurá chief than to either himself or the Trumaí chief. The Kamayurá felt slighted that Quain had not visited them instead of the contemptible Trumaí, and, when Quain went to meet the visiting Kamayurá chief, the latter turned away with an air of bored indifference.

The Kamayurá chief was immediately given a stool to sit on and was plied with cigarettes. When he threw one away after a few puffs, he was promptly given another. Deference was also paid to ordinary Kamayurá, although to a lesser degree. Once when such a member came to the Trumaí village alone, the man who received him rushed to Quain's house to borrow a chair in order to reach some tobacco which had been placed on a high shelf. He was in a great hurry, for it would not be good to keep his guest waiting.

This behavior stands in sharp contrast to a visit to the Kamayurá village made by Quain and a party of Trumaí. The chief delegated their reception to his brother. No special attention was paid to them, although the villagers were active and industrious in an apparent effort to impress. The Trumaí were not even asked to sit on the log in the village center.

Due to the extensive intertribal relations, command of a language besides one's own is common in the area generally. But since Trumaí is an independent tongue and the number of Trumaí small, it is probable that multilingual people were more frequent among them than in other tribes. Their "second" language was usually Kamayurá, but few outsiders spoke Trumaí, although more understood it. When Kamayurá came to visit, conversation was ordinarily in their tongue. Of the three foreign women in the Trumaí village, only the Suyá woman could speak even a broken Trumaí. Since the Suyá had no peaceful relations with the tribes of the headwaters, the Gé language was not widely known there. The other two foreign women merely understood Trumaí.

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between the warlike Gé-speaking Suyá and the peaceful but overbearing Kamayurá, they were an easy prey to these tribes and to others more peripheral to the region, such as the Caiabí and Kayapó. The tribes the Trumaí feared most were those to the north. These included the Suyá, Yuruna, and an unidentified group. The Yuruna, located by Galvão on the Diauarum River, north of the Suyá, were said to have made raids on the headwater villages,[13] but nothing is known of any aggression by the unnamed tribe. There is definite documentation of numerous assaults by the Suyá, whose reputation for ferocity is unequalled in the area.

The Suyá villages are located several days journey to the north on the Suyá Missú River, and forays into the Kuluene-Kuliseu region have become relatively rare since the establishment of local airfields. Quain was of the opinion that the last Suyá raid on the Trumaí took place about twenty years ago when the brother of the Trumaí chief was killed. Two of Quain's informants had been captured by the Suyá as pre-pubescent boys. Suyá raids into the tributaries resulted in great destruction and von den Steinen reported a Trumaí village to have been recently burned and looted by them.[14]

The upper Xingú peoples were not always passive towards the Suyá. A revenge attack was once launched by the combined forces of the Kamayurá, Mehinaku, Waurá, and Trumaí. Their flotilla of twenty canoes assaulted and burned a Suyá village, starting another cycle of attacks and counter-attacks. This is the only known case of an inter-tribal alliance in war, but there have probably been others.

When Quain was with the Trumaí the memory of past attacks was still strong, and the mere mention of the Suyá was sufficient to cause great anxiety. Indicative of their feeling toward the Suyá is the Trumaí creation myth according to which the Sun made all tribes except the Suyá who are descended from snakes.

Among the Kuliseu tribes, the Kamayurá and Nahukwa were the two most feared. The former, especially, by small acts of aggression against the weakened Trumaí, had done great harm. As a result of the widespread hostility and distrust, Trumaí life was pervaded with insecurity. Tension always increased at night, and the slightest sound from the brush was enough to cause panic. Rumors of an impending attack were often brought to the village by visitors from other groups. These were generally false stories intended to frighten the Trumaí, but, reflecting the prevailing anxiety, they were always accepted as true.

The Kamayurá were the chief instigators of these tales. One visitor from the latter group told the Trumaí that the Kamayurá were coming to kill all of them as soon as Quain left. The Kamayurá attempted to

[13] Galvão 1952, p. 469.
[14] Von den Steinen 1897, p. 115.

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because she was his sister-in-law. Mayuva, however, was afraid of Nitvary, as the latter had close ties with the Kamayurá and had threatened Mayuva with witchcraft at their hands. After Nitvary returned from a trip to the Kamayurá village, Mayuva complained of severe headaches and said he was going to die. Although he denied to Quain that his condition was due to Kamayurá sorcery, the threats against him apparently had the desired result: a short time later Kuyafi moved into Nitvary's house. The union last only two days, for Nitvary's jealous wife drove her out in a fit of anger. The field, it would seem, was clear for Oirupa, the third suitor.

Oirupa, however, had been trying to marry Kuyafi for years. Her father, Matiwana, refused to give his consent and Oirupa, in revenge, was said to have killed two of Matiwana's children by witchcraft. Relations between their families were understandably strained, and they were further aggravated by the marriage of Matiwana's son Yati and Oirupa's sister Kerami, which occurred during Quain's stay. This union was unhappy and short-lived. When Kerami left him, Yati and his father held Oirupa and his co-resident affinals, Tun and Aloari, responsible. Yati bitterly asserted that he (and Matiwana) would go to live among his mother's people, the Kuikuru of the upper Kuluene. There, he said, women were much easier to get.

With this background of conflict and suspicion, it is not surprising that the quarrel again broke out in earnest when Oirupa tried to seduce Kuyafi. Angered by her rejection he threw *piquí* pits at her. In the afternoon Matiwana spoke out against Oirupa from his house. (This was proper behavior, since a parent is expected to take his offspring's part in such disputes.) That evening the two men indulged in the usual loud shouting and wrestled with barely restrained hostility. Kuyafi added her bit from the house as did another of Matiwana's daughters. The other men pretended indifference. Yati remained silent, although he was vitally interested in the dispute; for, besides being Matiwana's son, he was involved in an enduring respect relationship with his former brother-in-law, even after his marriage was dissolved. Public opinion, however, was on the side of Matiwana, for Oirupa had committed an offense by hitting Kuyafi with the pits, and he had also threatened to use witchcraft. To this last Matiwana tauntingly replied that had Oirupa's witchcraft been really effective, he would have been dead long ago. As of the time Quain left the Trumaí, Kuyafi's future was still undecided.

The Men's Circle

The men's circle served a number of functions. It was the place in which initiated males gathered, talked, argued, and smoked. It was not taboo to young boys, as it was to women, but youngsters rarely joined

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The path which led from the village to Nariatan, the northwestern garden clearing, passed through the previously mentioned ceremonial clearing north of the village. A short distance beyond this point, a branch took off to the east and led to Waniwanitan, the northeastern and second largest clearing, which contained nine garden plots totaling approximately five acres. Each garden was tilled by a different man, but two men had plots in both Nariatan and Waniwanitan. The size of the average garden was one-half acre. There was no newly cleared land, and, in contrast to Nariatan which was still yielding, nearly all of the crop (mostly manioc) had either died or been harvested. Quain noticed that the soil in Nariatan had a gray tone, whereas that of Waniwanitan was reddish in hue. This difference in color was due to the ashes deposited by the more recent burning over of the former site.

Nariatan was a newer garden than Waniwanitan, and the former was planted to a variety of crops while the latter was nearly all in manioc. This is indicative of the common tropical forest slash and burn system whereby second year gardens are used only for manioc growing, and new areas in which the soil is still comparatively rich are used for other vegetables in addition to manioc. The Trumaí are unique, however, in that the garden clearing was divided into individually owned plots. Smaller individual gardens or large gardens cleared and cultivated collectively are the general rule in the rain forests of South America.

The three other clearings were small, and each contained one garden plot. One was one-quarter acre in size, while the other two each comprised one-half acre. These small gardens were connected with the village by separate paths and were closer to it than the two larger clearings. Anariatan, Nariatan and Waniwanitan were named after old village sites, but Quain knew of no abandoned locations from which the names Tan Toreake and Tandatake could have been derived.

Horticultural Techniques

It is difficult to assess the relative importance of horticulture, fishing and gathering in the subsistence economy of the Trumaí. At different times of the year each made the major contribution to the diet. Most garden products became available at about the middle of the rainy season, but manioc was dug up when needed throughout the year. Fish and manioc were staples the year-round, although fishing was poorer during the rains. Each was more important in the total diet than were the products of gathering. However, the subsistence of the Trumaí at certain times of the year, especially in the early part of the rainy season, would have been seriously threatened without the wild foods.

The agricultural cycle started in the early part of the dry season when the clearings needed for the next rainy season's gardens were made.

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222 often gathered together, and at times all of the women of a house would
462 work together in *piquí* collecting. Parties of boys and men sometimes picked up the fruit, and a man often went gathering with his wife to protect her from possible enemies, especially if there had been recent threats or omens. He took his bow and arrows, and frequently did not help in carrying the fruit back to the village. The *piquí* was brought to the village in basket containers, and then made into a variety of dishes.

Guava (*waruwaru*) grows wild in the forest, ripening a short time before *piquí* does, but extending into the season of the latter. Quain be-
[146] lieved it to be a valuable vitamin C supplement to the diet, but it was a far less important food than *piquí*. Men participated little in guava collecting, although they accompanied their wives for sociability and protection. Quain described these connubial gathering expeditions as being largely pleasant jaunts through the wood. Children often went out for the fruit, which they brought back to the village strung on straws.

222 The water lily from which salt was made was another important
258 item gathered during the period of Quain's residence among the Trumaí.
462 The water lilies were collected in the Trumaí lagoon, and the complete salt-making process was carried on there. Each Trumaí built a rack over the waters of the lagoon. The lilies were pulled up, spread out on the rack to dry, and later burned. The ashes were sifted to obtain the salt. Quain did not mention any women's salt racks, but the women prepared their own supply of salt, too. Quain saw salt-making only in the early part of September, although it is possible that it occurred prior to this time as well. However, salt was not made after the middle of September, due to the rains and the exigencies of planting.

222 Ants were eaten by the Trumaí, and, according to an informant, by
[262] all groups in the area. A little boy demonstrated the correct way to consume them when he joyously brought in a fat one, plucked off its abdomen and swallowed it. Quain was told that later in the season the
[231] women and children would go out and collect them in large quantities.
[857] Other insects were in heavy demand for feeding the harpy eagle and other pet birds. Crickets were considered especially good for this purpose, and the boys made great sport of shooting these insects with their miniature bows and arrows.

137 A few other wild foods were eaten, but these were relatively insigni-
222 ficant. Among them was the fruit of the *awa'o* palm. Another fruit called
262 *lamux*, resembling the crabapple in taste and superficial appearance, had a gelatinous interior. An unnamed plant is described by Quain as resembling grass, but having a quality like algae. It was eaten only in times of a manioc shortage. *Kamu'u* is a parasitic plant that looks and tastes like the date. The *atoh* is a berry that tastes like the chokecherry.

226 *Fift'a* and *tawasi*, the fish poisons, were gathered in the locale. The
278 gathering and preparation of *tawasi* boughs was a cooperative venture.
476

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Older boys and men went into the forest to cut down the trees and bring the boughs back to the village. The men then took turns in pounding the boughs into coarse fiber with the blunt end of an axe. Even men who did not participate in the gathering of the boughs helped in their reduction into fiber.

The group nature of the work is understandable in view of the communal labor and benefits involved in fish poisoning. Once the boughs were reduced, the fibers were cut into sheaves of about two and one-half feet in length. These sheaves were used to poison the water. Interestingly, both bark and wood were pounded up together, although, according to Quain, only the bark is poisonous.

The *buriti* palm supplied two raw materials, *isinke* and *isinke hut'*. *Isinke* was obtained from the heart of the young spike of the growing tip of the palm. The top was separated to give access to the heart, and long fibers were pulled out, which were then hung in the interior of the house to dry. When dry they resembled a heavy hemp, and were used to make cord. *Isinke hut'* is the leaf of the *buriti*, which was used in basketry.

Hunting

Hunting was not important at any time during Quain's stay. Tapir, peccary, deer, monkey, jaguar, squirrel and paca, a large rodent, are among the animals mentioned by Quain as being found in the vicinity, but only the monkey and paca were eaten. Birds were also eaten, and their feathers were used for ornamentation. Terrapin were caught by hand, either by creeping up on them or by swimming close to them under water and grabbing them by the shell. All other game was shot with the bow and arrow, except for the capybara, called *tsimo* by the Trumaí. Canoeists speared the swimming animals. The spear was used at no other time in hunting or fishing, although the Yaulapiti speared fish.

Quain saw no organized hunting parties. One or two men sometimes set out with the express intention of hunting, but most animals were shot while on fishing or gathering expeditions. The Trumaí did not rely on meat, nor did they show a craving for it. Hunting seemed to be more a pastime and sport than a subsistence activity. When Quain hunted with the Trumaí he noticed that they wanted him to kill birds more for their feathers than for their meat. They also wanted him to kill several entirely worthless birds because, as two of the men expressed it, they wanted "to see it."

Foods

The horticulture, fishing and gathering economy of the Trumaí gave them a fair variety and adequate quantity of food during most of the year, barring crop failure. The Trumaí, however, had a considerably

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Foods

The horticulture, fishing and gathering economy of the Trumaí gave them a fair variety and adequate quantity of food during most of the year, barring crop failure. The Trumaí, however, had a considerably

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The rapid exhaustion of the soil forces them into a life which, although not nomadic, involves frequent moves. As the soil in old plots is exhausted, new ones have to be opened up. The area of exploitable land around the village is limited by the need to transport the produce and protect the villagers from their enemies. Thus, after the land available to the village has been used, the group moves.

The main subsistence of the nine village groups now living in the upper Xingú area is derived from this typically Amazonian shifting horticulture coupled with fishing in the extensive streams, lagoons, and estuaries. Apparently, the population of the region was never great enough to cause any pressure on land or other resources. Each village maintained exclusive rights of exploitation over certain waterways and areas of land within which the village always moved. There evidently were not, and still are not, any clearly defined territorial boundaries; but village rights are implicitly recognized.

The Neighbors of the Trumaí

Although there is considerable uniformity in the cultures of the upper Xingú tribes, their linguistic affiliations are diverse. The main language stocks of aboriginal Brazil are represented. On the Kuluene River are the linguistically independent Trumaí and the Cariban Kuikuru, Kalapalo, Tsuva, and Naravute. Near the waters of the Kuliseu River live the Tupian Kamayurá and Auetí, the Arawakan Mehinaku and Yaulapití, and the Cariban Nahukwa. The Batoví River is inhabited by the Arawakan Waurá and Kustenaú.[1] All these villages maintain a rather distrustful peace among themselves, but live in fear of their hostile Gê- and Tupian-speaking neighbors on the perimeters of the upper Xingú drainage area.

The upper Xingú "tribes" consist of one village each. It seems evident from the linguistic heterogeneity of the region that it is a *cul de sac* — one of the aboriginal refuge areas which characterize the cultural landscape of the headwaters of the Amazon and its tributaries.

The cultural uniformity of the above peoples has impressed all observers, as has the extensive contact that they maintain with each other. Descriptions of this homogeneity are to be found in von den Steinen[2] and, latterly, in Galvão[3] and Oberg.[4] Among the principal material traits which distinguish the area as opposed to neighboring, but outside, groups are: haystack-shaped houses arranged in a circle around a central plaza; bark canoes; dependence upon fish for protein;

[1] Oberg (1953, p. 4) states that the Yaulapití, Kustenaú, Tsuva, and Naravute no longer live in independent villages, but reside among other groups, usually of the same linguistic family.

[2] Von den Steinen 1886. [3] Galvão 1949. [4] Oberg 1953.

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The path which led from the village to Nariatan, the northwestern garden clearing, passed through the previously mentioned ceremonial clearing north of the village. A short distance beyond this point, a branch took off to the east and led to Waniwanitan, the northeastern and second largest clearing, which contained nine garden plots totaling approximately five acres. Each garden was tilled by a different man, but two men had plots in both Nariatan and Waniwanitan. The size of the average garden was one-half acre. There was no newly cleared land, and, in contrast to Nariatan which was still yielding, nearly all of the crop (mostly manioc) had either died or been harvested. Quain noticed that the soil in Nariatan had a gray tone, whereas that of Waniwanitan was reddish in hue. This difference in color was due to the ashes deposited by the more recent burning over of the former site.

Nariatan was a newer garden than Waniwanitan, and the former was planted to a variety of crops while the latter was nearly all in manioc. This is indicative of the common tropical forest slash and burn system whereby second year gardens are used only for manioc growing, and new areas in which the soil is still comparatively rich are used for other vegetables in addition to manioc. The Trumaí are unique, however, in that the garden clearing was divided into individually owned plots. Smaller individual gardens or large gardens cleared and cultivated collectively are the general rule in the rain forests of South America.

The three other clearings were small, and each contained one garden plot. One was one-quarter acre in size, while the other two each comprised one-half acre. These small gardens were connected with the village by separate paths and were closer to it than the two larger clearings. Anariatan, Nariatan and Waniwanitan were named after old village sites, but Quain knew of no abandoned locations from which the names Tan Toreake and Tandatake could have been derived.

Horticultural Techniques

It is difficult to assess the relative importance of horticulture, fishing and gathering in the subsistence economy of the Trumaí. At different times of the year each made the major contribution to the diet. Most garden products became available at about the middle of the rainy season, but manioc was dug up when needed throughout the year. Fish and manioc were staples the year-round, although fishing was poorer during the rains. Each was more important in the total diet than were the products of gathering. However, the subsistence of the Trumaí at certain times of the year, especially in the early part of the rainy season, would have been seriously threatened without the wild foods.

The agricultural cycle started in the early part of the dry season when the clearings needed for the next rainy season's gardens were made.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Each man planted his garden without male assistance. However, when planting vegetables other than manioc, he was often aided by his wife or wives. During the whole Trumaí planting season Quain observed only one instance of cooperative labor in manioc planting. This occurred in the garden of Uluku, a Kamayurá, who had cleared a plot in the Trumaí gardens but had not returned in time to plant it. The work was initiated by the Trumaí chief, as this was an obligation of the village to an outsider. However, the men largely ignored his call and, of those who responded, most were co-residents of the chief.

Fishing Techniques

A variety of fish were caught and eaten by the Trumaí. The exact species were not recorded by Quain, but those in Oberg's partial list are also found in other tributaries of the Amazon.[1] A small fish called *kate* by the Trumaí was caught in great quantities during Quain's visit. Fish figured importantly in the diet throughout the year, but they were not as easily caught during the rainy season when the rivers overflowed into the adjacent forest. Fish were taken by hook and line, bow and arrow, poisoning, traps, nets and weirs.

Shooting with the bow and arrow was the most important single method. The fisherman stood in the bow of his bark canoe with bow and arrow poised while his helper paddled slowly in the stern. When a fish was sighted the arrow usually found its mark with surprising accuracy. Insofar as is known, only hooks and lines obtained from the whites by trade or gift were used. Quain found a great demand for them, and he gave many to the Trumaí and other groups.

Two kinds of poison were used to drug fish in the lagoons. The more important was made from the shredded bark of the *tawasi* tree and was effective only upon the small *kate* fish. The other was made from the ripe fruit of the *fit'a* tree, the bark of which was used in the washing of the body after ceremonial scarification.[2]

Fish traps were baited and set out in the lagoon. These were basket containers, long and rounded in shape. An open-ended basket cone, through which the fish swam, was set in the mouth. Once inside, the fish could not find their way out through the small end of the cone, which was pointed towards the inside of the trap. According to one informant, the Mehinaku could make fish traps, but not the Trumaí. Quain, however, found that at least three Trumaí men made traps,

[1] *Ibid.* pp. 25–26.

[2] The exact species of these trees are not known. Oberg (1953, pp. 26–27) refers to the use of *timbó* in a general sense only. *Timbó* commonly refers to the root of a small shrub and not to the above-mentioned drugs. Von den Steinen (1897) makes no reference to fish drugs.

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226 although not everyone owned one. Quain also described Trumaí fish nets, but netting must have been a minor technique, as he did not see it practiced during his stay.

[170] Throughout the upper Xingú area it was common practice to construct fish dams across the mouths of lagoons. There were two such fish weirs in the Trumaí lagoon, one near its mouth, the other across a small inlet near the village. Their purpose was to block the fish from escape to the main stream when drugs were placed in the water. They were built by driving upright stakes into the floor of the lagoon, after which a wall of rubbish and branches was built against the fence. One dam was constructed by the village cooperatively, while the other was said to have been built by a single man.

226 423 The Trumaí lagoon was considered the property of the community, and the Trumaí maintained exclusive fishing rights in it. The water in the lagoon is clear in comparison to the muddy Kuluene, and the fishing excellent. A good proportion of the fishing was done there, especially when traps and poisons were used, but they also had fishing rights in other lagoons within the territory of abandoned Trumaí villages. In addition, they fished in the Kuluene and Kuliseu and ranged as far afield as the Batoví River.

576 201 While most fishing trips were carried out within a day, some lasted two or three days. When the fishermen returned, they were greeted with a conventional shout by all the villagers. The shout was meant to welcome the food rather than the fishermen, and similar cries were heard when well laden gathering parties returned from a short jaunt into the forest.

501 422 226 About one-half of the men owned canoes, and according to Quain's informants, only six did not know how to build them. The bark canoes of the upper Xingú are not difficult to make, and it can be assumed that the community did not need more, inasmuch as fishing parties always consisted of two men. Larger groups went out of the village in a body when many fish were needed for a ceremony or to feed guests, but they usually split into pairs. Cooperative fishing groups of more than two men were needed only for drugging and perhaps for netting. On one *tawasi* fishing expedition over half the males of the village went to the lagoon with bundles of shredded bark. Quain noted that this was one of the few examples of group labor transcending the immediate family.

226 571 Two-man fishing expeditions were composed of the owner or borrower of the canoe and his helper (*tau*). The *tau* generally paddled while the owner fished. Only while serving as a helper was he referred to as the *tau* of that man. Thus, if a person went as the helper of Makurawa, he was referred to as "Makurawatau." He shared in the catch, but whether he received less than the canoe owner is not indicated by the field notes. There seemed to be no fixed standard for the selection of the *tau*, nor

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were the teams always the same. Old Matiwana and his son Yati fished together most of the time, as did Aloari and his true brother Tun. Other true brothers often fished together, but, with the exception of the two above-mentioned steadfast teams, men chose their fishing companions according to their mutual needs or plans for the day. Since such agreements occurred most often between members of the same household, co-residents often cooperated. One man, Jakuma, spent much of his time fishing as the *tau* of different canoe owners or borrowers. He had no wife, and his garden, which he did not till very diligently, was very small. His fishing partners included men from every household, who were related to him in various degrees.

Although the position of *tau* was a temporarily subordinate one, it caused no loss of status. Even the Trumaí chief, since he owned no canoe, went fishing as a *tau*. Occasionally men took their wives along, but fishing was a man's specialty, and the woman's function was restricted to paddling.

Gathering

The two most important food products that the Trumaí gathered were turtle eggs and the fruit of the *piquí* tree, or *tsinon*. Throughout the dry season, turtle eggs were gathered in great quantity on the banks and sandbars of the rivers. By September they were no longer available and, in the following month, *piquí* became the main objective of the gathering parties. The harvest of this fruit was stored and lasted nearly to the end of the rainy season. *Piquí* was an important staple, especially in the period before crops ripened. Most of the *piquí* trees grow wild, but there is a suggestion in Quain's notes that they might also have been transplanted when young. All of the *piquí* trees were individually owned, and proprietary rights of individuals to groups of trees were clearly understood by all. In order to make the fruit ripen fast, the owner of the trees built a slow-burning fire of grass underneath them at night. The early rainy season was a rather lean period, so that there was great joy when the *piquí* was heard falling in the forest. Everyone broke into shouts of "*kaha kaha kaha-a-a*," which was the conventional cry for greeting the first *piquí*. These shouts were slightly different from those welcoming fish brought into the village.

The first fruit was usually gathered by the owner of the trees and his family. However, when the fruit began to fall in great quantity there was a general harvest which was shared without regard for tree ownership.

Piquí gathering started in the middle of October, when the planting season had ended and the men were free to help in the gathering. However, men still fished frequently, and the burden of the gathering fell on the women and older boys. Women from the same household

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often gathered together, and at times all of the women of a house would work together in *piquí* collecting. Parties of boys and men sometimes picked up the fruit, and a man often went gathering with his wife to protect her from possible enemies, especially if there had been recent threats or omens. He took his bow and arrows, and frequently did not help in carrying the fruit back to the village. The *piquí* was brought to the village in basket containers, and then made into a variety of dishes.

Guava (*waruwaru*) grows wild in the forest, ripening a short time before *piquí* does, but extending into the season of the latter. Quain believed it to be a valuable vitamin C supplement to the diet, but it was a far less important food than *piquí*. Men participated little in guava collecting, although they accompanied their wives for sociability and protection. Quain described these connubial gathering expeditions as being largely pleasant jaunts through the wood. Children often went out for the fruit, which they brought back to the village strung on straws.

The water lily from which salt was made was another important item gathered during the period of Quain's residence among the Trumaí. The water lilies were collected in the Trumaí lagoon, and the complete salt-making process was carried on there. Each Trumaí built a rack over the waters of the lagoon. The lilies were pulled up, spread out on the rack to dry, and later burned. The ashes were sifted to obtain the salt. Quain did not mention any women's salt racks, but the women prepared their own supply of salt, too. Quain saw salt-making only in the early part of September, although it is possible that it occurred prior to this time as well. However, salt was not made after the middle of September, due to the rains and the exigencies of planting.

Ants were eaten by the Trumaí, and, according to an informant, by all groups in the area. A little boy demonstrated the correct way to consume them when he joyously brought in a fat one, plucked off its abdomen and swallowed it. Quain was told that later in the season the women and children would go out and collect them in large quantities. Other insects were in heavy demand for feeding the harpy eagle and other pet birds. Crickets were considered especially good for this purpose, and the boys made great sport of shooting these insects with their miniature bows and arrows.

A few other wild foods were eaten, but these were relatively insignificant. Among them was the fruit of the *awa'o* palm. Another fruit called *tamux*, resembling the crabapple in taste and superficial appearance, had a gelatinous interior. An unnamed plant is described by Quain as resembling grass, but having a quality like algae. It was eaten only in times of a manioc shortage. *Kamu'u* is a parasitic plant that looks and tastes like the date. The *atoh* is a berry that tastes like the chokecherry.

Fist'a and *tawasi*, the fish poisons, were gathered in the locale. The gathering and preparation of *tawasi* boughs was a cooperative venture.

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The group nature of the work is understandable in view of the communal labor and benefits involved in fish poisoning. Once the boughs were reduced, the fibers were cut into sheaves of about two and one-half feet in length. These sheaves were used to poison the water. Interestingly, both bark and wood were pounded up together, although, according to Quain, only the bark is poisonous.

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CHAPTER THREE

Trumaí Social Organization

Property Ownership

105 Trumaí society was relatively simple. There was no social stratification
[556] based on wealth, nor were the mechanisms of social control and
[626] cohesion highly developed. This was in accord with the individualization
[433] of productive effort and the low level of economic surplus. The political
[621] unit was a single community, the sole bearer of Trumaí culture.

All land and productive resources were considered the property of the
421 community, and the right to their exploitation resided with any indivi-
423 dual willing to expend the labor. Gardens were individual property, but only in the sense that the man who reclaimed the land from the jungle was entitled to its product. There was no concept of alienable property in land, entailing the right of disposition. The *piquí* trees were said to be owned individually, but the owner exercised exclusive rights only over the first fruits. Other wild food plants were community property
423 and their fruits belonged to the gatherer.

The fishing rights to lagoons and backwaters of the rivers belonged
[226] to the tribes in whose territory they were located. There was no indivi-
dual ownership of fishing sites.

422 There was property in foods, but as soon as they were cooked they
[263] were freely distributed. *Beijú* belonged to the women, but the manioc
out of which it was prepared was said to be the property of the man
[462] who grew it. Such distinctions were largely academic. Actually, the men grew the vegetable and the women harvested it, prepared it, and cooked it, after which it was distributed and eaten. The same situation prevailed in regard to the products of fishing, hunting, and gathering. Salt was
[263] the only exception, as it was prepared and owned by individual men
[834] and women. The difference undoubtedly lies in the fact that salt was an important trade item, while the other commodities were not.

Very little property can be said to have belonged to the family.
[285] Baskets and gourd containers were made by the men for themselves
[415] and for the women, but they were often used by both a man and his wife. Nearly all material objects outside of natural resources were owned by the person who made them or the person to whom an object was
423 given. House ownership was vague, since houses were built and occupied by more than one man, and abandoned when the village moved. The house, however, was often considered the property of the man who put

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tention of marriage. But an intention of marriage did not insure exclusive sexual rights. The man usually continued to get gratification wherever he could find it. The knowledge of his other liaisons did not particularly disturb his bride-to-be, as she herself may well have been receiving attentions from other lovers. After marriage, such transgressions were not so readily tolerated.

The chief obstacles in the way of the marriage-bent Trumaí swain were the necessity to shout down his rivals and gain the approval and consent of the girl's kinsmen. The woman's consent was not necessary in making the marriage, and she usually remained aloof, waiting to see who won. If, however, she was not pleased with the mate to whom she was awarded, she was free to leave him. And this she often did. While Quain was in the village, there were marriages that lasted only a day or two due to the bride's dissatisfaction.

In addition to the arguments that precede most marriages, the man was expected to go through certain formalities. He went to the girl's mother and stated his intentions. If the girl had no mother, he approached the nearest male relative. In order to gain the favor of her kinsmen, he distributed gifts, the most important to the girl's mother, others to her father, siblings, and her mother's brother. The gift to the latter was especially important, as he was the one who formally gave the woman, or as the Trumaí phrase it, "spreads her legs." Gifts were also given the girl, culminating with a present of fish. In the meantime the girl made an especially fine hammock which she gave to the groom.

If everything was accepted, the man was free to take the girl to his house. The wedding was preceded by a fishing expedition in which nearly all the men participated, and by a wrestling match for which the groom was beautifully painted. The women held a trade game. The actual ceremony consisted of nothing more than the woman's moving into the house of her mate. A male relative carried her hammock to his home.

This was the way weddings should have been conducted in the Trumaí village. Actually, they were even less formal, especially in the case of second wives in polygamous unions. Marriage and sex preoccupied the Trumaí, for there were not enough women to go around; but even the few formal acts involved interested the Trumaí little. If the marriage was durable, the couple settled down and had children. After marriage and the birth of children no great change occurred in their positions in the community until they reached old age.

Old Age

Everyone in the village was classified as "younger" or "older." The men were either *axoeek* (younger) or *idakek* (older), while the terms for the women were, respectively, *axoekisa* and *idakits*. These were not age

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105 182 648 in the Trumaí community, for, as Oberg notes, no adult male would choose to live with a people of such low status.[1]

105 162 It might be expected that the Trumaí could have compensated for this drain by raising their birth rate. However, in this population of 43 persons, there were only ten children, an extremely small number when the low average life span is considered. Furthermore, only two of the children were females. Of the approximately twelve women who 105 were capable of bearing children, only one was pregnant, and the others 163 were urging her to abort her child. Thus, infanticide and abortion were 161 taking a heavy toll in the Trumaí village.

847 845 The custom of killing twins and of spacing births three or four years apart are reported by Oberg for the Kamayurá,[2] and these factors may well have been present in the Trumaí situation. The long post-natal [171] taboo on sexual intercourse had the same effect. Wagley, who studied the dying but equally unacculturated Tapirapé, found that traditional practices were contributing to the complete depopulation of that group also.[3]

105 161 178 154 But among the Trumaí there is still another and less tangible dimension. Abortion may have been urged on a pregnant woman because she had no husband, but how is one to explain the killing of two of Aloari's children without his consent, or the fact that there were eight male and only two female children in the community? The limited information available suggests that the Trumaí were purposely restricting their number and committing suicide, perhaps unintentionally, in the process. Two reasons for this extreme behavior may be hypothesized: first, the impasse in which the Trumaí found themselves because of the steady depopulation made them so personally insecure and apathetic regarding both the present and the future that they were no longer willing to rear sizable families, despite their evident devotion to children; and second, they may not have thought it possible to produce the surplus necessary to support such families. Actually, however, even with their diminished numbers the Trumaí could have increased their food supply.

105 511 433 ●226 Their lowered standard of living was due to more than attitudes. Loss of population no doubt also decreased the yield of Trumaí fishing and therefore limited their chief source of protein. To be sure, bow and arrow fishing was little affected, but fish poisoning, the only communal subsistence technique practiced by them, was much less effective when employed by a small group, for a few people can adequately poison only smaller watercourses and branches of lagoons, while a greater number can cover larger streams and whole lagoons. In the latter circumstance, both the take would be larger and larger species would be available. Moreover, when the waters are heavily poisoned and enough people are present to reap the "harvest," there is less chance of fish escaping. Thus, up to

[1] Oberg 1953, p. 15. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 62. [3] Wagley 1940.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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a certain point at least, the take increases geometrically with the number of persons participating.

In gardening, also, which was not practiced collectively, their small number decreased Trumaí security. It was common for nearly all the village men to plant their gardens in clearings adjacent to those of their neighbors. Obviously, if one part of such a single, extended clearing was improperly fired, or if the crops were destroyed by armadillos or wild pigs, the whole village might be without food. Crop failure for a variety of causes is common in the tropical forests, but most aboriginal communities in South America have several separated garden clearings, each owned by an individual or extended family. If one garden fails, the family can, in a period of emergency, reap from others. Oberg relates that the Trumaí once had to turn for food to the Kamayura,[4] perhaps because of the failure of the village clearing.

It is, of course, possible that in the past the Trumaí organized their gardens along the more rational lines of the Kamayurá;[5] and it is also possible that they never made a proper ecological adaptation subsequent to their arrival in the upper Xingú region. But lacking information on their economy prior to their decimation, we cannot make any firm statement on these points. However, it is certain that, despite their small numbers, the individual Trumaí could have cleared and planted much more land. The average size of the gardens observed by Quain was one-half acre, and this area had to feed up to four people. Many men also had old gardens which were planted only to manioc. According to Quain's calculations, the total acreage of Trumaí gardens was only a little over thirteen. Since yields from forest soils are not high, it is evident that this very small area must have barely met the needs of a population of 43 persons. Manifestly, the Trumaí did not work hard enough; and it seems evident that their lack of application did more to impoverish them than any other single factor.

If the other upper Xingú tribes are used as criteria to establish what Trumaí society was like before its decline, some very serious dysfunctions within Trumaí social structure soon become apparent. To be sure, such a comparison is an arbitrary procedure; and it is only invoked here for its heuristic value. Since village and house patrilocality is the usual mode of residence among the Trumaí, a household similar to that of the Kamayurá, and with like functions, might be expected and might indeed have existed in the past. However, the Trumaí death rate in 1938 was so high that these units disintegrated before they had gone beyond the embryonic stage. House membership was shifting, the number of persons involved small, and leadership nebulous. And since kinship was the principal mechanism for structuring interpersonal relationships in Trumaí society, this lack of a stable, kin-structured unit probably did

[4] Oberg 1953, p. 42. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 45.

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Each man planted his garden without male assistance. However, when planting vegetables other than manioc, he was often aided by his wife or wives. During the whole Trumaí planting season Quain observed only one instance of cooperative labor in manioc planting. This occurred in the garden of Uluku, a Kamayurá, who had cleared a plot in the Trumaí gardens but had not returned in time to plant it. The work was initiated by the Trumaí chief, as this was an obligation of the village to an outsider. However, the men largely ignored his call and, of those who responded, most were co-residents of the chief.

Fishing Techniques

A variety of fish were caught and eaten by the Trumaí. The exact species were not recorded by Quain, but those in Oberg's partial list are also found in other tributaries of the Amazon.[2] A small fish called *kate* by the Trumaí was caught in great quantities during Quain's visit. Fish figured importantly in the diet throughout the year, but they were not as easily caught during the rainy season when the rivers overflowed into the adjacent forest. Fish were taken by hook and line, bow and arrow, poisoning, traps, nets and weirs.

Shooting with the bow and arrow was the most important single method. The fisherman stood in the bow of his bark canoe with bow and arrow poised while his helper paddled slowly in the stern. When a fish was sighted the arrow usually found its mark with surprising accuracy. Insofar as is known, only hooks and lines obtained from the whites by trade or gift were used. Quain found a great demand for them, and he gave many to the Trumaí and other groups.

Two kinds of poison were used to drug fish in the lagoons. The more important was made from the shredded bark of the *tawasi* tree and was effective only upon the small *kate* fish. The other was made from the ripe fruit of the *fift'a* tree, the bark of which was used in the washing of the body after ceremonial scarification.[3]

Fish traps were baited and set out in the lagoon. These were basket containers, long and rounded in shape. An open-ended basket cone, through which the fish swam, was set in the mouth. Once inside, the fish could not find their way out through the small end of the cone, which was pointed towards the inside of the trap. According to one informant, the Mehinaku could make fish traps, but not the Trumaí. Quain, however, found that at least three Trumaí men made traps,

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 25–26.

[3] The exact species of these trees are not known. Oberg (1953, pp. 26–27) refers to the use of *timbó* in a general sense only. *Timbó* commonly refers to the root of a small shrub and not to the above-mentioned drugs. Von den Steinen (1897) makes no reference to fish drugs.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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CHAPTER TWO

TRUMAÍ SUBSISTENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Vital Statistics

162 The population of the Trumaí village in 1938 was 43. This figure includes the 3 foreign women in residence and excludes those few Trumaí who were living with other groups. There were 17 men, 16 women, and 10 pre-pubescent children, of whom 8 were male and only 2 were female. [737] Due to the previously mentioned capture and forced marriage of Trumaí women, the average age of females seems to have been considerably [163] greater than that of males. Two men were considered by the Trumaí as old, while four women were placed in that category. This disparity of age undoubtedly had an influence on the Trumaí birth rate.

165 Infant mortality seems to have been high, and Quain was of the 849 opinion that it was further aggravated by abortion and infanticide. The fact that there were eight male children and but two girls suggests that infanticide must have been practiced only upon females. Quain's notes, however, give no indication that this was the fact. Pulmonary diseases 164 have devastated all the groups of the upper Xingú, but the drop in the 161 Trumaí population from 43 in 1938 to 25 in 1948 is probably not paralleled in the other villages during that time.

Village and Gardens

361 The Trumaí settlement was located a scant half-mile from a lagoon 133 that opened directly upon the east shore of the Kuluene just a few miles away. The mouth of the lagoon was narrow, but it broadened out into a lake of moderate size with many small bays and was ringed with [36] swamps. Proximity to the river made insects a continual nuisance during the rainy season. The Kamayurá village, located near the sandy beaches of a lagoon lined with *buriti* palms, was relatively free of insects.

361 The village consisted of four houses and another under construction. Between the houses and the surrounding forest lay an area of weeds and low underbrush into which refuse was thrown. The ground within the ring of houses was kept comparatively free of weeds and litter. The village "plaza" was about 200 feet wide. In the center were the log [231] bench and fireplace of the men's gathering place. Nearby was a conical wicker cage in which the village harpy eagle was kept for its feathers, which were used in ceremonies.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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often gathered together, and at times all of the women of a house would work together in *piquí* collecting. Parties of boys and men sometimes picked up the fruit, and a man often went gathering with his wife to protect her from possible enemies, especially if there had been recent threats or omens. He took his bow and arrows, and frequently did not help in carrying the fruit back to the village. The *piquí* was brought to the village in basket containers, and then made into a variety of dishes.

Guava (*waruwaru*) grows wild in the forest, ripening a short time before *piquí* does, but extending into the season of the latter. Quain believed it to be a valuable vitamin C supplement to the diet, but it was a far less important food than *piquí*. Men participated little in guava collecting, although they accompanied their wives for sociability and protection. Quain described these connubial gathering expeditions as being largely pleasant jaunts through the wood. Children often went out for the fruit, which they brought back to the village strung on straws.

The water lily from which salt was made was another important item gathered during the period of Quain's residence among the Trumaí. The water lilies were collected in the Trumaí lagoon, and the complete salt-making process was carried on there. Each Trumaí built a rack over the waters of the lagoon. The lilies were pulled up, spread out on the rack to dry, and later burned. The ashes were sifted to obtain the salt. Quain did not mention any women's salt racks, but the women prepared their own supply of salt, too. Quain saw salt-making only in the early part of September, although it is possible that it occurred prior to this time as well. However, salt was not made after the middle of September, due to the rains and the exigencies of planting.

Ants were eaten by the Trumaí, and, according to an informant, by all groups in the area. A little boy demonstrated the correct way to consume them when he joyously brought in a fat one, plucked off its abdomen and swallowed it. Quain was told that later in the season the women and children would go out and collect them in large quantities. Other insects were in heavy demand for feeding the harpy eagle and other pet birds. Crickets were considered especially good for this purpose, and the boys made great sport of shooting these insects with their miniature bows and arrows.

A few other wild foods were eaten, but these were relatively insignificant. Among them was the fruit of the *awa'o* palm. Another fruit called *lamux*, resembling the crabapple in taste and superficial appearance, had a gelatinous interior. An unnamed plant is described by Quain as resembling grass, but having a quality like algae. It was eaten only in times of a manioc shortage. *Kamu's* is a parasitic plant that looks and tastes like the date. The *atoh* is a berry that tastes like the chokecherry.

Fift's and *tawasi*, the fish poisons, were gathered in the locale. The gathering and preparation of *tawasi* boughs was a cooperative venture.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The woof was made of cotton threads. The men's hammocks were usually woven, while those made by the women for themselves were generally an inferior twined product. Other manufactures of cotton were arm and leg bands.

Ceramics

The knowledge of ceramic manufacture cannot be properly considered a part of Trumaí culture, despite their daily use of pottery in cooking, manioc processing, eating and storage. All pottery utensils were obtained in trade with the Arawakan Waurá, usually in return for salt. The only clay article of Trumaí manufacture was the *ja'weo*, a crude clay griddle on which the *beijú* was baked. The Trumaí did not rely completely on pottery for watertight containers, as gourds, grown in their own gardens, were extensively used.

Wood Manufactures

All woodwork was done by the men with, at the time of Quain's visit, steel tools. The most distinctive article was the zoomorphically carved wooden stool, found among all upper Xingú peoples. Quain's notes contain a sketch of one such stool which is very similar to the one depicted by von den Steinen.[6] Other wood products were canoe paddles, *beijú* paddles, manioc graters, and mortars and pestles, used by the women to pulverize the hard, dry balls of manioc flour.

Weapons

Bows and arrows were used almost to the exclusion of other weapons. The Trumaí got their bows in trade from the Kamayurá, but made the bowstrings themselves from the fiber of a tree known to them as the *patacy*. They made their own feathered arrows out of cane, at the end of which was inserted a thin wooden shaft. The points were fixed to the shaft with a tree resin (*swalitsu*) and were wrapped at the juncture with cotton thread. Monkey bone points were used for shooting fish and birds. One man who was making a bamboo point told Quain that it was used for hunting and warfare. Another was seen hammering an arrow point out of a piece of metal.

Spears were not used often, although the Trumaí made them. Quain saw a spear point being made of the shin bone of a tapir. The spear-thrower (*xopep*) was used only in the annual spear-throwing contest. It was made from the wood of a palm. Quain sketched one that had a flat handle with a finger hole and a shaft with a hook on the end, and another that lacked the hook, but had a thong on the end.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 141.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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411 The Trumaí made no war clubs at the time of Quain's investigation, although von den Steinen stated that the Trumaí and the Suyá were the only groups of the region to have clubs.[6] The only war club in the village was a long, fluted one of wood that the Waurá had captured from the Suyá and had subsequently given to one of the Trumaí men. It was only used ceremonially.

Firemaking

372 Fires were kindled by use of a simple, hand-twirled fire drill. Generation of a new fire was not often necessary as there was almost always an active fire in the village from which a flame could be taken. Gathering firewood was woman's work.

[313] [462]

Ornaments and Body Decoration

29 [30] Except for ornaments, men and women were completely nude. The women wore a cord belt that passed around the body just above the buttocks. Some of the women still had what Quain called a "fig leaf," probably a piece of leaf or bark, strung on a cord passing between the buttocks. It was known as the *tdesnit*, the Trumaí term for the *uluri*, the common upper Xingú version of which they did not use.

302 Except for occasional body painting, the women indulged in little ornamentation. They were plucked of all body hair, but in contrast to the shorter tonsure of the males, they let their hair grow over their shoulders.

29 30 The men wore belts of cotton thread or bark fiber, but did not tie their penes. Occasionally flat shell beads were strung around the waist, but more often they were used in necklaces. Necklaces, which were worn in ceremonies, were made by stringing flat rectangular shells on cotton thread. The shells were strung only on the front half of the necklace. Quain noted one type that had two black panels on each end of the necklace. Shell necklaces were an important commodity in intertribal trade, as has already been indicated. Cotton or bark fiber bands were tied around the ankles, just below the knees, and around the biceps.

[439]

30 287 297 Featherwork ornaments were worn ceremonially and included headdresses, ear pendants, and feather necklaces. Quain noted one pendant made from the whole breast of a bird. The breast had four colored bands: black, yellow, red, and again yellow, from top to bottom. Another feather pendant consisted of black, red, and yellow feathers arranged in bands and attached to a short piece of wood. A black tree resin held the feathers firmly in place. The feathers were obtained from the tips of parrot wings.

[314]

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 222.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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upon his parents cohabiting; and they immediately told everyone in the village.

Puberty Rites

Male puberty rites were divided into two periods. The first, which was preparatory, covered about three or four years and consisted of the administration of certain medicines (*okeis*) and body-scraping. The second covered a much shorter period and constituted the actual initiation of the boy into the men's group. The observances, starting when a boy was between ten and twelve years of age, increased in frequency and intensity until his final initiation. The purposes, as expressed by the Trumaí, were to make him grow big and strong, give him courage and fortitude, and mark certain achievements on the road to manhood.

Body-scraping was one of the most important means used to accomplish these ends. Two different types of scarification instruments, were in use. One was a sort of comb made of fish teeth imbedded in wood; the other was a polished armadillo claw. The former was used during the early phases of scarification, the latter, during the late phases when the whole body was scraped.

The first scraping was limited to the arms or legs. Kamkuti received his initial scarification on the biceps as an aftermath of shooting his first fish. The scraping, painful though it was, was a reward and a recognition of manly achievement. It was also a test of endurance and resistance to pain, and the boy was admonished against flinching or weeping. Such occasions were the first on which the child was exhorted to be manly and courageous.

When the boy reached biological puberty, the scraping became more severe. Arms, legs, flanks, chest, back, and stomach were all scraped, and the operation must have been most painful. Each boy could expect to have this happen to him a few times during the course of his initiation. Jawaku, Maibu's foster-son, had his first overall scarification while Quain was in residence. This was a prelude to the full initiation rites, through which he was soon to pass. Jawaku was a very timid boy, and significantly lacked the assertiveness that was so much a part of Trumaí personality. Katauka, who was officiating, scraped his legs first, then his back, flanks and arms, ending with a light treatment on his chest and stomach. Jawaku looked extremely unhappy, but he did not cry until Katauka began scraping his back. Maibu held him firmly and told him not to cry, while others scolded him for being a baby.

Before the scarification started Jawaku's body was moistened with water from a nearby pot. After it was finished, Katauka rubbed him completely with the bark of the *aruparukatem* tree. This or the bark of the *ñit'a* tree (the source of the fish poison previously referred to) were always used to treat the wounds made by scraping.

/194 cont./

609 123 [437] [262] It was only then that we recovered our senses and were able to understand the reason for the incident. Apparently the Trumaí had been animated by the urgent desire to barter as soon as possible and with as little ceremony as possible for some of our treasures in exchange for their miserable beijûs, which looked gray as though made with buckwheat flour, were coarse-grained, and tasted slightly sour. With this in mind they had been active everywhere. Of Wilhelm's companions, one had been busy with the hunting knife and the other with the gun at the same time, and the latter, while my cousin was trying in the friendliest way to keep them off, had unfortunately pressed the cock. In any case the culprit was the most surprised by the effect; otherwise he would not have been kicking so frightenedly on the ground.

In spite of the miraculous speed with which they dashed to the boats, however, the Trumaí had not lost all presence of mind. The two who had just been trying on Castro's and Antonio's hats did not forget in their hasty running to put them on well down over their heads. Another old hand had still found time on his flight to snatch up quickly one of the large fish lying on the beach.

Antonio's behavior when he was so unexpectedly deprived of his precious hat was characteristic. Without further ado he shot his pistol at the thief, but in his rage fortunately missed. And when we /Illustration appears here/ /195/ asked him whether he really wanted to kill the man, he nodded with the greatest composure, "Yes, he had my hat."

126 411 The returning men brought back a rich ethnological collection, at least in terms of the number of objects. The bows were very fine and strong; one was shot to pieces, proof that the shots had not been fired entirely happazardly. The arrows provided with pointed pieces of bamboo were plentiful; these bamboo blades, which, as could be easily seen, had been freshly sharpened, are only loosely inserted in the shaft with a little resin; after the arrow has reached its mark, they break off and remain embedded in the body. There was a single club, crudely worked, flat, 86 301 centimeters long. One feather ornament was particularly pretty; •237 the green, orange-colored, and white feathers were mounted on

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 79]

1: Steinen--78), E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi
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142
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Trumaí

/195 cont./

301 a head-net, above which they pointed upwards, sticking out on
237 all sides, and into which they could be bent back to protect them
415 after use. There was also a dainty little pot with a notched edge,
283 and red cotton strings which several Trumaí wore around the waist
276 or around the lower leg. There was some tobacco wrapped in
415 green leaves; on the beach there were also a few gourd vessels
272 containing insipid, pasty mingau[1] which was just as poor as the mandioca bread.

142 There was no indication that the Trumaí are on a higher level than the Bakaïrí; as far as their body structure is concerned, I did not notice anything peculiar during the brief encounter; in size they did not differ from the Bakaïrí and Küstenaú. The fact that they appeared so ugly in the face may have been due to the
291 disfigurement. They protect themselves against penetrating in-
825 sects in the strangest and most primitive manner -- præputium filo gossypii rubro ante glandem farciminis instar constringunt /the foreskin is bound with red cotton thread in front of the glans in such a manner as to look like farcy/. This arrangement may also be useful in the water against the prying candiru fish.

123 What now? A closer study of the Trumaí is, of course, inconceivable. War has been declared; we have no choice but to disappear from the scene of action as quickly as possible. We are forced to forego all further soundings and measurements and bid the Kulisëu farewell. We can still draw one advantage from the awkward situation, however. Since we have departed this far from the path of virtue, we need not have any scruples about transgressing still more. After all, we did not get back our fine ax (two canoes capsized and sank when the Trumaí fled to land). Why should we hesitate to exchange the most warped and defective canoes for those abandoned there, which are well built and excellently dried out?

501 /196/ Several men are sent out and return with three canoes
171 and a few oars, which do not differ from those of the Bakaïrí; one of them is for Valentin and me, a second will be pulled
000 along as a reserve, the third goes to the sergeant. Meanwhile Castro's craft has also been brought home.

[1] [i.e. a drink mixed with manioc flour--Analyst]

B /183 cont./
*171 We found pieces of stalks, pieces of bark, seed kernels,
301 and berries of the most diverse kinds: nut beads from the large
824 and the small tucum palm, fruits of a climbing plant, of a campo tree takipé, of a plant called (Bakaïrí) udayáki, red and black seeds of Papilionaceae, of mamona-Ricinus, tonka beans (Dipteryx odorata), among the Auetö gourd seeds and almeisca kernels, and even a small, bottle-shaped gourd seven centimeters long.

B Among the Yaulapiti, Trumaí, and, coming from them,
*171 among their neighbors, stone chains were frequent: pierced
301 disks and cylinders which the Nahuquá imitated in the amber-
T like jatobá resin and in clay. It was the diorite of the stone
171 axes and throwing-stick arrows /Wurfholz-Pfeile/; it was
301 pierced with the stone chip fastened to the twirling stick and
B the addition of sand. Small, pear-shaped stones, such as go with
[321] the darts /Wurfpfeilen/, are popularly hung on children's chains by the Mehinakú and Auetö.

Thus there were distinct differences in the material, which were probably, as is certainly the case with the stones, locally conditioned. All chains made of white shell pieces went back to the Bakaïrí, all those of red to the Nahuquá, all those made of stones to the Trumaí or Yaulapiti.

B /184/ Animal material was found everywhere. There
*171 were horn beads and bone beads, the latter also in the form of
301 little rods; they were sometimes strung on individually, some-
237 times joined for whole chains, especially monkey teeth and
T jaguar teeth. Cf. the illustration of the Auetö chief, page 90.
171 Among the Nahuquá we procured a chain with jaguar teeth
301 and small, colored feathers. The Trumaí prized capybara
● 237 teeth. Among the Mehinakú in particular there was an abundance of children's ornaments, which were hung in bunches on infants; besides the others, monkey teeth in particular, teeth of the jaguatirica (Felis mitis), fish vertebrae, bones of the bagadú fish, once a huge, black beetle-horn. Also claws or hoofs of the tapir (Kamayurá), jaguar, and deer.

/231 cont./

171 411 in battle. The purpose of the throwing board is /232/ to throw a stone-weighted arrow, or, if one wishes, a more graceful spear, [824] with great force. The type present on the Schingú is a thin, smooth stick of hard palm wood about 70 centimeters long, which widens at the front end into a holding plate provided with a hole and bears a small hook at the other, rear end. In other words, no board and no sign of a groove. Cf. Figures 28 /see p. 241/ and 6, p. 91.

The arrow is set in on the barb at the back, the index finger is stuck through the hole of the holding plate, while the other fingers grasp the plate and the arrow; thus, the rear part of the arrow lies securely against the throwing board, is lifted with a powerful swing, the throwing stick describes an arc forward and upward and with this lever motion sends out the arrow so "that it [824] positively whizzes." The throwing boards are made of light or [239] dark palm wood, /Fig. 28 appears here/ they are nicely smoothed, and some of them give an impression of elegance, especially if a small bunch of colored feathers hangs down from the barb cord. The plate has a width of about five centimeters in front, six centimeters in the rear, and a length of 15 centimeters; it is cut biconcave, so that the hand grasps it securely. The shaft is [284] about four times as long. The barb on which the dart is set, a bone among the Karayá, is here a little stick, two and a half centimeters long, lashed on diagonally with cotton thread. There were throwing boards in small sizes for children.

The reed thrown by our Indians is not a spear, but a real ubá arrow and is also called an arrow by them /in this work it is called arrow (Pfeil) or dart (Wurfpfeil). Only the feathering is usually more carelessly worked and not arranged spirally. Bone points and sharp wooden points do not occur. The characteristic thing about the dart is the opposite -- a possibility not provided for in the German language, it seems -- a "blunt point." /233/ In this respect, too, the characteristic of the "spear" is lacking. [284] The dart does not spear and stab, but shatters with a heavy blow. Inserted into the shaft, lashed with string, and smeared with wax were heavy stone or wood points. The stones either conical, like

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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line by canoe would involve a journey of several hundred miles through mostly uninhabited country. The southern approach is the only feasible one for surface transportation. Even this is difficult as canoes and pack animals are needed after leaving Cuyabá. Between that city and the upper Xingú, the Planalto de Matto Grosso intervenes. This is an extremely rugged upland, hard to traverse. The isolation of the area made difficulties for ethnologists, but these were more than compensated for by the intactness of the native cultures. The establishment in 1947 of an outpost and airstrip of the Fundação Brasil Central, located below the juncture of the Kuluene and Kuliseu rivers, has done much to overcome the physical obstacles. The near future should see a considerable increase in ethnographic data from the headwaters of the Xingú.

In 1938 the Trumaí village was situated on the Kuluene River near its juncture with the Kuliseu. The Kuluene is the easternmost of the six parallel rivers that form the headwaters of the Xingú. The Xingú, itself, is one of the largest of the rivers tributary to the Amazon. It joins the Amazon about two hundred miles from the mouth of that river, after flowing from south to north for approximately one thousand miles. The six rivers which flow parallel to each other for over two hundred miles and then join to form the Xingú are, from east to west, the Kuluene, Kuliseu, Batoví, Jatobá, Ronuro, and Steinen rivers. They rise in the uplands, flowing through plains country and gallery forest. Further downstream they widen out and begin their descent into the tropical rain forest. The open country between the streams diminishes and the area covered by forest increases. The terrain is flat with but slight elevations between the rivers. Opening on the rivers are marshy subsidiary streams and large systems of lagoons which extend for several miles. Adjacent to the Kuluene and Kuliseu are broad sections of periodically inundated savannah lands, which are little used by the Indian population.

The heavy rains from October to April have the same profound effect upon the annual cycle of life here as they do in other sections of the Brazilian rain forest. Of great importance, also, is the effect of the rains upon the soil. The rains are too heavy to allow the surface soil to retain them. The water runs off or sinks deeply into the loose earth, leaching the surface of minerals and making it poor for agriculture. Since no form of mineral replenishment is used, a garden plot becomes exhausted in about two or three years, or after two plantings.

Nevertheless, the rain forest is suitable for primitive agriculture, since the looseness of the soil makes it ideally adapted to the primitive tools in use. As the open grasslands in this section of South America have extremely poor soil and cannot be tilled with simple hand tools, the Trumaí, like other tropical forest peoples, are forced to make their gardens in forest clearings in locations that are not flooded annually.

[Text continues on p. 7]

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The rapid exhaustion of the soil forces them into a life which, although not nomadic, involves frequent moves. As the soil in old plots is exhausted, new ones have to be opened up. The area of exploitable land around the village is limited by the need to transport the produce and protect the villagers from their enemies. Thus, after the land available to the village has been used, the group moves.

The main subsistence of the nine village groups now living in the upper Xingú area is derived from this typically Amazonian shifting horticulture coupled with fishing in the extensive streams, lagoons, and estuaries. Apparently, the population of the region was never great enough to cause any pressure on land or other resources. Each village maintained exclusive rights of exploitation over certain waterways and areas of land within which the village always moved. There evidently were not, and still are not, any clearly defined territorial boundaries; but village rights are implicitly recognized.

The Neighbors of the Trumaí

Although there is considerable uniformity in the cultures of the upper Xingú tribes, their linguistic affiliations are diverse. The main language stocks of aboriginal Brazil are represented. On the Kuluene River are the linguistically independent Trumaí and the Cariban Kuikuru, Kalapalo, Tsuva, and Naravute. Near the waters of the Kuliseu River live the Tupian Kamayurá and Auetí, the Arawakan Mehinaku and Yaulapití, and the Cariban Nahukwa. The Batoví River is inhabited by the Arawakan Waurá and Kustenaú.[1] All these villages maintain a rather distrustful peace among themselves, but live in fear of their hostile Gê- and Tupian-speaking neighbors on the perimeters of the upper Xingú drainage area.

The upper Xingú "tribes" consist of one village each. It seems evident from the linguistic heterogeneity of the region that it is a *cul de sac* — one of the aboriginal refuge areas which characterize the cultural landscape of the headwaters of the Amazon and its tributaries.

The cultural uniformity of the above peoples has impressed all observers, as has the extensive contact that they maintain with each other. Descriptions of this homogeneity are to be found in von den Steinen[2] and, latterly, in Galvão[3] and Oberg.[4] Among the principal material traits which distinguish the area as opposed to neighboring, but outside, groups are: haystack-shaped houses arranged in a circle around a central plaza; bark canoes; dependence upon fish for protein;

[1] Oberg (1953, p. 4) states that the Yaulapití, Kustenaú, Tsuva, and Naravute no longer live in independent villages, but reside among other groups, usually of the same linguistic family.

[2] Von den Steinen 1886. [3] Galvão 1949. [4] Oberg 1953.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The plaza was the center of Trumaí social life. Here guests were entertained, ceremonials and wrestling matches were held, and the men gathered daily. Although the women might sit in front of their houses and watch these activities, they were not allowed to come near the log bench, even when the men were not there. The plaza of the Trumaí village was also used as the burying ground.

A short distance north of the circle of houses, on the path to the two main garden clearings of the Trumaí, was another smaller clearing used during the *ole*, or manioc, ceremonies. Other paths radiated outward from the village to the other gardens and to nearby groves of *piquí* trees. Quain noticed that the paths leading to the Kamayurá village were much broader and cleaner. The Kamayurá were proud of their paths and kept them in good condition. Their plaza was also clearer of weeds and trash than that of the Trumaí.

Of the four completed houses in the village, two were as large as those of the Kamayurá, but the other two, which were much smaller, were considered by Quain's informants to be genuinely Trumaí in type. Insofar as is known, the details of the construction and shape of all four were substantially the same. They had an elliptical floor plan and were haystack-shaped. Although the side walls were only four feet high, the roof attained a height of fifteen feet. The silhouette of the house was an almost smooth curve from ridge pole to ground. The frame was covered with a grass thatch. There were no windows, and a single entry opened on the plaza.

Each family occupied its own section of the house and had its own fireplace. Personal belongings hung from the walls and ceilings or were placed on small shelves. Hammocks were hung between the side wall posts and the two center posts, the woman's hammock beneath that of her husband. Except for two nuclear families that screened off their sections with blankets and cloth given them by Quain, there was no internal division of the house.

The two largest garden clearings were situated respectively about one mile northeast and one mile northwest of the village. Three small ones were located southeast of the settlement. In order of size, the gardens were named Nariatan, Waniwanitan, Anariatan, Tan Toreake, and Tandatake. Nariatan, the largest, contained, by Quain's rough calculation, approximately seven acres divided into ten plots, representing the gardens of seven men. One plot contained two acres, but the average garden varied between one-fourth and one acre in size. One of the men had erected a temporary thatch shelter in his plot, providing protection from the sun, but not from the rain. Inside there was only a basket of manioc flour, a rack for cooking fish, and a large shallow pot into which manioc was grated. This was the sole garden shelter Quain saw, and, significantly, it belonged to the most industrious horticulturist in the village.

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Nariatan was a newer garden than Waniwanitan, and the former was planted to a variety of crops while the latter was nearly all in manioc. This is indicative of the common tropical forest slash and burn system whereby second year gardens are used only for manioc growing, and new areas in which the soil is still comparatively rich are used for other vegetables in addition to manioc. The Trumaí are unique, however, in that the garden clearing was divided into individually owned plots. Smaller individual gardens or large gardens cleared and cultivated collectively are the general rule in the rain forests of South America.

The three other clearings were small, and each contained one garden plot. One was one-quarter acre in size, while the other two each comprised one-half acre. These small gardens were connected with the village by separate paths and were closer to it than the two larger clearings. Anariatan, Nariatan and Waniwanitan were named after old village sites, but Quain knew of no abandoned locations from which the names Tan Toreake and Tandatake could have been derived.

Horticultural Techniques

It is difficult to assess the relative importance of horticulture, fishing and gathering in the subsistence economy of the Trumaí. At different times of the year each made the major contribution to the diet. Most garden products became available at about the middle of the rainy season, but manioc was dug up when needed throughout the year. Fish and manioc were staples the year-round, although fishing was poorer during the rains. Each was more important in the total diet than were the products of gathering. However, the subsistence of the Trumaí at certain times of the year, especially in the early part of the rainy season, would have been seriously threatened without the wild foods.

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The usual procedure was for each man to clear a garden plot adjacent to the others; in this way the two large clearings of Naristan and Waniwanitan were created. The three isolated small clearings might have been nuclei for future large clearings.

All the trees in the plot to be cleared were felled, and the underbrush was slashed away. This has been done with steel axes since the upper Xingú Indians came in contact with the outside world. Quain noted that much more work must have been involved in clearing the forest when stone axes were used. Even with improved implements, clearing land was the most arduous work done by the Trumaí. Stumps were not uprooted, nor were the fallen trees and shrubs removed. The dead vegetation was allowed to dry, and the plot was burned over just before planting in September. When planting, the Trumaí followed the simple expedient of avoiding burned tree trunks and stumps. One year old garden plots were made ready for replanting simply by pulling out or chopping down weeds.

The heavy work of clearing the land fell to the men. In one case reported by Quain, two men from the same household cleared a plot jointly, but in all other instances each garden was cleared by one man.

Permanent rights to land resided in the community as a whole, but gardens were spoken of as belonging to the man who had cleared the land. He also had proprietary rights over the crops, even when he had not planted them himself. Generally, however, such fine points of property were not an issue, as the man who cleared the land usually planted it. Land tenure was a function of use only.

Absolute, permanent ownership of property in land would have had no purpose, as the gardens were temporary and were abandoned when the soil was exhausted after two consecutive plantings.

The planting season began after the first light rains and lasted from about the middle of September to about the second week in October. The first heavy daytime rains arrive at the beginning of October and become more frequent throughout the month. Thus the sowing was done after the earth was moistened, but before the rains arrived in full force.

Quain made note of a variety of food plants growing in the Trumaí gardens. These included bitter manioc (*ole*), corn (*xotet*), squash, large beans (*kuman*), small beans (*kumana'i*), sweet potatoes (*mani*), sugar cane (*kanaviya*), a species of pineapple (*vasus ruyau*), and banana trees (*tsi idatdat*). Among the domesticated non-food plants were tobacco, cotton (*amundyu*), the castor bean (*patasy*), and *urucú*(*maidot*). Quain believed that the castor bean was used for the round hollow point of the whistling arrow, but Oberg says that the Kamayurá make theirs with hollow nuts of the tucúm palm.[1] *Urucú* is a plant bearing a pod, the

[1] Oberg 1953, p. 31.

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773 gather some vegetable dye in a tree in which he had put a snake. The wily nephew made designs on his leg with the dye which caused the snake to fall out of the tree. He returned home and resumed his relations with his uncle's wife.

Jemenary then ordered Kelenewary to cross a river in which there was a fish that would surely eat him. The nephew suffered some bites, but these he cured by smearing with another vegetable dye. The infuriated uncle then sent him to the village of Rain, Kelenewary's cross-cousin, to get a highly prized wood which Rain guarded closely. Kelenewary arrived at Rain's village and repeatedly urged Rain to have sexual intercourse with his wife. After many wakeful nights, the couple, exhausted, fell into deep sleep. Kelenewary stole the wood, and returned to his uncle's house, where he continued to sleep with his uncle's wife.

Later, when the two men were building an eagle cage, Kelenewary, who was sitting on top of it, angered his uncle by saying that the eagle was no larger than one of his wife's pubic hairs. The enraged Jemenary released the vertical poles in the framework of the structure, catapulting the insolent nephew through the air and into the branches of a tree. Kelenewary was hurt, and Nane, a creature having a human form but capable of flying, carried him to his village. Under Nane's care, he drank medicines that restored him to health and caused him to grow to a tremendous size. The uncle, in despair, created the deer with the intention of having it kill his nephew. Kelenewary, however, lassoed the animal with his armband, and it killed the uncle instead. The opposition thus removed, the nephew returned to the embraces of his dead uncle's wife.

Lore and Learning

821 [775] The cosmology of the Trumaí was not very elaborate. Many stars and constellations were known and named. As noted above, the Milky Way entered into their beliefs of an after-life. Special attention was also given to the Hesperides, which may be the constellation that dates their ceremonial season at the end of the rains. Quain was told by Thomas [241] [805] Young, the missionary, that the planting time was determined by astral phenomena. Quain was not able to confirm this, but he noted that the Trumaí knew the proper time for burning the felled brush. This knowledge was important as the rains arrive suddenly, and once the brush becomes wet it is almost impossible to fire.

805 824 825 Flora and fauna also served as markers of seasonal passage. One such sign was an insect that issued a shrill and pleasant whistle from dusk until far into the night in the weeks immediately preceding the rainy season.

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a certain point at least, the take increases geometrically with the number of persons participating.

In gardening, also, which was not practiced collectively, their small number decreased Trumaí security. It was common for nearly all the village men to plant their gardens in clearings adjacent to those of their neighbors. Obviously, if one part of such a single, extended clearing was improperly fired, or if the crops were destroyed by armadillos or wild pigs, the whole village might be without food. Crop failure for a variety of causes is common in the tropical forests, but most aboriginal communities in South America have several separated garden clearings, each owned by an individual or extended family. If one garden fails, the family can, in a period of emergency, reap from others. Oberg relates that the Trumaí once had to turn for food to the Kamayura,[4] perhaps because of the failure of the village clearing.

It is, of course, possible that in the past the Trumaí organized their gardens along the more rational lines of the Kamayurá;[5] and it is also possible that they never made a proper ecological adaptation subsequent to their arrival in the upper Xingú region. But lacking information on their economy prior to their decimation, we cannot make any firm statement on these points. However, it is certain that, despite their small numbers, the individual Trumaí could have cleared and planted much more land. The average size of the gardens observed by Quain was one-half acre, and this area had to feed up to four people. Many men also had old gardens which were planted only to manioc. According to Quain's calculations, the total acreage of Trumaí gardens was only a little over thirteen. Since yields from forest soils are not high, it is evident that this very small area must have barely met the needs of a population of 43 persons. Manifestly, the Trumaí did not work hard enough; and it seems evident that their lack of application did more to impoverish them than any other single factor.

If the other upper Xingú tribes are used as criteria to establish what Trumaí society was like before its decline, some very serious dysfunctions within Trumaí social structure soon become apparent. To be sure, such a comparison is an arbitrary procedure; and it is only invoked here for its heuristic value. Since village and house patrilocality is the usual mode of residence among the Trumaí, a household similar to that of the Kamayurá, and with like functions, might be expected and might indeed have existed in the past. However, the Trumaí death rate in 1938 was so high that these units disintegrated before they had gone beyond the embryonic stage. House membership was shifting, the number of persons involved small, and leadership nebulous. And since kinship was the principal mechanism for structuring interpersonal relationships in Trumaí society, this lack of a stable, kin-structured unit probably did

[4] Oberg 1953, p. 42. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 48.

T 123 /124 cont./ pocket along the way. A certain amount was obviously missing; I hope it was distributed among various fanciers and taken by them with some success for the skin diseases particularly common among the Yaulapiti.

T 126 Much as we were urged to depart, we still had to undertake at least the most important body measurements and would not relent; seven men were measured in haste, in between our packing, and the only photographic plate left was used for a group shot -- unfortunately ruined later.

T 122 At 9:45 we set out in two canoes, accompanied by four Trumaí. Three times one would have to sleep, they said, before reaching their villages. The Mehinakú could also be reached by way of the canals and only one day was needed to their second village. At 11:00 we landed near the Auetó village, at a place other than where we had left. In the damp T [136] leaves lay huge quantities of giant earthworms; wherever one put his foot, he stepped on them. The path led us to the two huts of the Yaulapiti-Auetó families.

T 361 It is advisable to insert here what Vogel and Perrot reported about the Trumaí villages after their return home from Schingú-Koblenz. They had not caught sight of an Indian, but below the place where the Kulisehu empties into the Kuluëne, on a bank five meters high, they had found one Trumaí village of eight houses and, a kilometer farther east, a second one of five T houses with buildings under construction among them. The 727 Suyá had burned down all the houses and smashed whatever T was left of large pots and utensils. There were plantings of re- 241 markably large size and careful cultivation directly adjoining the T villages. About ten fresh graves were noted; judging from the 764 circular excavation, the corpses had been buried in a squatting position. They seemed to lie deep; at least they were /125/ not uncovered by some superficial subsequent digging. Antonio B had been very alarmed when Perrot said to him: "o doutor Carlos 186 precisa d'uma cabeça /Doctor Carlos wants a head/." It was only with great effort that Antonio had been persuaded to go along on the trip and expose himself to the possibility of meeting the detested Trumaí.

B /201 cont./

*171 194 241 in remote epochs, /202/ for the phonetic softening processes and the disappearance of the initial root-sounds, which are present everywhere in the individual dialects, show a development in the same direction, but in different gradations everywhere with respect to degree and limits, show only equivalence, not conformity, and therefore could have started only after the separation from the basic people. Nevertheless, even the basic peoples have names for the most important useful plants; they are entirely different from one basic people to another, but for the individual basic stock they are common among a greater or lesser number of branches. For the Karaiben /Carib/ I believe I have proved these statements in my Bakaïrí grammar, I can likewise maintain them for the Tupí after more recent studies; for the Nu-Aruak /Arawak/, where the material is inadequate and difficult, I reserve all judgment and merely point out that, on the basis of historical and ethnological data, we must conclude that the Nu-Aruak undoubtedly have an older culture than the Karaiben and certainly the Gês, and probably also an older one than the Tupí. The Trumaí borrowed their names for the most important useful plants in part from the Nu-Aruak, in part from the Tupí.

T [192]

B [181] Thus, we have a contradiction with respect to the common conception: ancient agriculture along with the world view of hunters. The Bakaïrí said to me: "Our grandfathers did not know anything about maize and mandioca, instead they ate earth" -- which the present-day Indians only nibble. In the bagadú legend they say that mandioca was first given as a gift to the campo residents. In the Mato Grosso different stages of development are found side by side: in the case of the Bororó we shall become acquainted with a mighty tribe for whom the cultivation of food plants was an incomprehensible beginning; who, without need, most speedily pulled out and consumed the mandioca roots planted for them, before the roots were scarcely more than thin young shoots -- we recognize from the language and also hear from the tradition that the Trumaí were taught agriculture only recently by their neighbors, and we find among them excellently tended, extensive plantings--

B [773] [261]

BO [241] [153]

T [241] [179]

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were the teams always the same. Old Matiwana and his son Yatí fished together most of the time, as did Aloari and his true brother Tun. Other true brothers often fished together, but, with the exception of the two above-mentioned steadfast teams, men chose their fishing companions according to their mutual needs or plans for the day. Since such agreements occurred most often between members of the same household, co-residents often cooperated. One man, Jakuma, spent much of his time fishing as the *tau* of different canoe owners or borrowers. He had no wife, and his garden, which he did not till very diligently, was very small. His fishing partners included men from every household, who were related to him in various degrees.

Although the position of *tau* was a temporarily subordinate one, it caused no loss of status. Even the Trumaí chief, since he owned no canoe, went fishing as a *tau*. Occasionally men took their wives along, but fishing was a man's specialty, and the woman's function was restricted to paddling.

Gathering

The two most important food products that the Trumaí gathered were turtle eggs and the fruit of the *piquí* tree, or *tsinon*. Throughout the dry season, turtle eggs were gathered in great quantity on the banks and sandbars of the rivers. By September they were no longer available and, in the following month, *piquí* became the main objective of the gathering parties. The harvest of this fruit was stored and lasted nearly to the end of the rainy season. *Piquí* was an important staple, especially in the period before crops ripened. Most of the *piquí* trees grow wild, but there is a suggestion in Quain's notes that they might also have been transplanted when young. All of the *piquí* trees were individually owned, and proprietary rights of individuals to groups of trees were clearly understood by all. In order to make the fruit ripen fast, the owner of the trees built a slow-burning fire of grass underneath them at night. The early rainy season was a rather lean period, so that there was great joy when the *piquí* was heard falling in the forest. Everyone broke into shouts of "*kaha kaha kaha-a-a*," which was the conventional cry for greeting the first *piquí*. These shouts were slightly different from those welcoming fish brought into the village.

The first fruit was usually gathered by the owner of the trees and his family. However, when the fruit began to fall in great quantity there was a general harvest which was shared without regard for tree ownership.

Piquí gathering started in the middle of October, when the planting season had ended and the men were free to help in the gathering. However, men still fished frequently, and the burden of the gathering fell on the women and older boys. Women from the same household

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it before it rots. The Trumaí worked hard at this, and Quain heard the sounds of women boiling and stirring the *ke'jau* far into the night. Some of the *ke'jau* was placed in gourds for immediate use. It was mixed with water, making a rich yellow drink, and was frequently stirred into the manioc gruel, or *ats aek*. *Ke'jau* was considered an excellent food for canoe trips, and was carried by fishermen and travelers.

The *piquí* fruit when roasted whole "tastes like egg yolk, or, vaguely, like deviled eggs," Quain wrote. In addition to cooking the pulp of the fruit, the kernel of the *piquí* pit was used. It was sometimes eaten raw, but usually it was cooked. The kernel has a fragrant, coconut-like flavor. A pudding was made by boiling down *piquí* kernels to the consistency of paste and, to Quain, the flavor was much like that of the caramelized coconut sauce prepared in Fiji. Another preparation called *t'ak*, which resembled *beijú*, was made from a flour prepared from *piquí* kernels. Fish and various other foods were piled on top of the *t'ak* and eaten with it, or pieces of the cake were broken off and eaten plain.

Maize, beans, and squash were grown in the Trumaí gardens, but due to the season none of these was eaten during Quain's stay. While making house inventories he saw small amounts of maize and beans stored in gourds sealed with tree gum, undoubtedly to be used as seed. Two varieties of maize were eaten. The more common type was called *xotet*; the other was a red species known as *hy kapsik*.

Pineapples and bananas did not figure importantly in the diet. Although the Trumaí grew sugar cane (*kanaviya*), there is no information on its use. Sweet potatoes were roasted by the men, but were probably prepared in other ways also. A paste was made from cotton seeds by pounding them in a mortar and then boiling the mashed seeds. The paste was kept in a gourd and eaten by scooping it up with the fingers.

Quain's notes contain little on the preparation of wild foods other than *piquí* fruit. Guava were eaten raw, but there is no information on how the various kinds of palm fruits were prepared.

The abdomen of a large ant called *zokoldomat'ek* was considered a delicacy, and flying ants were popped into the mouth like peanuts. A tremendous green grasshopper with long horns (*tawarero*) was roasted and eaten. A small red tick (*tekwu*) was also consumed, but a fuzzy caterpillar known as the *ma'yryr* was looked upon with revulsion. The Trumaí claimed contemptuously that only the Suyá ate them.

It would appear that the Trumaí seldom drank plain water. Instead, beverages such as the manioc or *piquí* drinks were used. A gourdful of one of these drinks was usually available in the houses, and a supply was taken on canoe trips. No intoxicating beverages were made, but Quain was told by a former captive of the Yuruna that the Yuruna brew "kills you for a day or two, and they stay up all night shouting and singing." The informant did not approve of its taste or effects.

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Matiwana, who was in charge of
the proceedings, was seated somewhere near the center; Maibu, the husband of the sick woman, at one end of the line. Matiwana was chanting while the others merely shouted words at irregular intervals. Each man held a rattle in one hand and a branch with leaves in the other, except for two who held a branch in each hand. Approaching Matavitsa's hammock in succession, and, with arms extended, each stamped on his heels, causing his rattle and leaves to shake, as he moved up and down the length of the sick woman's body several times. This done, he passed the rattle and leaves from her head to her feet, and then clapped the two objects together so as to suggest that he was brushing off something undesirable. He repeated this sequence two to four times, and before taking his seat, he carefully picked up all the leaves that had fallen to the floor.

While awaiting their turns, the other men rubbed their rattles against their forearms and kept up a steady, disorganized chant. They also smoked, but this apparently was not part of the ceremony.

Turns started at one end of the line and, when the other end was reached, the next series began there. A pause was observed between each series. Some variation was to be noted. One man passed his leaves under Matavitsa's hammock, while another gave special attention to her head. Maibu, during one turn, sucked in the area of her navel.

Quain noted that during the ceremony "there was an amazing lack of affective tension. The men seemed inattentive and disinterested." He was able to ask questions about the ceremony while it was going on, for not everyone participated. Paradoxically, one of the active performers was Oirupa, who was suspected of having brought about Matavitsa's condition through witchcraft.

The Ole Ceremony

In the Trumaí village no ritual was more important or consumed more time than the *ole* (manioc) ceremony.[5] Its purpose was essentially to insure an abundant manioc crop, and much of the symbolism involved was clearly oriented around the concept of fertility. The supernatural techniques that were employed were practiced almost daily from the middle of August to the end of September. (It will be remembered that planting lasted from mid-September until early October.) The whole ceremony was loosely knit. After it started it reached no special climax,

[5] Oberg (1953, p. 56) describes a Kamayurá ceremony which also takes place at the beginning of the rainy season and, in form, closely resembles the Trumaí *ole* ritual. He calls it, however, the *Kwaráp*, a "special ceremony in commemoration of the dead," and states that the Kamayurá manioc ceremony was not held during his stay in the field. If the ceremonies observed by Quain in the Trumaí village and by Oberg among the Kamayurá are not the same, a great similarity of ritual forms for different religious purposes is indicated.

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but continued at the same pace for about three weeks, and then slowly died down. It would be impossible to say on what day the *ole* ceremony ended.

When the *ole* cycle began it consisted of little except songs and dances. These were usually held shortly before daybreak and at night. About a week afterwards decorated posts were erected in the village center. These "*ole* posts" served as "shrines" to which food offerings were made. In the meantime, dancing and singing went on almost every day. On some days two or three *ole* songs and dances were performed; on others there was little activity.

The intensity of the ritual varied with the number of people in the village and according to whim. The participants changed from day to day, and some took part more often than others. Only certain men knew the songs and dances, and they served as leaders. Other men occasionally joined in and performed an accompanying role, while the women followed the dancers and served as a chorus. The usual procedure was for the men to sing and dance their way from the nearby forest into the plaza, where they were joined by the female chorus. They then made the rounds of all the houses, pausing to sing at each.

Only Matiwana and Nitvary served as leaders of the dance processions, as they had inherited the necessary songs. Makurawa also knew *ole* songs, but his role was always secondary. Nitvary, due to his youth and vigor, was the principal dance leader. Most of the other adult men did not participate in the dances and seemed bored by the activity at times. There was no rule governing female participation in the dance. One of the men initiated the performance without consulting the other men, and the women flocked from their houses of their own will to join the procession, falling in behind the older boys. Quain thought this reflected well the respective roles of the men and women in Trumaí culture. Children always followed in the rear and cried out at the beginning and end of each major sequence in the performance.

There were also *ole* songs for solo performance without choral accompaniment, which were not considered to be the special property of any one man. The soloist made the rounds of all the houses, stopping at each to perform a song and a simple dance. Even the women sang certain *ole* songs, and on one occasion Quain observed two women making the customary rounds together without male accompaniment.

Quain mentioned one song as being quite melodious, and stated that there was greater variation of pitch in songs which were distributed throughout the upper Xingú area. The Trumaí had borrowed songs heavily from their neighbors, and, in fact, had probably borrowed the whole ceremony. Kamayurá verses were most frequently heard, but there was also a significant sprinkling of Cariban words.

The chorus that followed Matiwana and Nitvary gave only the sketchiest accompaniment. The women did not seem to know the songs,

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but the frequent repetitions and the small number of pitches made accompaniment possible, and their voices fell consistently into the fourth interval below those of the men. The women, however, enjoyed their role thoroughly and gave far better support than the men, who made little effort to coordinate their activities. 796 243 533

The songs were arranged in a series of three verses. Each time a new house was entered, the singer started a new series. Matiwana's songs were more elaborate than Nitvary's. Occasionally the old man would make a mistake and have to start the verse over again, but these lapses merely amused him. The only musical instrument used was the tapir hoof rattle. [534]

Quain gives no detailed information on the dances involved, but apparently they were simple, and perhaps partially improvised. Nitvary was the sole person to take special pains with his toilet before leading a dance. At such a time he usually wore a feather headdress and painted his body ornately. [535] [302]

One of the more important parts of the *ole* ceremony was the complex of activities surrounding the *ole* posts. A few days after the ceremony began several poles were brought into the clearing just outside the village, and the bark was peeled from them. They were rubbed with white clay and painted in colored designs. Each man placed the pole he had decorated upon his shoulders and brought it into the village with shouts and singing. With the poles on their shoulders, they danced about the village, finally placing their burdens upright in holes that had been dug previously in the village plaza. The children helped by packing dirt around them. The women then smeared red *urucú* dye on the bases of the poles and just below the upper ends. Tufts of cotton were put on top by both men and women. An offering in the form of fish on *beijú* was placed in front of the posts. Later in the afternoon, and early every afternoon for the next two weeks, the men ate together among these poles. Their attitude in this ceremonial milieu was certainly not one of special reverence, for they draped two blankets Quain had given them over the posts for shade. 796 243 [386] [782]

Nearly every day additional food offerings were placed in front of the posts. One post was given special attention. This was Nukekerehe, which was said to be malignant. However, fear of Nukekerehe was mixed with jokes. Quain was told one night that the men would not go to bed until he did, for if he stayed up long Nukekerehe would surely eat him. Weeks later, when the posts were pulled up and brought into the houses of their owners, the man carrying this pole stamped his feet at the children and pretended anger, much to everyone's amusement. On one occasion Matiwana performed a ritual in which he was apparently acting the part of Nukekerehe. He made wrathful noises and jumped about in front of the post, before which were two bowls of manioc soup. [782] 796 243 522 [247]

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796 He then started a song about the post in which he was joined by Nitvary
243 and the women. After two repetitions, the women poured a bowl of the
522 soup on Matiwana's head and shoulders, making a dripping mess of him. He retired amid general laughter. The second bowl of soup was then poured over the pole. A full explanation of the beliefs surrounding the *ole* posts was not obtained.

796 Due to the fact that Quain had only recently arrived in the village
243 when the ceremony was held, there is also a lack of clarity in the system
608 of relationships known as *ole aton*. The word "*aton*" means "pet" in Trumaí, but in the present context it applies to a temporary ceremonial identification between people, and between people and the *ole* posts. The
[571] interpersonal ties set up were only between persons of opposite sex. However, a man could have more than one woman for *aton*, and vice versa.

Kinship may be the determinant of these ties, but the data are inconclusive. Interestingly, the greatest number of *ole aton* relationships existed between people of the previously mentioned pairs of houses, suggesting a ceremonial reinforcement of this moiety-like arrangement.

Except for reciprocal gift-giving obligations, nothing is known of the behavioral roles called for by these connections. The owners of the *ole* posts were said to have their particular posts for *atons*. Their chief
[782] ceremonial duties were to peel and paint the pole, and supply it with
[778] food offerings. It may be hypothesized that the posts represent certain spirits with which individuals are identified, perhaps as the result of shamanistic experiences, as described by Oberg for the Kamayurá.[6]

796 During the *ole* ceremony, as during the cure described above, Quain
829 was impressed by the lack of interest in the proceedings. Those who
181 were not part of the immediate activity sat and smoked, indulging in the usual topics of conversation. The loose patterning and secularity which characterized the ritual bespoke the general lassitude that permeated all aspects of the culture.

The Piquí Ceremony

796 The *piquí (tsinon)* ceremony occurred at the end of the harvest of that fruit, during the first half of the rainy season. It was similar to the *ole* celebration, but not as lengthy nor as important. Quain's information on the festival, obtained from Aloari, is very limited. Jakwanari, the main functionary, occupied a position similar to that of Matiwana and Nitvary in the *ole* ceremony. As Aloari phrased it, "Jakwanari had *tsinon* as *aton*." There was house-to-house dancing by the women, accompanied by singing of a certain series of songs. At the end of the dancing Jak-
[262] wanari's wife made a large quantity of *t'ak*, the *piquí* flour cake, which

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

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386 interior of which yields a red paint used in body painting and the decoration of artifacts.

244 Bitter manioc was by far the most important crop, while maize and
243 sweet potatoes ranked second and third, respectively. Most of the crops were planted in the same three-to-four-week period, but the gardener usually planted manioc before the other vegetables. For this purpose, holes were dug at six to ten foot intervals wherever space between the charred logs permitted. A short trench was first dug with a hoe, and then, from the opposite side, an adjacent trench was dug. The loose earth from the second trench was piled into the first, in which the manioc was then planted. Each pair of trenches was made with about fifty hoe strokes.

244 Shoots for planting were obtained by cutting sections from the stalks
242 of old manioc plants. About ten shoots were planted in each hole by thrusting them at an angle into the loose earth. The gardener tried to plant the stems deeply so that the developing tubers would receive maximum moisture. Slipshod gardeners, however, often thrust them in lightly and heaped earth around the stems. The shoots were inserted at slightly different angles to minimize the tangle of stems and thus facilitate the harvesting, but all shoots pointed in a general westerly direction. Quain was told that if they were planted otherwise, the wind would break the growing stalks.

243 The procedure for planting maize was somewhat simpler. The gardener brought a large container of seed corn and a jug of water to the area to be planted. He soaked some of the kernels, and then put them in a small gourd which he carried with him. Small holes, three to four inches deep, were dug with a digging stick (*mica*) or knife blade in the open spaces between the manioc holes. Into each hole three or four kernels were dropped. A small pile of the loose earth that had just been dug up remained next to the depression in which the corn was planted. This served to trap the early rains. The digging stick and knife were the only implements used in maize planting, whereas only the hoe was used to plant manioc.

244 Men planted manioc; the women were said by the men to "not know
462 how." Indicative of the importance of manioc, the word for planting refers only to manioc planting. Thus, a man who told Quain that he had finished his planting went to his garden the next day to put in sweet potatoes. Similarly, Quain was told that women do not "plant." He soon
241 learned, however, that women could plant other crops, but, with the exception of cotton, it was always done under the supervision of the men.

The most active horticultural role of the women was harvesting. The
483 wife of the gardener went to his plot to dig up manioc and pick vegetables, which she carried back to the village in a basketry container balanced on her head. If the gardener had no wife, the female relative in his household who prepared his food brought in his crop.

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Each man planted his garden without male assistance. However, when planting vegetables other than manioc, he was often aided by his wife or wives. During the whole Trumaí planting season Quain observed only one instance of cooperative labor in manioc planting. This occurred in the garden of Uluku, a Kamayurá, who had cleared a plot in the Trumaí gardens but had not returned in time to plant it. The work was initiated by the Trumaí chief, as this was an obligation of the village to an outsider. However, the men largely ignored his call and, of those who responded, most were co-residents of the chief.

Fishing Techniques

A variety of fish were caught and eaten by the Trumaí. The exact species were not recorded by Quain, but those in Oberg's partial list are also found in other tributaries of the Amazon.[3] A small fish called *kate* by the Trumaí was caught in great quantities during Quain's visit. Fish figured importantly in the diet throughout the year, but they were not as easily caught during the rainy season when the rivers overflowed into the adjacent forest. Fish were taken by hook and line, bow and arrow, poisoning, traps, nets and weirs.

Shooting with the bow and arrow was the most important single method. The fisherman stood in the bow of his bark canoe with bow and arrow poised while his helper paddled slowly in the stern. When a fish was sighted the arrow usually found its mark with surprising accuracy. Insofar as is known, only hooks and lines obtained from the whites by trade or gift were used. Quain found a great demand for them, and he gave many to the Trumaí and other groups.

Two kinds of poison were used to drug fish in the lagoons. The more important was made from the shredded bark of the *tawasi* tree and was effective only upon the small *kate* fish. The other was made from the ripe fruit of the *fit'a* tree, the bark of which was used in the washing of the body after ceremonial scarification.[3]

Fish traps were baited and set out in the lagoon. These were basket containers, long and rounded in shape. An open-ended basket cone, through which the fish swam, was set in the mouth. Once inside, the fish could not find their way out through the small end of the cone, which was pointed towards the inside of the trap. According to one informant, the Mehinaku could make fish traps, but not the Trumaí. Quain, however, found that at least three Trumaí men made traps,

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 25–26.

[3] The exact species of these trees are not known. Oberg (1953, pp. 26–27) refers to the use of *timbó* in a general sense only. *Timbó* commonly refers to the root of a small shrub and not to the above-mentioned drugs. Von den Steinen (1897) makes no reference to fish drugs.

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were the teams always the same. Old Matiwana and his son Yati fished together most of the time, as did Aloari and his true brother Tun. Other true brothers often fished together, but, with the exception of the two above-mentioned steadfast teams, men chose their fishing companions according to their mutual needs or plans for the day. Since such agreements occurred most often between members of the same household, co-residents often cooperated. One man, Jakuma, spent much of his time fishing as the *tau* of different canoe owners or borrowers. He had no wife, and his garden, which he did not till very diligently, was very small. His fishing partners included men from every household, who were related to him in various degrees.

Although the position of *tau* was a temporarily subordinate one, it caused no loss of status. Even the Trumaí chief, since he owned no canoe, went fishing as a *tau*. Occasionally men took their wives along, but fishing was a man's specialty, and the woman's function was restricted to paddling.

Gathering

The two most important food products that the Trumaí gathered were turtle eggs and the fruit of the *piquí* tree, or *tsinon*. Throughout the dry season, turtle eggs were gathered in great quantity on the banks and sandbars of the rivers. By September they were no longer available and, in the following month, *piquí* became the main objective of the gathering parties. The harvest of this fruit was stored and lasted nearly to the end of the rainy season. *Piquí* was an important staple, especially in the period before crops ripened. Most of the *piquí* trees grow wild, but there is a suggestion in Quain's notes that they might also have been transplanted when young. All of the *piquí* trees were individually owned, and proprietary rights of individuals to groups of trees were clearly understood by all. In order to make the fruit ripen fast, the owner of the trees built a slow-burning fire of grass underneath them at night. The early rainy season was a rather lean period, so that there was great joy when the *piquí* was heard falling in the forest. Everyone broke into shouts of "*kaha kaha kaha-a-a*," which was the conventional cry for greeting the first *piquí*. These shouts were slightly different from those welcoming fish brought into the village.

The first fruit was usually gathered by the owner of the trees and his family. However, when the fruit began to fall in great quantity there was a general harvest which was shared without regard for tree ownership.

Piquí gathering started in the middle of October, when the planting season had ended and the men were free to help in the gathering. However, men still fished frequently, and the burden of the gathering fell on the women and older boys. Women from the same household

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The usual procedure was for each man to clear a garden plot adjacent to the others; in this way the two large clearings of Nariatan and Waniwanitan were created. The three isolated small clearings might have been nuclei for future large clearings.

All the trees in the plot to be cleared were felled, and the underbrush was slashed away. This has been done with steel axes since the upper Xingú Indians came in contact with the outside world. Quain noted that much more work must have been involved in clearing the forest when stone axes were used. Even with improved implements, clearing land was the most arduous work done by the Trumaí. Stumps were not uprooted, nor were the fallen trees and shrubs removed. The dead vegetation was allowed to dry, and the plot was burned over just before planting in September. When planting, the Trumaí followed the simple expedient of avoiding burned tree trunks and stumps. One year old garden plots were made ready for replanting simply by pulling out or chopping down weeds.

The heavy work of clearing the land fell to the men. In one case reported by Quain, two men from the same household cleared a plot jointly, but in all other instances each garden was cleared by one man.

Permanent rights to land resided in the community as a whole, but gardens were spoken of as belonging to the man who had cleared the land. He also had proprietary rights over the crops, even when he had not planted them himself. Generally, however, such fine points of property were not an issue, as the man who cleared the land usually planted it. Land tenure was a function of use only.

Absolute, permanent ownership of property in land would have had no purpose, as the gardens were temporary and were abandoned when the soil was exhausted after two consecutive plantings.

The planting season began after the first light rains and lasted from about the middle of September to about the second week in October. The first heavy daytime rains arrive at the beginning of October and become more frequent throughout the month. Thus the sowing was done after the earth was moistened, but before the rains arrived in full force.

Quain made note of a variety of food plants growing in the Trumaí gardens. These included bitter manioc (*ole*), corn (*xotet*), squash, large beans (*kuman*), small beans (*kumana'i*), sweet potatoes (*mani*), sugar cane (*kanaviya*), a species of pineapple (*wasus ruyas*), and banana trees (*tsi idaidat*). Among the domesticated non-food plants were tobacco, cotton (*amundyu*), the castor bean (*patasy*), and *urucú* (*maidot*). Quain believed that the castor bean was used for the round hollow point of the whistling arrow, but Oberg says that the Kamayurá make theirs with hollow nuts of the tucúm palm.[1] *Urucú* is a plant bearing a pod, the

[1] Oberg 1953, p. 31.

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it before it rots. The Trumaí worked hard at this, and Quain heard the sounds of women boiling and stirring the *ke'jau* far into the night. Some of the *ke'jau* was placed in gourds for immediate use. It was mixed with water, making a rich yellow drink, and was frequently stirred into the manioc gruel, or *ats aek*. *Ke'jau* was considered an excellent food for canoe trips, and was carried by fishermen and travelers.

The *piquí* fruit when roasted whole "tastes like egg yolk, or, vaguely, like deviled eggs," Quain wrote. In addition to cooking the pulp of the fruit, the kernel of the *piquí* pit was used. It was sometimes eaten raw, but usually it was cooked. The kernel has a fragrant, coconut-like flavor. A pudding was made by boiling down *piquí* kernels to the consistency of paste and, to Quain, the flavor was much like that of the caramelized coconut sauce prepared in Fiji. Another preparation called *t'ak*, which resembled *beijú*, was made from a flour prepared from *piquí* kernels. Fish and various other foods were piled on top of the *t'ak* and eaten with it, or pieces of the cake were broken off and eaten plain.

Maize, beans, and squash were grown in the Trumaí gardens, but due to the season none of these was eaten during Quain's stay. While making house inventories he saw small amounts of maize and beans stored in gourds sealed with tree gum, undoubtedly to be used as seed. Two varieties of maize were eaten. The more common type was called *zotét*; the other was a red species known as *hy kapsik*.

Pineapples and bananas did not figure importantly in the diet. Although the Trumaí grew sugar cane (*kanaviya*), there is no information on its use. Sweet potatoes were roasted by the men, but were probably prepared in other ways also. A paste was made from cotton seeds by pounding them in a mortar and then boiling the mashed seeds. The paste was kept in a gourd and eaten by scooping it up with the fingers.

Quain's notes contain little on the preparation of wild foods other than *piquí* fruit. Guava were eaten raw, but there is no information on how the various kinds of palm fruits were prepared.

The abdomen of a large ant called *zokotdomat'ek* was considered a delicacy, and flying ants were popped into the mouth like peanuts. A tremendous green grasshopper with long horns (*tawarero*) was roasted and eaten. A small red tick (*tekwu*) was also consumed, but a fuzzy caterpillar known as the *ma'yryr* was looked upon with revulsion. The Trumaí claimed contemptuously that only the Suyá ate them.

It would appear that the Trumaí seldom drank plain water. Instead, beverages such as the manioc or *piquí* drinks were used. A gourdful of one of these drinks was usually available in the houses, and a supply was taken on canoe trips. No intoxicating beverages were made, but Quain was told by a former captive of the Yuruna that the Yuruna brew "kills you for a day or two, and they stay up all night shouting and singing." The informant did not approve of its taste or effects.

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Necklaces were made by tying feathers to a cotton cord with *buriti* fibers. Headdresses included one consisting of a ring of cotton threads with colored feathers attached. The front feathers were long and formed a sort of plume. Another headdress, a feather topknot tied to a cotton headnet, was captured in warfare with the Caiabí. A third was a crown woven of bamboo splints traded from the Waurá for arrow feathers. There were probably many other kinds, as intertribal trade in headdresses was lively.

Belts and anklets were also traded between tribes. A few Brazilian type shirts and hats had found their way into the Trumaí village. They had been obtained from travelers in the region, and especially from the missionaries, Thomas Young and his wife.

The men wore their hair cut straight around the head on a line even with the tops of the ears. A small patch on the crown was plucked, but Quain noted that the Trumaí were much less careful about keeping these parts free of new growth than were the neighboring groups. The scissors which Quain gave to one of the men replaced the old method of hair cutting with an instrument made of *piranha* teeth. A composite comb (*kuwau*) was also used. The back was made of two parallel pieces of cane joined by cotton thread and the teeth of splints from the small roots of a palm-like shrub.

The Trumaí used several vegetable paints to decorate their bodies. This method of adornment was always invoked for ceremonies, and often for wrestling, or when there were guests. The paint most commonly used was the red *urucú* (*matdot*) which was grown in the gardens. The *urucú* was made into a paste by mixing it with oil from the visceral fat of a fish. The paste could be rolled into a ball and applied directly, or spread with the fingers or a spatula made from the middle rib of the *buriti* leaf.

Other body paints were *tawariri*, a black tree gum mixed with soot, and a preparation made from *piquí* fruit and fish oil. There was also a dye, *atdot*, which was not described, and one or two other paints which Quain was unable to identify. *Jany*, a non-decorative paste made from the liver of a fish, was used to ward off insects.

Designs included dots, crescents, zig-zags, circles, curves, straight lines, and combinations of these. Quain observed several standard patterns, many of which were symbolic; others were possibly symbolic representations also, but he was unable to learn their meanings.

One man painted crescents on his chest above either nipple which he said represented vaginas. A rattlesnake design consisted of a half ellipse on the flanks with dots in the center. Quain was told that a design of red spots, with two near the nipples ringed in black, was a boa constrictor. Another snake pattern, made by painting zig-zags down the sides and back, was used on one of the posts erected during the *ole* ceremony.

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smaller food stock than did the Kamayurá. Quain found the Trumaí diet nourishing and tasty, and although the methods of cooking were not always appetizing from a European point of view, he notes that "the delightful rounds of foods are endless," and that there were many recipes for their preparation.

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The plaza was the center of Trumaí social life. Here guests were entertained, ceremonials and wrestling matches were held, and the men gathered daily. Although the women might sit in front of their houses and watch these activities, they were not allowed to come near the log bench, even when the men were not there. The plaza of the Trumaí village was also used as the burying ground.

A short distance north of the circle of houses, on the path to the two main garden clearings of the Trumaí, was another smaller clearing used during the *ole*, or manioc, ceremonies. Other paths radiated outward from the village to the other gardens and to nearby groves of *piquí* trees. Quain noticed that the paths leading to the Kamayurá village were much broader and cleaner. The Kamayurá were proud of their paths and kept them in good condition. Their plaza was also clearer of weeds and trash than that of the Trumaí.

Of the four completed houses in the village, two were as large as those of the Kamayurá, but the other two, which were much smaller, were considered by Quain's informants to be genuinely Trumaí in type. Insofar as is known, the details of the construction and shape of all four were substantially the same. They had an elliptical floor plan and were haystack-shaped. Although the side walls were only four feet high, the roof attained a height of fifteen feet. The silhouette of the house was an almost smooth curve from ridge pole to ground. The frame was covered with a grass thatch. There were no windows, and a single entry opened on the plaza.

Each family occupied its own section of the house and had its own fireplace. Personal belongings hung from the walls and ceilings or were placed on small shelves. Hammocks were hung between the side wall posts and the two center posts, the woman's hammock beneath that of her husband. Except for two nuclear families that screened off their sections with blankets and cloth given them by Quain, there was no internal division of the house.

The two largest garden clearings were situated respectively about one mile northeast and one mile northwest of the village. Three small ones were located southeast of the settlement. In order of size, the gardens were named Nariatan, Waniwanitan, Anariatan, Tan Toreake, and Tandatake. Nariatan, the largest, contained, by Quain's rough calculation, approximately seven acres divided into ten plots, representing the gardens of seven men. One plot contained two acres, but the average garden varied between one-fourth and one acre in size. One of the men had erected a temporary thatch shelter in his plot, providing protection from the sun, but not from the rain. Inside there was only a basket of manioc flour, a rack for cooking fish, and a large shallow pot into which manioc was grated. This was the sole garden shelter Quain saw, and, significantly, it belonged to the most industrious horticulturist in the village.

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PLATE II

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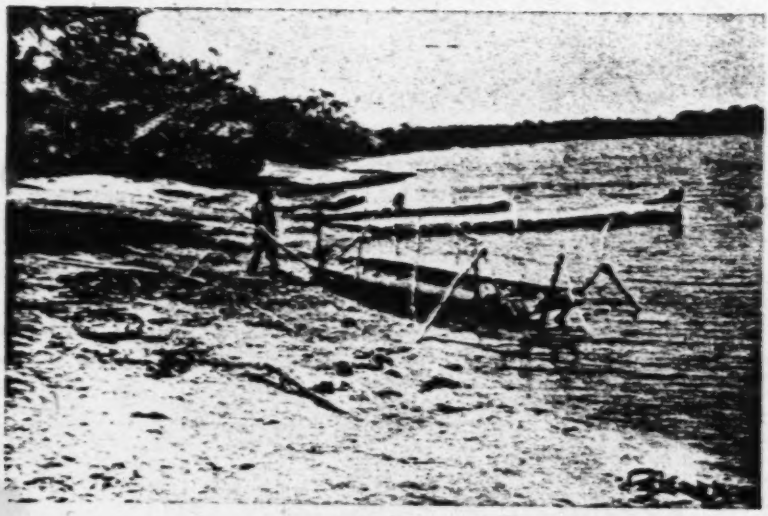

Trumaí camping at Karajaja

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Working Manioc

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compartment in the house for six months, at the end of which time she is accepted as a young woman.[3]

Menstruation caused no special distress to the Trumaí women. They maintained personal cleanliness with the aid of leaves, going out into the brush behind the house to care for themselves. Although the relevant taboos were observed, the women talked frankly to Quain about menstruation, and were interested in learning what white women did during the period. The men, although expressing a fear of menstrual blood, did not shun the subject either. Most of them knew when women in the village were having their menses.

Everyone was extremely shocked when Quain told them that white people often had intercourse during the menstrual period, for such contact would make a Trumaí man fall ill and die. Aloari said that he would surely die of a cough if he copulated with his wife then. The blood itself was considered malignant, infecting whatever it touched. The whole village became very disturbed when Kuyafi dropped some menstrual blood on the path to the gardens. Aloari averred that he would not go for manioc until the rain washed it away.

Fear of polluting forced a menstruating woman to make frequent trips to the weeds, where nobody walked. The danger also extended to her person. During this time she was not allowed to cook, although she could sit around the fire when food was being prepared. (Quain's departure from the Trumaí village was delayed for a day as both the wife and sister-in-law of Aloari, who was to accompany him, were menstruating, and there was only one woman left in the household to make his *beijú* supply.) Nor could the menstruating woman carry water or take a bath. However, a prohibition on eating fish was the only food taboo that she had to observe.

Marriage

A man was ready to seek a mate within one or two years after his initiation, or at the corresponding age level. Women were suitable prospects soon after their puberty rites. It was common for marriages to be arranged by parents while their children were still infants. These infant betrothals were usually between cross-cousins. It is doubtful, however, whether many such arranged marriages were consummated, both because of the high mortality and the fact that most of the Trumaí women were ultimately fought for and won by verbal battles in the men's circle.

Courtships were neither long nor formalized. When a man developed an interest in a woman, he usually expressed it by attempting to seduce her. In most instances, amorous advances were made without any in-

[3] Rodrigues Ferreira 1946, p. 92.

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often gathered together, and at times all of the women of a house would work together in *piquí* collecting. Parties of boys and men sometimes picked up the fruit, and a man often went gathering with his wife to protect her from possible enemies, especially if there had been recent threats or omens. He took his bow and arrows, and frequently did not help in carrying the fruit back to the village. The *piquí* was brought to the village in basket containers, and then made into a variety of dishes.

Guava (*waruwaru*) grows wild in the forest, ripening a short time before *piquí* does, but extending into the season of the latter. Quain believed it to be a valuable vitamin C supplement to the diet, but it was a far less important food than *piquí*. Men participated little in guava collecting, although they accompanied their wives for sociability and protection. Quain described these connubial gathering expeditions as being largely pleasant jaunts through the wood. Children often went out for the fruit, which they brought back to the village [illegible]ung on straws.

The water lily from which salt was made was another important item gathered during the period of Quain's residence among the Trumaí. The water lilies were collected in the Trumaí lagoon, and the complete salt-making process was carried on there. Each Trumaí built a rack over the waters of the lagoon. The lilies were pulled up, spread out on the rack to dry, and later burned. The ashes were sifted to obtain the salt. Quain did not mention any women's salt racks, but the women prepared their own supply of salt, too. Quain saw salt-making only in the early part of September, although it is possible that it occurred prior to this time as well. However, salt was not made after the middle of September, due to the rains and the exigencies of planting.

Ants were eaten by the Trumaí, and, according to an informant, by all groups in the area. A little boy demonstrated the correct way to consume them when he joyously brought in a fat one, plucked off its abdomen and swallowed it. Quain was told that later in the season the women and children would go out and collect them in large quantities. Other insects were in heavy demand for feeding the harpy eagle and other pet birds. Crickets were considered especially good for this purpose, and the boys made great sport of shooting these insects with their miniature bows and arrows.

A few other wild foods were eaten, but these were relatively insignificant. Among them was the fruit of the *awa'o* palm. Another fruit called *lamux*, resembling the crabapple in taste and superficial appearance, had a gelatinous interior. An unnamed plant is described by Quain as resembling grass, but having a quality like algae. It was eaten only in times of a manioc shortage. *Kamu'u* is a parasitic plant that looks and tastes like the date. The *atoh* is a berry that tastes like the chokecherry.

Fift'a and *tsucusi*, the fish poisons, were gathered in the locale. The gathering and preparation of *tsucusi* boughs was a cooperative venture.

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Black zig-zags on a grayish background were painted on the body of one of the singers. Many designs were undoubtedly conventionalized, but seemingly not according to rigid standards.

All of these designs were observed on men. The women painted themselves much less often, and their patterns were far simpler. Blackened foreheads and black streacks on the thighs were most common. The latter looked as if the women had merely wiped their hands on their thighs after having painted their husbands.

Children also had their bodies painted. Some of the boys blackened their faces or had black dots put on their chests. One little girl had black angles painted on her cheek by her mother. Children's and women's body designs were simple and required little paint. The men reserved most of the paint for themselves.

A husband's painting was often done by his wife, but men frequently adorned themselves or another man, particularly a younger close relative. There may also have been specialized knowledge of certain designs. Only one man was said to be able to make the zig-zag snake pattern, and he painted it on the bodies of others.

Work Patterns

Accompanying the low degree of specialization and cooperation in production was a lack of rhythm in the work habits of the Trumaí. The day started at about three or four o'clock in the morning. At this time many persons got out of their hammocks to fan their fires and huddle around them, for these were the chilliest hours. The men might get together at this time and talk while the women prepared food. Not much work was done then. At most, a man might add some thatch to his house. By sunrise everyone was awake, and the women went in a body to a nearby arm of the lagoon to bathe and draw containers of water. The men usually went to bathe a little later in pairs or alone. After bathing, everyone ate, and the work day really began.

Those who intended to garden went out early and labored until ten or eleven o'clock, that is, while it was cool and insects were less troublesome. As a rule, they ate again upon returning and then stayed in the village the rest of the day, working at various crafts as the spirit moved them. Actually a good deal of time was spent loafing and sleeping.

Those who planned to fish started out in the morning, but usually after the gardeners had departed. Unless a two or three day trip was planned, they commonly returned by four o'clock, and always before dark. Occasionally a group of men and women went to the lagoon to spend a day or two making salt.

One of the striking features of Trumaí economic activity was the number of different tasks done by various people on the same day.

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Agendas were ordinarily based on the immediate needs of the household or the desire for some variety in their diet. Food, however, was shared widely, and this probably robbed most work of any sense of urgency. Apparently, each man's plans for the day were determined in part by the season, in part by the household needs, and in part by what he felt like doing.

Some men stayed in the village all day, sleeping and working intermittently at small tasks. The women spent more time in the village than the men. Their work was done in the house or, if outside, in the shade of the house. Since male work was done largely in the morning, most of the men had ample time in the afternoon for trade, wrestling, and other diversions. The trade game was an especially popular indoor activity on rainy days.

Much less work was probably done during the rainy season, for planting would be finished, the *piquí* would be harvested, and the heavy rains would confine people to the village. However, there was much less seasonal variation for the women, as they had to continue to make *beijú*, weave, cook, and care for their households — the ordinary female chores, whatever the month.

Trumaí economic life was loosely organized. Few types of labor transcended the nuclear family, which was the basic unit of economic cooperation and interdependence. The inventory of material culture was sparse, and workmanship was not highly developed. What the Trumaí did not make, they could obtain by trade. From the standpoint of technology, the Trumaí were more backward than other tribes in the upper Xingú area, perhaps a reflection of their more recent settlement in the region.

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on a man's property, as did also, in the following order, his sister's son and his brother's son. Within the household, food was freely shared, and correspondingly, a co-resident could ask for a material object. These requests, however, were not always granted. A common excuse was to say that the object was promised to someone having a stronger claim. Despite these evasions, the patterns of gift-giving created a constant circulation of food and objects throughout the village.

Inheritance

Transmission of property was accomplished chiefly through trade and gift. There is no information on the disposal of the material possessions of the deceased. The only available data on inheritance concern the office of chief and the possession of certain songs sung at the *ole* (manioc) ceremony. The former was inherited patrilineally and will be discussed later. The ceremonial songs were inherited either through the mother's brother or the mother's father. Thus, old Matiwana would some day teach his *ole* songs to Amanatain, his daughter's eldest son. Nitvary, another of the three men who knew *ole* songs, learned them from Jawaku's father, who was his mother's brother. Since cross-cousin marriage was practiced, Jawaku might marry Nitvary's sister, and their child would inherit the songs from Nitvary. In this way the *ole* songs returned to the direct patrilineal line every other generation.

In response to careful questioning, Quain was assured that these songs could be obtained only from the mother's brother and mother's father, and not from the father or the father's brother. The combination of this matrilineal trait and patrilineal elements is characteristic of the bilaterality in upper Xingú culture.

The Trade Game

The trade game was a mechanism of inter- and intra-community distribution. Even more importantly it provided a framework for social participation, leisure time relaxation, and general enjoyment. As such it was one of the few integrating factors in Trumaí society.

Afternoons, especially rainy afternoons, were dull times in the Trumaí village. In Quain's words, "These people are bored but don't realize it! Wrestling provides some diversion, but nothing quickens spirits more than a brisk trade game (*kawirxo*). All that is needed is for one of the men to stride through the village with a bundle of goods to trade and suggest a *kawirxo*. Shouts go up on all sides, everybody crowds into one of the houses, and the game is on. Enthusiasm is even greater when there are visitors in the village."

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The path which led from the village to Nariatan, the northwestern garden clearing, passed through the previously mentioned ceremonial clearing north of the village. A short distance beyond this point, a branch took off to the east and led to Waniwanitan, the northeastern and second largest clearing, which contained nine garden plots totaling approximately five acres. Each garden was tilled by a different man, but two men had plots in both Nariatan and Waniwanitan. The size of the average garden was one-half acre. There was no newly cleared land, and, in contrast to Nariatan which was still yielding, nearly all of the crop (mostly manioc) had either died or been harvested. Quain noticed that the soil in Nariatan had a gray tone, whereas that of Waniwanitan was reddish in hue. This difference in color was due to the ashes deposited by the more recent burning over of the former site.

Nariatan was a newer garden than Waniwanitan, and the former was planted to a variety of crops while the latter was nearly all in manioc. This is indicative of the common tropical forest slash and burn system whereby second year gardens are used only for manioc growing, and new areas in which the soil is still comparatively rich are used for other vegetables in addition to manioc. The Trumaí are unique, however, in that the garden clearing was divided into individually owned plots. Smaller individual gardens or large gardens cleared and cultivated collectively are the general rule in the rain forests of South America.

The three other clearings were small, and each contained one garden plot. One was one-quarter acre in size, while the other two each comprised one-half acre. These small gardens were connected with the village by separate paths and were closer to it than the two larger clearings. Anariatan, Nariatan and Waniwanitan were named after old village sites, but Quain knew of no abandoned locations from which the names Tan Toreake and Tandatake could have been derived.

Horticultural Techniques

It is difficult to assess the relative importance of horticulture, fishing and gathering in the subsistence economy of the Trumaí. At different times of the year each made the major contribution to the diet. Most garden products became available at about the middle of the rainy season, but manioc was dug up when needed throughout the year. Fish and manioc were staples the year-round, although fishing was poorer during the rains. Each was more important in the total diet than were the products of gathering. However, the subsistence of the Trumaí at certain times of the year, especially in the early part of the rainy season, would have been seriously threatened without the wild foods.

The agricultural cycle started in the early part of the dry season when the clearings needed for the next rainy season's gardens were made.

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The water lily from which salt was made was another important item gathered during the period of Quain's residence among the Trumaí. The water lilies were collected in the Trumaí lagoon, and the complete salt-making process was carried on there. Each Trumaí built a rack over the waters of the lagoon. The lilies were pulled up, spread out on the rack to dry, and later burned. The ashes were sifted to obtain the salt. Quain did not mention any women's salt racks, but the women prepared their own supply of salt, too. Quain saw salt-making only in the early part of September, although it is possible that it occurred prior to this time as well. However, salt was not made after the middle of September, due to the rains and the exigencies of planting.

Ants were eaten by the Trumaí, and, according to an informant, by all groups in the area. A little boy demonstrated the correct way to consume them when he joyously brought in a fat one, plucked off its abdomen and swallowed it. Quain was told that later in the season the women and children would go out and collect them in large quantities. Other insects were in heavy demand for feeding the harpy eagle and other pet birds. Crickets were considered especially good for this purpose, and the boys made great sport of shooting these insects with their miniature bows and arrows.

A few other wild foods were eaten, but these were relatively insignificant. Among them was the fruit of the *aua'o* palm. Another fruit called *lamux*, resembling the crabapple in taste and superficial appearance, had a gelatinous interior. An unnamed plant is described by Quain as resembling grass, but having a quality like algae. It was eaten only in times of a manioc shortage. *Kamu's* is a parasitic plant that looks and tastes like the date. The *atoh* is a berry that tastes like the chokecherry.

Fift'a and *tucasi*, the fish poisons, were gathered in the locale. The gathering and preparation of *tucasi* boughs was a cooperative venture.

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Older boys and men went into the forest to cut down the trees and bring the boughs back to the village. The men then took turns in pounding the boughs into coarse fiber with the blunt end of an axe. Even men who did not participate in the gathering of the boughs helped in their reduction into fiber.

The group nature of the work is understandable in view of the communal labor and benefits involved in fish poisoning. Once the boughs were reduced, the fibers were cut into sheaves of about two and one-half feet in length. These sheaves were used to poison the water. Interestingly, both bark and wood were pounded up together, although, according to Quain, only the bark is poisonous.

The *buriti* palm supplied two raw materials, *isinke* and *isinke hut'*. *Isinke* was obtained from the heart of the young spike of the growing tip of the palm. The top was separated to give access to the heart, and long fibers were pulled out, which were then hung in the interior of the house to dry. When dry they resembled a heavy hemp, and were used to make cord. *Isinke hut'* is the leaf of the *buriti*, which was used in basketry.

Hunting

Hunting was not important at any time during Quain's stay. Tapir, peccary, deer, monkey, jaguar, squirrel and paca, a large rodent, are among the animals mentioned by Quain as being found in the vicinity, but only the monkey and paca were eaten. Birds were also eaten, and their feathers were used for ornamentation. Terrapin were caught by hand, either by creeping up on them or by swimming close to them under water and grabbing them by the shell. All other game was shot with the bow and arrow, except for the capybara, called *tsimo* by the Trumaí. Canoeists speared the swimming animals. The spear was used at no other time in hunting or fishing, although the Ysulapiti speared fish.

Quain saw no organized hunting parties. One or two men sometimes set out with the express intention of hunting, but most animals were shot while on fishing or gathering expeditions. The Trumaí did not rely on meat, nor did they show a craving for it. Hunting seemed to be more a pastime and sport than a subsistence activity. When Quain hunted with the Trumaí he noticed that they wanted him to kill birds more for their feathers than for their meat. They also wanted him to kill several entirely worthless birds because, as two of the men expressed it, they wanted "to see it."

Foods

The horticulture, fishing and gathering economy of the Trumaí gave them a fair variety and adequate quantity of food during most of the year, barring crop failure. The Trumaí, however, had a considerably

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smaller food stock than did the Kamayurá. Quain found the Trumaí diet nourishing and tasty, and although the methods of cooking were not always appetizing from a European point of view, he notes that "the delightful rounds of foods are endless," and that there were many recipes for their preparation.

Manioc processing, from harvest to finished product, was the work of the women. The tubers were dug up when reserves of *beijú*, or manioc cake, ran low, for the supply of manioc flour on hand was always enough for several days, but no more. The first step in the process was to scrape the skin from the tubers. This was done with a clam shell, the rough edges of which had been abraded so as to give a smooth scraping surface. The manioc was then reduced to a wet pulp by rubbing it on a grater made of wood studded with sharp bones. In order to extract the prussic acid from the bitter manioc, the pulp was placed on an open-work sieve, or *tunʃi*, which was set on top of a wide-mouthed Waurá pot, and water was washed through it. The mass was then wrung out and re-washed. After several washings, the manioc was squeezed into a lump and dried on a rack in the sun. The flour (*kwrima*), thus prepared, was used to make the flat manioc cake or was mixed in water to make a gruel. For *beijú*, the sun-dried lumps of flour were pulverized in a large wooden mortar set in the floor and moistened, sometimes with fish juice. It was then placed on a flat clay plate (*ja'meo*) and beaten with a special wooden paddle until flat, after which it was baked. Two kinds of *beijú* were made: a thin and a coarse, thick type. *Beijú* was sometimes eaten plain, but other foods were usually heaped on top.

Manioc was also regularly consumed in the form of a thick gruel prepared by boiling the flour in water. A fibrous fruit known as *iriwa* was often boiled with the manioc gruel and imparted a prune-like taste to the dish. When drinking it, the fruit was chewed, the shells and fiber spat out. The manioc gruel (*ats aek*) was kept in the house in gourds.

Fish were roasted or boiled. Roasting was done by holding the fish directly over the flame, or by wrapping it in a broad palm leaf and placing it on a babricot over the fire. A common dish was a thick stew of boiled fish which was heaped on *beijú*. Fish was also added to stews which contained vegetables in season. Men did all the roasting in the Trumaí village, although it was permissible for a woman to help. However, most foods were prepared by boiling, and the burden of cooking thus fell on the women.

The *piqui* fruit (*toinon*) was the most versatile food in the village during Quain's period of residence. The most important dish was boiled *piqui* pulp (*ke'jau*), which was placed in containers and stored in the waters of a pool in sufficient quantity to last until the end of the rainy season. *Piqui*, like most fruits, ripens and falls uniformly, making it necessary to gather the harvest all at once, and to prepare and store

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it before it rots. The Trumaí worked hard at this, and Quain heard the sounds of women boiling and stirring the *ke'jau* far into the night. Some of the *ke'jau* was placed in gourds for immediate use. It was mixed with water, making a rich yellow drink, and was frequently stirred into the manioc gruel, or *ats aek*. *Ke'jau* was considered an excellent food for canoe trips, and was carried by fishermen and travelers.

The *piquí* fruit when roasted whole "tastes like egg yolk, or, vaguely, like deviled eggs," Quain wrote. In addition to cooking the pulp of the fruit, the kernel of the *piquí* pit was used. It was sometimes eaten raw, but usually it was cooked. The kernel has a fragrant, coconut-like flavor. A pudding was made by boiling down *piquí* kernels to the consistency of paste and, to Quain, the flavor was much like that of the caramelized coconut sauce prepared in Fiji. Another preparation called *t'ak*, which resembled *beijú*, was made from a flour prepared from *piquí* kernels. Fish and various other foods were piled on top of the *t'ak* and eaten with it, or pieces of the cake were broken off and eaten plain.

Maize, beans, and squash were grown in the Trumaí gardens, but due to the season none of these was eaten during Quain's stay. While making house inventories he saw small amounts of maize and beans stored in gourds sealed with tree gum, undoubtedly to be used as seed. Two varieties of maize were eaten. The more common type was called *xotet*; the other was a red species known as *hy kapsik*.

Pineapples and bananas did not figure importantly in the diet. Although the Trumaí grew sugar cane (*kanaviya*), there is no information on its use. Sweet potatoes were roasted by the men, but were probably prepared in other ways also. A paste was made from cotton seeds by pounding them in a mortar and then boiling the mashed seeds. The paste was kept in a gourd and eaten by scooping it up with the fingers.

Quain's notes contain little on the preparation of wild foods other than *piquí* fruit. Guava were eaten raw, but there is no information on how the various kinds of palm fruits were prepared.

The abdomen of a large ant called *xokoldomat'ek* was considered a delicacy, and flying ants were popped into the mouth like peanuts. A tremendous green grasshopper with long horns (*tawarero*) was roasted and eaten. A small red tick (*tekwu*) was also consumed, but a fuzzy caterpillar known as the *ma'yryr* was looked upon with revulsion. The Trumaí claimed contemptuously that only the Suyá ate them.

It would appear that the Trumaí seldom drank plain water. Instead, beverages such as the manioc or *piquí* drinks were used. A gourdful of one of these drinks was usually available in the houses, and a supply was taken on canoe trips. No intoxicating beverages were made, but Quain was told by a former captive of the Yuruna that the Yuruna brew "kills you for a day or two, and they stay up all night shouting and singing." The informant did not approve of its taste or effects.

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CHAPTER THREE

TRUMAÍ SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Property Ownership

105 Trumaí society was relatively simple. There was no social stratification based on wealth, nor were the mechanisms of social control and cohesion highly developed. This was in accord with the individualization of productive effort and the low level of economic surplus. The political unit was a single community, the sole bearer of Trumaí culture.

All land and productive resources were considered the property of the community, and the right to their exploitation resided with any individual willing to expend the labor. Gardens were individual property, but only in the sense that the man who reclaimed the land from the jungle was entitled to its product. There was no concept of alienable property in land, entailing the right of disposition. The *piquí* trees were said to be owned individually, but the owner exercised exclusive rights only over the first fruits. Other wild food plants were community property and their fruits belonged to the gatherer.

The fishing rights to lagoons and backwaters of the rivers belonged to the tribes in whose territory they were located. There was no individual ownership of fishing sites.

There was property in foods, but as soon as they were cooked they were freely distributed. *Beijú* belonged to the women, but the manioc out of which it was prepared was said to be the property of the man who grew it. Such distinctions were largely academic. Actually, the men grew the vegetable and the women harvested it, prepared it, and cooked it, after which it was distributed and eaten. The same situation prevailed in regard to the products of fishing, hunting, and gathering. Salt was the only exception, as it was prepared and owned by individual men and women. The difference undoubtedly lies in the fact that salt was an important trade item, while the other commodities were not.

Very little property can be said to have belonged to the family. Baskets and gourd containers were made by the men for themselves and for the women, but they were often used by both a man and his wife. Nearly all material objects outside of natural resources were owned by the person who made them or the person to whom an object was given. House ownership was vague, since houses were built and occupied by more than one man, and abandoned when the village moved. The house, however, was often considered the property of the man who put

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but the frequent repetitions and the small number of pitches made accompaniment possible, and their voices fell consistently into the fourth interval below those of the men. The women, however, enjoyed their role thoroughly and gave far better support than the men, who made little effort to coordinate their activities. 796 243 533

The songs were arranged in a series of three verses. Each time a new house was entered, the singer started a new series. Matiwana's songs were more elaborate than Nitvary's. Occasionally the old man would make a mistake and have to start the verse over again, but these lapses merely amused him. The only musical instrument used was the tapir hoof rattle. [534]

Quain gives no detailed information on the dances involved, but apparently they were simple, and perhaps partially improvised. Nitvary was the sole person to take special pains with his toilet before leading a dance. At such a time he usually wore a feather headdress and painted his body ornately. [535] [302]

One of the more important parts of the *ole* ceremony was the complex of activities surrounding the *ole* posts. A few days after the ceremony began several poles were brought into the clearing just outside the village, and the bark was peeled from them. They were rubbed with white clay and painted in colored designs. Each man placed the pole he had decorated upon his shoulders and brought it into the village with shouts and singing. With the poles on their shoulders, they danced about the village, finally placing their burdens upright in holes that had been dug previously in the village plaza. The children helped by packing dirt around them. The women then smeared red *urucú* dye on the bases of the poles and just below the upper ends. Tufts of cotton were put on top by both men and women. An offering in the form of fish on *beijú* was placed in front of the posts. Later in the afternoon, and early every afternoon for the next two weeks, the men ate together among these poles. Their attitude in this ceremonial milieu was certainly not one of special reverence, for they draped two blankets Quain had given them over the posts for shade. 796 243 [386] [782]

Nearly every day additional food offerings were placed in front of the posts. One post was given special attention. This was Nukekerehe, which was said to be malignant. However, fear of Nukekerehe was mixed with jokes. Quain was told one night that the men would not go to bed until he did, for if he stayed up long Nukekerehe would surely eat him. Weeks later, when the posts were pulled up and brought into the houses of their owners, the man carrying this pole stamped his feet at the children and pretended anger, much to everyone's amusement. On one occasion Matiwana performed a ritual in which he was apparently acting the part of Nukekerehe. He made wrathful noises and jumped about in front of the post, before which were two bowls of manioc soup. [782] 796 243 522 [242]

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796 He then started a song about the post in which he was joined by Nitvary
243 and the women. After two repetitions, the women poured a bowl of the
522 soup on Matiwana's head and shoulders, making a dripping mess of him. He retired amid general laughter. The second bowl of soup was then poured over the pole. A full explanation of the beliefs surrounding the *ole* posts was not obtained.

796 Due to the fact that Quain had only recently arrived in the village
243 when the ceremony was held, there is also a lack of clarity in the system
608 of relationships known as *ole aton*. The word "*aton*" means "pet" in Trumaí, but in the present context it applies to a temporary ceremonial identification between people, and between people and the *ole* posts. The
[571] interpersonal ties set up were only between persons of opposite sex. However, a man could have more than one woman for *aton*, and vice versa.

Kinship may be the determinant of these ties, but the data are inconclusive. Interestingly, the greatest number of *ole aton* relationships existed between people of the previously mentioned pairs of houses, suggesting a ceremonial reinforcement of this moiety-like arrangement.

Except for reciprocal gift-giving obligations, nothing is known of the behavioral roles called for by these connections. The owners of the *ole* posts were said to have their particular posts for *atons*. Their chief
[782] ceremonial duties were to peel and paint the pole, and supply it with
[798] food offerings. It may be hypothesized that the posts represent certain spirits with which individuals are identified, perhaps as the result of shamanistic experiences, as described by Oberg for the Kamayurá.[6]

796 During the *ole* ceremony, as during the cure described above, Quain
829 was impressed by the lack of interest in the proceedings. Those who
181 were not part of the immediate activity sat and smoked, indulging in the usual topics of conversation. The loose patterning and secularity which characterized the ritual bespoke the general lassitude that permeated all aspects of the culture.

The Piqui Ceremony

796 The *piqui (tsinon)* ceremony occurred at the end of the harvest of that fruit, during the first half of the rainy season. It was similar to the *ole* celebration, but not as lengthy nor as important. Quain's information on the festival, obtained from Aloari, is very limited. Jakwanari, the main functionary, occupied a position similar to that of Matiwana and Nitvary in the *ole* ceremony. As Aloari phrased it, "Jakwanari had *tsinon* as *aton*." There was house-to-house dancing by the women, accompanied by singing of a certain series of songs. At the end of the dancing Jak-
[262] wanari's wife made a large quantity of *t'ak*, the *piqui* flour cake, which

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Jakwanari then presented to the dancers as payment. In another part of the ceremony, a gourd of the *piquí* fruit drink was poured on Jakwanari in the same manner that the manioc gruel was poured on Matiwana during the *ole* festival.

The Spear-Throwing Contest

The spear-throwing contest involved intertribal participation and was completely secular. The core of the celebration, which took place at the end of the rainy season, was a duel between rival teams representing the tribes of the area. The purpose of the duel was for a member of the team on the offensive to strike a member of the defending team with a blunt-ended spear propelled by an *atlatl*, or spear-thrower. The defendant held a few sticks vertically, one end resting on the ground, and tried to deflect the oncoming spear with them. The distance between the two was about twenty paces and hits were frequently scored. After each turn, the defender went on the offensive. The games were conducted in a spirit of friendship and festivity. Bruises, some of which must have been severe, were compensated for by gift exchanges.

The participants painted their bodies elaborately for the combat. One informant erroneously stated that the masks for which the area is famous (but which were no longer made by the Trumaí) were worn during one part of the festival.[7] Intertribal wrestling matches were also held at this gathering.

The Bull Roarer

Information on the defunct bull roarer rites, as for other ceremonies, is extremely meagre. As the Trumaí express it, they have "buried the *kutá*" (bull roarer), but most of the adult men knew the ritual connected with it and remembered when it was still in use. The Trumaí formerly went to the Kamayurá village and took part in the ceremony there. One man told Quain that dancing in the Trumaí village preceded the ritual, whereupon they all went to the Kamayurá village and "did things that the women cannot see." Then, he said, there was a great deal of wrestling and copulation. Yati, Maibu, and Tun played a ceremonial role known only to them, while Yati, Oirupa, and Nitvary sang certain songs at night when everyone was asleep. The ceremonial flutes found throughout the upper Xingú are not mentioned in Quain's notes. Apparently, they were no longer used by the Trumaí.

[7] These masks are worn during a ceremony called the *jakuí* by the Kamayurá, which, according to Galvão (1950, p. 385.) takes place in the same season, thus explaining the confusion.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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four, three between five and seven, two between seven and ten, and the other two between ten and twelve. The little girl could not as yet walk alone. The two youngest boys could, although occasionally they still suckled at their mother's breasts.

The Trumaí infant was subjected to very little training. Rarely was the very young child told not to do anything. However, all the children except for Katsits, the infant girl, knew that they should defecate in the bush and urinate away from the village plaza. Katsits very often eliminated in the house, or while she was in her mother's arms. X'utsi, the mother, merely scraped a bit of dirt over the wet spot. She gave no indication to the child that this was an undesirable act, and the child took no note of her own activity. Exactly how a child learned to exert self-control is not clear, but it was probably by emulating older children and adults, whose toilet habits were hardly a secret.

The child suckled until it was five or six years of age, although it began to partake of the ordinary diet by the end of the first year. Yumunuwa said that she suckled Tsirikoan three times a day: morning, noon, and evening. This was not a strict regimen, for the boy often crawled into her lap or straddled her waist and suckled at odd hours. Until about five years old, the child slept in the mother's hammock, or if motherless, with the father. Often it slept with the mother's breast in its mouth, and if it awoke during the night, it suckled until it fell asleep again.

The nursing of older children is a perpetuation of the infantile pattern, and it is indicative of the lack of stress on weaning. Also, because of infanticide and the low birth rate, there is little cause for sibling rivalry among the Trumaí.

Help was given the child in learning to walk and talk. The men appeared to devote more attention to this phase of upbringing than the women. Katsits was often walked about by her father, and sometimes by Maibu or other men who lived in the same house. Her father was eager to have her walk by herself so that he would not need to coach her, but nevertheless he and the other adults showed the greatest indulgence and patience in this task.

Part of the father's anxiety was doubtless due to the taboos which restricted his activity until his child had learned to walk. The most important of these was a ban on sexual intercourse. When Katsits developed colic, it was generally thought to be the outcome of coitus between the parents. Certain foods were also forbidden the father, one being seasoned fish hash, which was a great favorite. It is not known whether the mother was also required to observe food taboos.

More emphasis was placed on teaching the child to speak. The adults and older children made repeated attempts to put words into the mouths of the very young, saying the same phrases over and over again. In this

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compartment in the house for six months, at the end of which time she is accepted as a young woman.[3]

Menstruation caused no special distress to the Trumaí women. They maintained personal cleanliness with the aid of leaves, going out into the brush behind the house to care for themselves. Although the relevant taboos were observed, the women talked frankly to Quain about menstruation, and were interested in learning what white women did during the period. The men, although expressing a fear of menstrual blood, did not shun the subject either. Most of them knew when women in the village were having their menses.

Everyone was extremely shocked when Quain told them that white people often had intercourse during the menstrual period, for such contact would make a Trumaí man fall ill and die. Aloari said that he would surely die of a cough if he copulated with his wife then. The blood itself was considered malignant, infecting whatever it touched. The whole village became very disturbed when Kuyafi dropped some menstrual blood on the path to the gardens. Aloari averred that he would not go for manioc until the rain washed it away.

Fear of polluting forced a menstruating woman to make frequent trips to the weeds, where nobody walked. The danger also extended to her person. During this time she was not allowed to cook, although she could sit around the fire when food was being prepared. (Quain's departure from the Trumaí village was delayed for a day as both the wife and sister-in-law of Aloari, who was to accompany him, were menstruating, and there was only one woman left in the household to make his *beijú* supply.) Nor could the menstruating woman carry water or take a bath. However, a prohibition on eating fish was the only food taboo that she had to observe.

Marriage

A man was ready to seek a mate within one or two years after his initiation, or at the corresponding age level. Women were suitable prospects soon after their puberty rites. It was common for marriages to be arranged by parents while their children were still infants. These infant betrothals were usually between cross-cousins. It is doubtful, however, whether many such arranged marriages were consummated, both because of the high mortality and the fact that most of the Trumaí women were ultimately fought for and won by verbal battles in the men's circle.

Courtships were neither long nor formalized. When a man developed an interest in a woman, he usually expressed it by attempting to seduce her. In most instances, amorous advances were made without any in-

[3] Rodrigues Ferreira 1946, p. 92.

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609 It was necessary to make another attempt; since our Indian was apparently not adequate, Antonio was induced to make a speech in Bakaïrí. After a little shy resistance, he took heart and shouted across energetically that he was a Bakaïrí, and that the Bakaïrí are good, and that the Trumaí are also good, and that the Bakaïrí were friendly to the Trumaí, that therefore the Trumaí should also be friendly to the Bakaïrí. Actually, he made himself heard for a moment, but the Trumaí realized at once that they did not understand him and outshouted the poor soul, whose voice died away. Hold on, I remember two Trumaí words which the Kustenaú chief had told me: apirí, /Illustration appears here/ /193/ "friend," and meijú, our beijú, the mandioca bread. With a truly stentorian voice I therefore cry: "Apirí Trumaí, meijú Trumaí, apirí." If my purpose had been to fan the storm, I could have been satisfied. The effect was dazzling. My words came back in the loudest echo; I had definitely spoken
• [262] good Trumaí. From the bottom of the canoe they fetched the beijús, which have the shape of large pancakes baked in a pan,
[302] and waved this token of peace in the air. Particularly the chief shouter, a young man painted brick-red from head to toe, talked with great enthusiasm about such a cake which he seemed to be demonstrating and explaining like a professor in a classroom.

Some success was noticeable, however; they were quarreling among themselves. The brick-red one was obviously inclined to
[302] break off the preliminaries and to enter into closer acquaintance; but one canoe in particular, with three tall, uncanny, coal-black ones, decidedly refused and implored the other heroes not to listen to the words of that demagogue. But the opposition was overruled. Three of our men climbed into a canoe and rowed into the midst of the hostile fleet, laughing kindly and talking; that won their hearts. Still parleying a bit, they approached the shore and
[152] finally landed. The black or red, ugly faces, whether the more so by artifice or by nature I do not know, grinned happily in our direction; each of us took one of the fellows by the arm, whereupon a second man of theirs quickly took his other arm; thus we strode, fraternally united, to our campsite.

[Text continues on p. 176]

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609 123 [439] [262] It was only then that we recovered our senses and were able to understand the reason for the incident. Apparently the Trumaí had been animated by the urgent desire to barter as soon as possible and with as little ceremony as possible for some of our treasures in exchange for their miserable beijûs, which looked gray as though made with buckwheat flour, were coarse-grained, and tasted slightly sour. With this in mind they had been active everywhere. Of Wilhelm's companions, one had been busy with the hunting knife and the other with the gun at the same time, and the latter, while my cousin was trying in the friendliest way to keep them off, had unfortunately pressed the cock. In any case the culprit was the most surprised by the effect; otherwise he would not have been kicking so frightenedly on the ground.

In spite of the miraculous speed with which they dashed to the boats, however, the Trumaí had not lost all presence of mind. The two who had just been trying on Castro's and Antonio's hats did not forget in their hasty running to put them on well down over their heads. Another old hand had still found time on his flight to snatch up quickly one of the large fish lying on the beach.

Antonio's behavior when he was so unexpectedly deprived of his precious hat was characteristic. Without further ado he shot his pistol at the thief, but in his rage fortunately missed. And when we /Illustration appears here/ /195/ asked him whether he really wanted to kill the man, he nodded with the greatest composure, "Yes, he had my hat."

126 411 The returning men brought back a rich ethnological collection, at least in terms of the number of objects. The bows were very fine and strong; one was shot to pieces, proof that the shots had not been fired entirely happazardly. The arrows provided with pointed pieces of bamboo were plentiful; these bamboo blades, which, as could be easily seen, had been freshly sharpened, are only loosely inserted in the shaft with a little resin; after the arrow has reached its mark, they break off and remain embedded in the body. There was a single club, crudely worked, flat, 86 301 centimeters long. One feather ornament was particularly pretty; 237 the green, orange-colored, and white feathers were mounted on

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 79]

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smaller food stock than did the Kamayurá. Quain found the Trumaí diet nourishing and tasty, and although the methods of cooking were not always appetizing from a European point of view, he notes that "the delightful rounds of foods are endless," and that there were many recipes for their preparation.

Manioc processing, from harvest to finished product, was the work of the women. The tubers were dug up when reserves of *beijú*, or manioc cake, ran low, for the supply of manioc flour on hand was always enough for several days, but no more. The first step in the process was to scrape the skin from the tubers. This was done with a clam shell, the rough edges of which had been abraded so as to give a smooth scraping surface. The manioc was then reduced to a wet pulp by rubbing it on a grater made of wood studded with sharp bones. In order to extract the prussic acid from the bitter manioc, the pulp was placed on an open-work sieve, or *tuafi*, which was set on top of a wide-mouthed Waurá pot, and water was washed through it. The mass was then wrung out and rewashed. After several washings, the manioc was squeezed into a lump and dried on a rack in the sun. The flour (*karima*), thus prepared, was used to make the flat manioc cake or was mixed in water to make a gruel. For *beijú*, the sun-dried lumps of flour were pulverized in a large wooden mortar set in the floor and moistened, sometimes with fish juice. It was then placed on a flat clay plate (*ja'meo*) and beaten with a special wooden paddle until flat, after which it was baked. Two kinds of *beijú* were made: a thin and a coarse, thick type. *Beijú* was sometimes eaten plain, but other foods were usually heaped on top.

Manioc was also regularly consumed in the form of a thick gruel prepared by boiling the flour in water. A fibrous fruit known as *iriwa* was often boiled with the manioc gruel and imparted a prune-like taste to the dish. When drinking it, the fruit was chewed, the shells and fiber spat out. The manioc gruel (*ats aek*) was kept in the house in gourds.

Fish were roasted or boiled. Roasting was done by holding the fish directly over the flame, or by wrapping it in a broad palm leaf and placing it on a babricot over the fire. A common dish was a thick stew of boiled fish which was heaped on *beijú*. Fish was also added to stews which contained vegetables in season. Men did all the roasting in the Trumaí village, although it was permissible for a woman to help. However, most foods were prepared by boiling, and the burden of cooking thus fell on the women.

The *piquí* fruit (*tsinon*) was the most versatile food in the village during Quain's period of residence. The most important dish was boiled *piquí* pulp (*ke'jau*), which was placed in containers and stored in the waters of a pool in sufficient quantity to last until the end of the rainy season. *Piquí*, like most fruits, ripens and falls uniformly, making it necessary to gather the harvest all at once, and to prepare and store

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CHAPTER THREE

Trumaí Social Organization

Property Ownership

Trumaí society was relatively simple. There was no social stratification based on wealth, nor were the mechanisms of social control and cohesion highly developed. This was in accord with the individualization of productive effort and the low level of economic surplus. The political unit was a single community, the sole bearer of Trumaí culture.

All land and productive resources were considered the property of the community, and the right to their exploitation resided with any individual willing to expend the labor. Gardens were individual property, but only in the sense that the man who reclaimed the land from the jungle was entitled to its product. There was no concept of alienable property in land, entailing the right of disposition. The *piquí* trees were said to be owned individually, but the owner exercised exclusive rights only over the first fruits. Other wild food plants were community property and their fruits belonged to the gatherer.

The fishing rights to lagoons and backwaters of the rivers belonged to the tribes in whose territory they were located. There was no individual ownership of fishing sites.

There was property in foods, but as soon as they were cooked they were freely distributed. *Beijú* belonged to the women, but the manioc out of which it was prepared was said to be the property of the man who grew it. Such distinctions were largely academic. Actually, the men grew the vegetable and the women harvested it, prepared it, and cooked it, after which it was distributed and eaten. The same situation prevailed in regard to the products of fishing, hunting, and gathering. Salt was the only exception, as it was prepared and owned by individual men and women. The difference undoubtedly lies in the fact that salt was an important trade item, while the other commodities were not.

Very little property can be said to have belonged to the family. Baskets and gourd containers were made by the men for themselves and for the women, but they were often used by both a man and his wife. Nearly all material objects outside of natural resources were owned by the person who made them or the person to whom an object was given. House ownership was vague, since houses were built and occupied by more than one man, and abandoned when the village moved. The house, however, was often considered the property of the man who put

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smaller food stock than did the Kamayurá. Quain found the Trumaí diet nourishing and tasty, and although the methods of cooking were not always appetizing from a European point of view, he notes that "the delightful rounds of foods are endless," and that there were many recipes for their preparation.

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Maize, beans, and squash were grown in the Trumaí gardens, but due to the season none of these was eaten during Quain's stay. While making house inventories he saw small amounts of maize and beans stored in gourds sealed with tree gum, undoubtedly to be used as seed. Two varieties of maize were eaten. The more common type was called *xotet*; the other was a red species known as *hy kapsik*.

Pineapples and bananas did not figure importantly in the diet. Although the Trumaí grew sugar cane (*kanaviya*), there is no information on its use. Sweet potatoes were roasted by the men, but were probably prepared in other ways also. A paste was made from cotton seeds by pounding them in a mortar and then boiling the mashed seeds. The paste was kept in a gourd and eaten by scooping it up with the fingers.

Quain's notes contain little on the preparation of wild foods other than *piquí* fruit. Guava were eaten raw, but there is no information on how the various kinds of palm fruits were prepared.

The abdomen of a large ant called *xokotdomat'ek* was considered a delicacy, and flying ants were popped into the mouth like peanuts. A tremendous green grasshopper with long horns (*tawarers*) was roasted and eaten. A small red tick (*tekwu*) was also consumed, but a fuzzy caterpillar known as the *ma'yryr* was looked upon with revulsion. The Trumaí claimed contemptuously that only the Suyá ate them.

It would appear that the Trumaí seldom drank plain water. Instead, beverages such as the manioc or *piquí* drinks were used. A gourdful of one of these drinks was usually available in the houses, and a supply was taken on canoe trips. No intoxicating beverages were made, but Quain was told by a former captive of the Yuruna that the Yuruna brew "kills you for a day or two, and they stay up all night shouting and singing." The informant did not approve of its taste or effects.

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264 Eating seemed to be casual, and it would be inaccurate to speak of "mealtimes." The time for eating was governed by what one happened to be doing on that day. While a person was in the village, he ate whenever food was offered, which occured frequently. If fishing was in order, the fishermen ate before and after their trip and also took food with them. Quain noticed that people usually ate on arising and, during the planting season, again upon returning from the gardens. Meals, then, were only an intensification of eating, occasioned by the return of people to the village. All the people of a household frequently ate at the same time, but the whole village seldom ate simultaneously. Meals involved little formality, and the Trumaí man often ate in his hammock between naps.

House Building

342 114 Unfortunately, Quain left few detailed drawings of houses or other aspects of material culture, and his descriptions are brief. Most of the data on material culture were gathered from his careful inventory of all the houses in the village. He was probably reserving the detailed documentation for the proposed return trip which he never made.

342 335 The first step in the construction of a house was to sink the two heavy center posts in a deep hole. The ridge pole was then set in place at the top of the center posts by raising it with forked sticks. A few men stood with the sticks at either end of the ridge pole, and each group in turn lifted and set the end on the center posts. A "water shed" (not well described by Quain but undoubtedly a cap of thatch) was placed over the ridge pole. The tops of the center posts were not notched to receive the ridge pole; instead, sticks were lashed on opposite sides of the two [283] center posts to form a fork in which the ridge pole was laid. All joining of the framework in the house was done with bark fiber. Wall posts, about four feet high, were set in the ground so as to form an elliptical floor plan around the center posts.

The next step was to lash on the curved longitudinal poles which join the wall posts to the ridge pole. Horizontal poles were tied across these and across the wall posts to form a frame for the thatch. Additional smaller poles could be added to give a tighter thatch frame. Thatching was sometimes started in one section before the frame had been entirely completed. The grass (*damok*) for thatch was gathered by the house-builders and brought back tied in bundles.

342 The roof was thatched first, but a section was often left incomplete until the rainy season. Quain was told by Maibu, the chief, that he would finish thatching his house after the rains began because the grass was longer then. In the case of one house, the thatching of the walls was started when the roof was nearly completed. While one builder

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531 Black zig-zags on a grayish background were painted on the body of one
302 of the singers. Many designs were undoubtedly conventionalized, but seemingly not according to rigid standards.

All of these designs were observed on men. The women painted themselves much less often, and their patterns were far simpler. Blackened foreheads and black streacks on the thighs were most common. The latter looked as if the women had merely wiped their hands on their thighs after having painted their husbands.

Children also had their bodies painted. Some of the boys blackened their faces or had black dots put on their chests. One little girl had black angles painted on her cheek by her mother. Children's and women's body designs were simple and required little paint. The men reserved most of the paint for themselves.

A husband's painting was often done by his wife, but men frequently adorned themselves or another man, particularly a younger close relative. There may also have been specialized knowledge of certain designs. Only one man was said to be able to make the zig-zag snake pattern, and he painted it on the bodies of others.

Work Patterns

46 Accompanying the low degree of specialization and cooperation in
512 production was a lack of rhythm in the work habits of the Trumaí. The day started at about three or four o'clock in the morning. At this time many persons got out of their hammocks to fan their fires and huddle around them, for these were the chilliest hours. The men might get together at this time and talk while the women prepared food. Not much work was done then. At most, a man might add some thatch to his house. By sunrise everyone was awake, and the women went in a [515] body to a nearby arm of the lagoon to bathe and draw containers of water. The men usually went to bathe a little later in pairs or alone. After bathing, everyone ate, and the work day really began.

Those who intended to garden went out early and labored until ten or eleven o'clock, that is, while it was cool and insects were less troublesome. [264] As a rule, they ate again upon returning and then stayed in the village the rest of the day, working at various crafts as the spirit moved them. Actually a good deal of time was spent loafing and sleeping.

Those who planned to fish started out in the morning, but usually after the gardeners had departed. Unless a two or three day trip was planned, they commonly returned by four o'clock, and always before dark. Occasionally a group of men and women went to the lagoon to [258] spend a day or two making salt.

One of the striking features of Trumaí economic activity was the number of different tasks done by various people on the same day.

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always used to treat the wounds made by scraping. Jawaku walked away in a hurt and angry mood, his body covered with blood.

A few days later, in recognition of his advancement, Jawaku made the afternoon serving of food to the assembled men, a custom associated with the *ole* (manioc) ceremony. A further sign of his new position was the drinking of an herbaceous emetic before eating the first *piqui* fruit. Only boys who had not yet had their stomachs scraped could eat *piqui* without first taking the medicine.

One important purpose of body-scraping, the Trumaí thought, was to make the boy grow and give him strength. For this reason even the adult males occasionally scraped their arms. The scars themselves were very much admired. Of still greater value was the size of the muscles of the arms, chest, shoulder, and back of the neck, which the Trumaí believed to be the result of the scraping.

Another method of inducing growth was by drinking medicines made from herbs. All of the upper Xingú peoples were said to know of these preparations. The Suyá were said to have learned to make them also, but not the Yuruna. Adults drank these medicines, but they were especially important during the final phase of the puberty rites.

The perforation of the ear lobes was a distinct and separate part of the cycle of puberty rites, and the only one in which the boys went through a prescribed phase as a group. This observance took place during the equinoctial festive period which follows the rainy season and involved intertribal participation. At the next dry season festival, Quain was told, all the boys would have their ears pierced. Jawaku's ears, however, had been pierced before, whereas Autsuki, who was older and had entered the puberty cycle earlier, had not yet had his ears perforated. Manifestly, the time of the first perforation varied.

At the first piercing the young boy added the name of his mother's father to the name of his paternal grandfather, which he had been given previously. This was also an occasion for scarifying the arms.

Quain was informed that ear-piercing was done by all the upper Xingú area tribes. The Suyá, in common with other Gê-speaking peoples, made very large, and to the Trumaí, very unsightly, perforations in the lobes. Two Trumaí men who had been Suyá captives had such perforations and also pierced lower lips. The latter condition explained satisfactorily to the Trumaí why the Suyá "cannot speak properly."

The puberty ceremonies were climaxed by a final series of tests of strength and courage: wrestling with a small anaconda, a subsequent intensive drinking of *okeis*, and further body-scraping. After this the boy was kept in seclusion until his ears were again pierced.

Both Jawaku and Autsuki were at this stage. One day a snake was located in the lagoon, and Jawaku was urged to go after it. He and Makurawa ran through the brush to the lagoon and searched for it along

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/195 cont./

301 a head-net, above which they pointed upwards, sticking out on
237 all sides, and into which they could be bent back to protect them
415 after use. There was also a dainty little pot with a notched edge,
283 and red cotton strings which several Trumaí wore around the waist
276 or around the lower leg. There was some tobacco wrapped in
415 green leaves; on the beach there were also a few gourd vessels
272 containing insipid, pasty mingau[1] which was just as poor as the mandioca bread.

142 There was no indication that the Trumaí are on a higher level than the Bakaïrí; as far as their body structure is concerned, I did not notice anything peculiar during the brief encounter; in size they did not differ from the Bakaïrí and Kustenaú. The fact that they appeared so ugly in the face may have been due to the
291 disfigurement. They protect themselves against penetrating in-
825 sects in the strangest and most primitive manner -- präputium filo gossypii rubro ante glandem farciminis instar constringunt /the foreskin is bound with red cotton thread in front of the glans in such a manner as to look like farcy/. This arrangement may also be useful in the water against the prying candiru fish.

123 What now? A closer study of the Trumaí is, of course, inconceivable. War has been declared; we have no choice but to disappear from the scene of action as quickly as possible. We are forced to forego all further soundings and measurements and bid the Kulisëu farewell. We can still draw one advantage from the awkward situation, however. Since we have departed this far from the path of virtue, we need not have any scruples about transgressing still more. After all, we did not get back our fine ax (two canoes capsized and sank when the Trumaí fled to land). Why should we hesitate to exchange the most warped and defective canoes for those abandoned there, which are well built and excellently dried out?

501 /196/ Several men are sent out and return with three canoes
171 and a few oars, which do not differ from those of the Bakaïrí; one of them is for Valentin and me, a second will be pulled
000 along as a reserve, the third goes to the sergeant. Meanwhile Castro's craft has also been brought home.

[1] [i.e. a drink mixed with manioc flour--Analyst]

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outright rebellion. Despite a great deal of grumbling and non-compliance, they still tacitly recognized Maibu as chief.

One of Maibu's main prerogatives was his talking function. He alone had the role of exhorter of the people. Other men would be "ashamed," he said, to speak so. Most of Maibu's speeches were delivered at night in the men's circle or before work started in the morning. The attitude of his audience ranged from interest to bored indifference and outright ridicule. One morning Maibu lay in his hammock and shouted for everyone to go out to gather fruit. The initial response to this was a shout from some of the houses, telling him to be quiet. Later some people drifted out of the village carrying baskets, and still later others followed, grumbling that they were being driven from the village. This was a common complaint. Because of the tone in which it was said, Quain thought at first that they were actually being exiled.

The chief had no symbols of office outside of the above prerogatives; yet a deference of sorts was shown him. When Maibu entered the men's circle or Quain's house, someone always got up to give him a seat. Tobacco was usually supplied him, and the donor would roll the cigarette and light it before making the presentation. Even the men who told Quain that Maibu was not a "real chief" made these gifts. Maibu himself did not hesitate to send someone across the village through the rain to fetch something. These favors were usually performed by his kinsmen and co-residents, although occasionally more distant persons obliged. On the other hand, Maibu was expected to be generous towards all the other Trumaí. Nearly everything that Quain gave him passed to other hands. Maibu did not even have a bow of his own.

Maibu's poverty was attributable in part to his heavy gift obligations and in part to the fact that he had no garden. He said to Quain that he did not plant because he was a chief. However, he was not completely a non-producer. He went fishing, joined in collective labor, and helped his wife in gathering. At none of these tasks did he occupy himself strenuously. The only articles that he manufactured were arrows and spears. He thus made no trade commodities, relying on others, principally his co-residents, for all his artifacts and food. On most days he did little except talk, sleep, and philander with the unmarried women.

Inheritance of the chieftaincy was nominally patrilineal. Maibu, however, was the son of the daughter of the Trumaí chief whom von den Steinen had met, indicating that the office can pass matrilineally if there are no male heirs available. (Maibu's brother's son, Jawaku, adopted by Maibu through the levirate, was to have been the next Trumaí chief.) But the Trumaí chief reported by Galvão nine years later was Aloari, who was only a distant relative of Maibu.[8] What happened in the years between 1938 and 1947 is not known, but it is apparent that

[8] This information was received verbally from Dr. Eduardo Galvão.

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Diagnosis and Treatment of Disease

Illness was believed to be caused primarily by witchcraft and, secondarily, by the breaking of a taboo or by contagion. Headaches, bloated stomach (*pihl*) and stomach aches were among the common symptoms of bewitchment. The tremendous fear of black magic probably added greatly to the severity of these afflictions. During Quain's stay the women appeared to complain more of sorcery as a cause of their illnesses than did the men, but this self-diagnosis was not always accepted.

Trumaí concepts regarding contagion were generally loose, and they often fused with witchcraft beliefs. Contagion was acknowledged to be a possible cause of illness, but if death followed, it would in all probability be laid to sorcery. The Trumaí knew that epidemics of pulmonary diseases were associated with the coming of white men, and they were especially worried that when the rainy season arrived Quain would give them coughs and fevers. Indeed, one night when Quain complained of illness and retired to his hammock with a headache, this eventuality was vigorously discussed.

The Trumaí called such a threat *tun*, a word that can be translated only as a malignant influence causing disease. *Tun* was said to exist around sick people or in places where there was known to be danger of contamination. Thus, when several of the people of Jakwanari's household were sick, everyone avoided the house, for it was full of *tun*. Aloari said that the waterfront, also, was full of *tun*. He preferred to bathe from a pottery vessel outside his house. Ringworm, however, was known to be caused by natural means.

The word *okei*, while referring to sorcery under certain conditions, was also a general term for medicinal preparations. Thus, *okei* of various kinds were used in different stages of the life crisis rituals and also in the treatment of various ailments. Roots were extensively used for medicinal purposes. Maibu rubbed his wife's head with the extract of a root (*ipox*) when she had a headache. Another root (*murukuyu*) supplied the basic ingredient for eye drops, and still another was prescribed for ringworm.

The Trumaí were subject to severe boils which were treated by piercing. This was a woman's specialty, and it was usually done by the wife or a close relative of the afflicted person. All other curing, both secular and supernatural, was done by men. Herbal medicines were used exclusively for such ailments as ringworm, but most cures involved both botanical and supernatural means used in conjunction.

Illness was treated by both individual curers and group ceremonies. The practice of individual shamanistic curing, known as *jau'kath*, had much in common with similar arts throughout South America. The main techniques employed were tobacco smoke and sucking. Great

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clouds of tobacco smoke were first blown over the affected area by the curer who then, with noisy inhalations, sucked that part of the body in which the ailment appeared to be localized. Insofar as Quain was able to determine, no foreign objects were "extracted," and he was not given any explanation as to why the treatment worked.

Knowledge of curing was widespread among the men. All the men knew how to use botanicals, and over half, all said to have been taught by Matiwana, knew the art of *jau'kath*. Men cured their wives, children, or other close blood relatives. When Aloari was treating his son's ringworm he was asked by Quain whether he would also treat a young boy who was only indirectly related. Aloari refused because the boy had closer kinsmen who could perform this act. Kayaru developed a swollen breast, and it was Yanahi, her sister's son, who performed *jau'kath* on it. All men treated the members of their biological families with medicines, but those who did not know the shamanistic cure relied on a practitioner from outside the immediate family.

Matiwana treated his son Yati without recompense, but when his daughter's husband became ill, the latter paid him for the cure with a pot. The kinship ties by which curing was free to certain relatives probably corresponded closely to the pattern of gift-giving obligations. Payments for medical treatment were called *okei pop* (medicine gift). Quain was usually given small payments for the many cures he performed for the Trumaí. In no case could it be said that any curer derived a significant income from his services.

Group Curing Ceremony

The only time that Quain witnessed the group curing ceremony (*kevere*) was on an occasion two weeks after his arrival. He noted the formal aspects carefully, but he was unable to ascertain their meanings, since his command of the language at that time was so meagre.

Maibu's wife, Matavitsa, was sick and wasted when Quain arrived in the village. Her husband had been treating her for some time by the shamanistic means of tobacco smoke and sucking, but with little success. It was decided to hold a ceremonial cure, although shamanistic techniques were not ruled out. Nearly all the adult men of the village gathered in Maibu's house for the ritual, which lasted for three hours. No women were admitted, and the door was kept closed. The *kevere* was strictly prohibited to females, and the men would not even talk of it in their presence. The women seemed to regard Quain's status as doubtful, for Maibu's sister told him that he would die if he entered. He refused to be dissuaded, and upon entering was motioned to a seat.

The men were ranged in a broad semi-circle along the side of the house opposite the sick woman's hammock. Matiwana, who was in charge of

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the banks, while men crowded into a canoe. The reptile was located, but instead of the one-foot diameter that it was at first said to have, it turned out to be only three inches thick. But, as Quain laconically observed, it was hungry. The men shouted at Jawaku to jump in the water and grab it.

The boy approached the reptile cautiously and with obvious fear. The anaconda, aroused, slithered through the water to the other side of the lagoon. Jawaku's unwillingness to fight was now apparent. There were shouts that he was frightened. These goads temporarily overcame his reluctance, and he waded through the water and grabbed the snake around the middle, lifting it out of the water. The anaconda began throwing its coils, while striking at the boy. In a panic, Jawaku stumbled blindly for the shore, tripped over a log, and released his hold on the snake. All the men shouted, "He's afraid!" as the crestfallen boy dragged himself out of the water and silently walked home.

That night, Maibu made a lengthy speech in which he absolved himself from any responsibility for Jawaku's cowardice. The next day another reptile was sighted, but Jawaku did not even bother to look at it.

On the other hand, Autsuki measured up to what was expected of him, and thus was able to continue the ritual that marked his maturation. Immediately upon the successful outcome of his struggle with an anaconda, he went to his house. He had now entered the seclusion phase of his puberty rites. Tun, his mother's brother, who was acting as next of kin, built a partition screening him off from the rest of the house. He was allowed nothing to eat but a medicinal preparation called *wyryx*, and he could leave his confinement to defecate only when everyone was asleep.

The seclusion period was to last until the ear-piercing festival which was to be held several months later, but Autsuki was cheerful about it. In accordance with normal practice, he had his arms scraped shortly after he entered confinement, and he was also given the adult tonsure.

There remained only one more step in the cycle of initiation rites: initiation into the shamanistic art of curing. Completion of this final phase was necessary for full participation in the men's circle and for the privilege of smoking tobacco.[3] All of the uninitiated Trumaí youths knew how to smoke and occasionally did so, but the adults referred to this as "lying smoking." In order to "really" smoke it was necessary to have a ceremony performed by Matiwana. Exactly when this occurred is open to question, but ideally it was supposed to follow the final seclusion and ear-piercing. Aloari had not yet had the ceremony performed, although he was married and had a child. In his own words, he was still "too young." Aloari was evidently equating maturation with the puberty rites.

[3] Oberg (1953, p. 60) reports that uninitiated men may not smoke among the Kamayurá, either.

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Changes in status and expected behavior were connected with the transition to manhood, and new modes of participation in the culture were open to the young man. It is necessary, however, to differentiate between the transition consequent upon increased age and that which resulted specifically from passage through the life crisis rites. Ideally, such a distinction should not have existed, as the achievement of physical maturity should have been heralded by the socio — religious observances. But there were two young married men, Yanahi and Aloari, who had not completed the ritual — the former because of disinclination, the latter due to the delay caused by his captivity among the Yuruna. Aloari, although both vocal and aggressive, and having the men's haircut, was definitely not one of the men's group yet. His smoking was only of the "lying" kind. He still needed the ritual admittance to the smoking group. Yanahi, on the other hand, still had the youthful haircut, but, for unknown reasons, was already a full-fledged member of the men's group. He was frequently seen with the adolescent boys, however, and his activities were characterized by a youthful lack of gravity. His history shows that there was no sudden break with boyhood among the Trumaí. The puberty rites were spread over a long enough time to allow a slow incorporation into the adult world.

Upon reaching man's estate, the young man became an integral part of the household and village economies. To be sure, property attitudes had been developed early, but he now had a greater opportunity to express them, inasmuch as he was able to participate in the upper Xingú trade system and thus accumulate more personal possessions. His entrance into the men's circle gave him a larger voice in community affairs, but at the same time it involved him in many village squabbles, which were intensified by his search for sexual partners or a wife. Also, among his added responsibilities was the defense of the village.

In short, the status of the newly arrived man brought greater economic independence and a fuller participation in the social and ceremonial life of the community. In return for his heightened importance he was expected to act with sobriety and self-reliance, to show courage and fortitude, and to be more aggressive in asserting his new rights and prerogatives. This last was largely a matter of degree, for Quain had been impressed at the extent to which children asserted themselves and shared the mannerisms and attitudes of adults.

Female Puberty

The only data available on female puberty observances concern the first menses (*wasipanes*), when the girl is confined for a period during which she wears her hair over her face. Rodrigues Ferreira, in commenting on a Trumaí girl in seclusion, states that she must remain in her

/195 cont./

301 a head-net, above which they pointed upwards, sticking out on
237 all sides, and into which they could be bent back to protect them
415 after use. There was also a dainty little pot with a notched edge,
283 and red cotton strings which several Trumaí wore around the waist
276 or around the lower leg. There was some tobacco wrapped in
415 green leaves; on the beach there were also a few gourd vessels
272 containing insipid, pasty mingau[1] which was just as poor as the mandioca bread.

142 There was no indication that the Trumaí are on a higher level than the Bakaïrí; as far as their body structure is concerned, I did not notice anything peculiar during the brief encounter; in size they did not differ from the Bakaïrí and Kustenaú. The fact that they appeared so ugly in the face may have been due to the
291 disfigurement. They protect themselves against penetrating in-
825 sects in the strangest and most primitive manner -- präputium filo gossypii rubro ante glandem farciminis instar constringunt /the foreskin is bound with red cotton thread in front of the glans in such a manner as to look like farcy/. This arrangement may also be useful in the water against the prying candiru fish.

123 What now? A closer study of the Trumaí is, of course, inconceivable. War has been declared; we have no choice but to disappear from the scene of action as quickly as possible. We are forced to forego all further soundings and measurements and bid the Kulisëu farewell. We can still draw one advantage from the awkward situation, however. Since we have departed this far from the path of virtue, we need not have any scruples about transgressing still more. After all, we did not get back our fine ax (two canoes capsized and sank when the Trumaí fled to land). Why should we hesitate to exchange the most warped and defective canoes for those abandoned there, which are well built and excellently dried out?

501 /196/ Several men are sent out and return with three canoes
171 and a few oars, which do not differ from those of the Bakaïrí; one of them is for Valentin and me, a second will be pulled
000 along as a reserve, the third goes to the sergeant. Meanwhile Castro's craft has also been brought home.

[1] [i.e. a drink mixed with manioc flour--Analyst]

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often gathered together, and at times all of the women of a house would work together in *piqui* collecting. Parties of boys and men sometimes picked up the fruit, and a man often went gathering with his wife to protect her from possible enemies, especially if there had been recent threats or omens. He took his bow and arrows, and frequently did not help in carrying the fruit back to the village. The *piqui* was brought to the village in basket containers, and then made into a variety of dishes.

Guava (*waruwaru*) grows wild in the forest, ripening a short time before *piqui* does, but extending into the season of the latter. Quain believed it to be a valuable vitamin C supplement to the diet, but it was a far less important food than *piqui*. Men participated little in guava collecting, although they accompanied their wives for sociability and protection. Quain described these connubial gathering expeditions as being largely pleasant jaunts through the wood. Children often went out for the fruit, which they brought back to the village strung on straws.

The water lily from which salt was made was another important item gathered during the period of Quain's residence among the Trumaí. The water lilies were collected in the Trumaí lagoon, and the complete salt-making process was carried on there. Each Trumaí built a rack over the waters of the lagoon. The lilies were pulled up, spread out on the rack to dry, and later burned. The ashes were sifted to obtain the salt. Quain did not mention any women's salt racks, but the women prepared their own supply of salt, too. Quain saw salt-making only in the early part of September, although it is possible that it occurred prior to this time as well. However, salt was not made after the middle of September, due to the rains and the exigencies of planting.

Ants were eaten by the Trumaí, and, according to an informant, by all groups in the area. A little boy demonstrated the correct way to consume them when he joyously brought in a fat one, plucked off its abdomen and swallowed it. Quain was told that later in the season the women and children would go out and collect them in large quantities. Other insects were in heavy demand for feeding the harpy eagle and other pet birds. Crickets were considered especially good for this purpose, and the boys made great sport of shooting these insects with their miniature bows and arrows.

A few other wild foods were eaten, but these were relatively insignificant. Among them was the fruit of the *ucu'o* palm. Another fruit called *tamux*, resembling the crabapple in taste and superficial appearance, had a gelatinous interior. An unnamed plant is described by Quain as resembling grass, but having a quality like algae. It was eaten only in times of a manioc shortage. *Komu's* is a parasitic plant that looks and tastes like the date. The *atok* is a berry that tastes like the chokecherry.

Fift's and *tawasi*, the fish poisons, were gathered in the locale. The gathering and preparation of *tawasi* boughs was a cooperative venture.

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Older boys and men went into the forest to cut down the trees and bring the boughs back to the village. The men then took turns in pounding the boughs into coarse fiber with the blunt end of an axe. Even men who did not participate in the gathering of the boughs helped in their reduction into fiber.

The group nature of the work is understandable in view of the communal labor and benefits involved in fish poisoning. Once the boughs were reduced, the fibers were cut into sheaves of about two and one-half feet in length. These sheaves were used to poison the water. Interestingly, both bark and wood were pounded up together, although, according to Quain, only the bark is poisonous.

The *buriti* palm supplied two raw materials, *isinke* and *isinke hut'*. *Isinke* was obtained from the heart of the young spike of the growing tip of the palm. The top was separated to give access to the heart, and long fibers were pulled out, which were then hung in the interior of the house to dry. When dry they resembled a heavy hemp, and were used to make cord. *Isinke hut'* is the leaf of the *buriti*, which was used in basketry.

Hunting

Hunting was not important at any time during Quain's stay. Tapir, peccary, deer, monkey, jaguar, squirrel and paca, a large rodent, are among the animals mentioned by Quain as being found in the vicinity, but only the monkey and paca were eaten. Birds were also eaten, and their feathers were used for ornamentation. Terrapin were caught by hand, either by creeping up on them or by swimming close to them under water and grabbing them by the shell. All other game was shot with the bow and arrow, except for the capybara, called *isiao* by the Trumaí. Canoeists speared the swimming animals. The spear was used at no other time in hunting or fishing, although the Yaulapiti speared fish.

Quain saw no organized hunting parties. One or two men sometimes set out with the express intention of hunting, but most animals were shot while on fishing or gathering expeditions. The Trumaí did not rely on meat, nor did they show a craving for it. Hunting seemed to be more a pastime and sport than a subsistence activity. When Quain hunted with the Trumaí he noticed that they wanted him to kill birds more for their feathers than for their meat. They also wanted him to kill several entirely worthless birds because, as two of the men expressed it, they wanted "to see it."

Foods

The horticulture, fishing and gathering economy of the Trumaí gave them a fair variety and adequate quantity of food during most of the year, barring crop failure. The Trumaí, however, had a considerably

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Necklaces were made by tying feathers to a cotton cord with *buriti* fibers. Headdresses included one consisting of a ring of cotton threads with colored feathers attached. The front feathers were long and formed a sort of plume. Another headdress, a feather topknot tied to a cotton headnet, was captured in warfare with the Caiabí. A third was a crown woven of bamboo splints traded from the Waurá for arrow feathers. There were probably many other kinds, as intertribal trade in headdresses was lively.

Belts and anklets were also traded between tribes. A few Brazilian type shirts and hats had found their way into the Trumaí village. They had been obtained from travelers in the region, and especially from the missionaries, Thomas Young and his wife.

The men wore their hair cut straight around the head on a line even with the tops of the ears. A small patch on the crown was plucked, but Quain noted that the Trumaí were much less careful about keeping these parts free of new growth than were the neighboring groups. The scissors which Quain gave to one of the men replaced the old method of hair cutting with an instrument made of *piranha* teeth. A composite comb (*kwaau*) was also used. The back was made of two parallel pieces of cane joined by cotton thread and the teeth of splints from the small roots of a palm-like shrub.

The Trumaí used several vegetable paints to decorate their bodies. This method of adornment was always invoked for ceremonies, and often for wrestling, or when there were guests. The paint most commonly used was the red *urucú* (*matdot*) which was grown in the gardens. The *urucú* was made into a paste by mixing it with oil from the visceral fat of a fish. The paste could be rolled into a ball and applied directly, or spread with the fingers or a spatula made from the middle rib of the *buriti* leaf.

Other body paints were *tawariri*, a black tree gum mixed with soot, and a preparation made from *piquí* fruit and fish oil. There was also a dye, *atdot*, which was not described, and one or two other paints which Quain was unable to identify. *Jany*, a non-decorative paste made from the liver of a fish, was used to ward off insects.

Designs included dots, crescents, zig-zags, circles, curves, straight lines, and combinations of these. Quain observed several standard patterns, many of which were symbolic; others were possibly symbolic representations also, but he was unable to learn their meanings.

One man painted crescents on his chest above either nipple which he said represented vaginas. A rattlesnake design consisted of a half ellipse on the flanks with dots in the center. Quain was told that a design of red spots, with two near the nipples ringed in black, was a boa constrictor. Another snake pattern, made by painting zig-zags down the sides and back, was used on one of the posts erected during the *ole* ceremony.

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upon his parents cohabiting; and they immediately told everyone in the village.

Puberty Rites

Male puberty rites were divided into two periods. The first, which was preparatory, covered about three or four years and consisted of the administration of certain medicines (*okeis*) and body-scraping. The second covered a much shorter period and constituted the actual initiation of the boy into the men's group. The observances, starting when a boy was between ten and twelve years of age, increased in frequency and intensity until his final initiation. The purposes, as expressed by the Trumaí, were to make him grow big and strong, give him courage and fortitude, and mark certain achievements on the road to manhood.

Body-scraping was one of the most important means used to accomplish these ends. Two different types of scarification instruments were in use. One was a sort of comb made of fish teeth imbedded in wood; the other was a polished armadillo claw. The former was used during the early phases of scarification, the latter, during the late phases when the whole body was scraped.

The first scraping was limited to the arms or legs. Kamkuti received his initial scarification on the biceps as an aftermath of shooting his first fish. The scraping, painful though it was, was a reward and a recognition of manly achievement. It was also a test of endurance and resistance to pain, and the boy was admonished against flinching or weeping. Such occasions were the first on which the child was exhorted to be manly and courageous.

When the boy reached biological puberty, the scraping became more severe. Arms, legs, flanks, chest, back, and stomach were all scraped, and the operation must have been most painful. Each boy could expect to have this happen to him a few times during the course of his initiation. Jawaku, Maibu's foster-son, had his first overall scarification while Quain was in residence. This was a prelude to the full initiation rites, through which he was soon to pass. Jawaku was a very timid boy, and significantly lacked the assertiveness that was so much a part of Trumaí personality. Katauka, who was officiating, scraped his legs first, then his back, flanks and arms, ending with a light treatment on his chest and stomach. Jawaku looked extremely unhappy, but he did not cry until Katauka began scraping his back. Maibu held him firmly and told him not to cry, while others scolded him for being a baby.

Before the scarification started Jawaku's body was moistened with water from a nearby pot. After it was finished, Katauka rubbed him completely with the bark of the *aruparukatem* tree. This or the bark of the *fift*'s tree (the source of the fish poison previously referred to) were always used to treat the wounds made by scraping.

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always used to treat the wounds made by scraping. Jawaku walked away in a hurt and angry mood, his body covered with blood.

A few days later, in recognition of his advancement, Jawaku made the afternoon serving of food to the assembled men, a custom associated with the *ole* (manioc) ceremony. A further sign of his new position was the drinking of an herbaceous emetic before eating the first *piqui* fruit. Only boys who had not yet had their stomachs scraped could eat *piqui* without first taking the medicine.

One important purpose of body-scraping, the Trumaí thought, was to make the boy grow and give him strength. For this reason even the adult males occasionally scraped their arms. The scars themselves were very much admired. Of still greater value was the size of the muscles of the arms, chest, shoulder, and back of the neck, which the Trumaí believed to be the result of the scraping.

Another method of inducing growth was by drinking medicines made from herbs. All of the upper Xingú peoples were said to know of these preparations. The Suyá were said to have learned to make them also, but not the Yuruna. Adults drank these medicines, but they were especially important during the final phase of the puberty rites.

The perforation of the ear lobes was a distinct and separate part of the cycle of puberty rites, and the only one in which the boys went through a prescribed phase as a group. This observance took place during the equinoctial festive period which follows the rainy season and involved intertribal participation. At the next dry season festival, Quain was told, all the boys would have their ears pierced. Jawaku's ears, however, had been pierced before, whereas Autsuki, who was older and had entered the puberty cycle earlier, had not yet had his ears perforated. Manifestly, the time of the first perforation varied.

At the first piercing the young boy added the name of his mother's father to the name of his paternal grandfather, which he had been given previously. This was also an occasion for scarifying the arms.

Quain was informed that ear-piercing was done by all the upper Xingú area tribes. The Suyá, in common with other Gê-speaking peoples, made very large, and to the Trumaí, very unsightly, perforations in the lobes. Two Trumaí men who had been Suyá captives had such perforations and also pierced lower lips. The latter condition explained satisfactorily to the Trumaí why the Suyá "cannot speak properly."

The puberty ceremonies were climaxed by a final series of tests of strength and courage: wrestling with a small anaconda, a subsequent intensive drinking of *okeis*, and further body-scraping. After this the boy was kept in seclusion until his ears were again pierced.

Both Jawaku and Autsuki were at this stage. One day a snake was located in the lagoon, and Jawaku was urged to go after it. He and Makurawa ran through the brush to the lagoon and searched for it along

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Older boys and men went into the forest to cut down the trees and bring the boughs back to the village. The men then took turns in pounding the boughs into coarse fiber with the blunt end of an axe. Even men who did not participate in the gathering of the boughs helped in their reduction into fiber.

The group nature of the work is understandable in view of the communal labor and benefits involved in fish poisoning. Once the boughs were reduced, the fibers were cut into sheaves of about two and one-half feet in length. These sheaves were used to poison the water. Interestingly, both bark and wood were pounded up together, although, according to Quain, only the bark is poisonous.

The *buriti* palm supplied two raw materials, *isinke* and *isinke hut'*. *Isinke* was obtained from the heart of the young spike of the growing tip of the palm. The top was separated to give access to the heart, and long fibers were pulled out, which were then hung in the interior of the house to dry. When dry they resembled a heavy hemp, and were used to make cord. *Isinke hut'* is the leaf of the *buriti*, which was used in basketry.

Hunting

Hunting was not important at any time during Quain's stay. Tapir, peccary, deer, monkey, jaguar, squirrel and paca, a large rodent, are among the animals mentioned by Quain as being found in the vicinity, but only the monkey and paca were eaten. Birds were also eaten, and their feathers were used for ornamentation. Terrapin were caught by hand, either by creeping up on them or by swimming close to them under water and grabbing them by the shell. All other game was shot with the bow and arrow, except for the capybara, called *tsimo* by the Trumaí. Canoeists speared the swimming animals. The spear was used at no other time in hunting or fishing, although the Yaulapití speared fish.

Quain saw no organized hunting parties. One or two men sometimes set out with the express intention of hunting, but most animals were shot while on fishing or gathering expeditions. The Trumaí did not rely on meat, nor did they show a craving for it. Hunting seemed to be more a pastime and sport than a subsistence activity. When Quain hunted with the Trumaí he noticed that they wanted him to kill birds more for their feathers than for their meat. They also wanted him to kill several entirely worthless birds because, as two of the men expressed it, they wanted "to see it."

Foods

The horticulture, fishing and gathering economy of the Trumaí gave them a fair variety and adequate quantity of food during most of the year, barring crop failure. The Trumaí, however, had a considerably

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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264 Eating seemed to be casual, and it would be inaccurate to speak of "mealtimes." The time for eating was governed by what one happened to be doing on that day. While a person was in the village, he ate whenever food was offered, which occured frequently. If fishing was in order, the fishermen ate before and after their trip and also took food with them. Quain noticed that people usually ate on arising and, during the planting season, again upon returning from the gardens. Meals, then, were only an intensification of eating, occasioned by the return of people to the village. All the people of a household frequently ate at the same time, but the whole village seldom ate simultaneously. Meals involved little formality, and the Trumaí man often ate in his hammock between naps.

House Building

342 114 Unfortunately, Quain left few detailed drawings of houses or other aspects of material culture, and his descriptions are brief. Most of the data on material culture were gathered from his careful inventory of all the houses in the village. He was probably reserving the detailed documentation for the proposed return trip which he never made.

342 335 The first step in the construction of a house was to sink the two heavy center posts in a deep hole. The ridge pole was then set in place at the top of the center posts by raising it with forked sticks. A few men stood with the sticks at either end of the ridge pole, and each group in turn lifted and set the end on the center posts. A "water shed" (not well described by Quain but undoubtedly a cap of thatch) was placed over the ridge pole. The tops of the center posts were not notched to receive the ridge pole; instead, sticks were lashed on opposite sides of the two [283] center posts to form a fork in which the ridge pole was laid. All joining of the framework in the house was done with bark fiber. Wall posts, about four feet high, were set in the ground so as to form an elliptical floor plan around the center posts.

The next step was to lash on the curved longitudinal poles which join the wall posts to the ridge pole. Horizontal poles were tied across these and across the wall posts to form a frame for the thatch. Additional smaller poles could be added to give a tighter thatch frame. Thatching was sometimes started in one section before the frame had been entirely completed. The grass (*damok*) for thatch was gathered by the house-builders and brought back tied in bundles.

342 The roof was thatched first, but a section was often left incomplete until the rainy season. Quain was told by Maibu, the chief, that he would finish thatching his house after the rains began because the grass was longer then. In the case of one house, the thatching of the walls was started when the roof was nearly completed. While one builder

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The woof was made of cotton threads. The men's hammocks were usually woven, while those made by the women for themselves were generally an inferior twined product. Other manufactures of cotton were arm and leg bands.

Ceramics

The knowledge of ceramic manufacture cannot be properly considered a part of Trumaí culture, despite their daily use of pottery in cooking, manioc processing, eating and storage. All pottery utensils were obtained in trade with the Arawakan Waurá, usually in return for salt. The only clay article of Trumaí manufacture was the *ja'meo*, a crude clay griddle on which the *beijú* was baked. The Trumaí did not rely completely on pottery for watertight containers, as gourds, grown in their own gardens, were extensively used.

Wood Manufactures

All woodwork was done by the men with, at the time of Quain's visit, steel tools. The most distinctive article was the zoomorphically carved wooden stool, found among all upper Xingú peoples. Quain's notes contain a sketch of one such stool which is very similar to the one depicted by von den Steinen.[5] Other wood products were canoe paddles, *beijú* paddles, manioc graters, and mortars and pestles, used by the women to pulverize the hard, dry balls of manioc flour.

Weapons

Bows and arrows were used almost to the exclusion of other weapons. The Trumaí got their bows in trade from the Kamayurá, but made the bowstrings themselves from the fiber of a tree known to them as the *patacy*. They made their own feathered arrows out of cane, at the end of which was inserted a thin wooden shaft. The points were fixed to the shaft with a tree resin (*awalitsu*) and were wrapped at the juncture with cotton thread. Monkey bone points were used for shooting fish and birds. One man who was making a bamboo point told Quain that it was used for hunting and warfare. Another was seen hammering an arrow point out of a piece of metal.

Spears were not used often, although the Trumaí made them. Quain saw a spear point being made of the shin bone of a tapir. The spear-thrower (*xopep*) was used only in the annual spear-throwing contest. It was made from the wood of a palm. Quain sketched one that had a flat handle with a finger hole and a shaft with a hook on the end, and another that lacked the hook, but had a thong on the end.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 141.

/195 cont./

301 a head-net, above which they pointed upwards, sticking out on
237 all sides, and into which they could be bent back to protect them
415 after use. There was also a dainty little pot with a notched edge,
283 and red cotton strings which several Trumaí wore around the waist
276 or around the lower leg. There was some tobacco wrapped in
415 green leaves; on the beach there were also a few gourd vessels
272 containing insipid, pasty mingau[1] which was just as poor as the mandioca bread.

142 There was no indication that the Trumaí are on a higher level than the Bakaïrí; as far as their body structure is concerned, I did not notice anything peculiar during the brief encounter; in size they did not differ from the Bakaïrí and Kustenaú. The fact that they appeared so ugly in the face may have been due to the
291 disfigurement. They protect themselves against penetrating in-
825 sects in the strangest and most primitive manner -- *präputium filo gossypii rubro ante glandem farciminis instar constringunt* /the foreskin is bound with red cotton thread in front of the glans in such a manner as to look like farcy/. This arrangement may also be useful in the water against the prying candiru fish.

123 What now? A closer study of the Trumaí is, of course, inconceivable. War has been declared; we have no choice but to disappear from the scene of action as quickly as possible. We are forced to forego all further soundings and measurements and bid the Kulisëu farewell. We can still draw one advantage from the awkward situation, however. Since we have departed this far from the path of virtue, we need not have any scruples about transgressing still more. After all, we did not get back our fine ax (two canoes capsized and sank when the Trumaí fled to land). Why should we hesitate to exchange the most warped and defective canoes for those abandoned there, which are well built and excellently dried out?

501 /196/ Several men are sent out and return with three canoes
171 and a few oars, which do not differ from those of the Bakaïrí; one of them is for Valentin and me, a second will be pulled
000 along as a reserve, the third goes to the sergeant. Meanwhile Castro's craft has also been brought home.

[1] [i.e. a drink mixed with manioc flour--Analyst]

B /191 cont./
+171 industrious women did not have a hip cord. Smaller boys were
291 usually already provided with the cord, but then always had a couple of dainty trifles strung on it.

/192/ The purpose of the hip cord is to extend the praeputium. The penis is placed upward against the body and pushed under the hip cord in such a way that the uppermost section of the praeputium remains pinched off. The young man is made to do this when the first erections set in. He tries to adhere to the procedure for days and removes the annoying pubic hair.

T 291 The Trumaí had a bizarre method which is also reported
[283] from other Brazilian tribes. They tied up the praeputium in front of the glans with a cotton string usually dyed red with urucú. The front end of the penis looked like the end of a sausage. Thus they achieved permanently what the others with their hip cord managed only temporarily. Unfortunately, we were unable to observe them in their village life under normal conditions. When we

BO [291] Fig. 17. Penis cuff of the Bororó.

found them in the vicinity of the Auetö, on their flight from the Suyá, we did not notice the strange string on all of the men, although those not provided with it showed the tying-off marks on
B T the praeputium caused by its use. It would not be inconceivable
[186] that the men were somewhat embarrassed in front of the Auetö; at any rate, the rest of the tribes, when we spoke to them about the Trumaí, always manifested very special amusement over the wool /Woll/ cord which they mocked and found as funny as we did. We met the company, however, when they were entirely

B /229 cont./
*191 laterally hollowed end of the wooden support, lashing it, and
411 covering it with resin.
[237]

Sometimes a pierced, hollow tucum nut is shoved up on the arrow shaft to slightly above the middle; one or two holes are cut into the nut on the side. In flight a high-pitched whirring or whistling is heard. /230/ While the noise-making arrows are used only for bird hunting, the others are intended for all hunting and the shooting of fish; those with barbs are exclusively
B fish arrows. Arrows with sawlike notched wooden points do not
[101] occur on the Schingú except among the Yarumá, whom we regard as a southern group of the Mundurukú /Mundurucu/ of the Tapajoz /Tapajós/.

T The Suyá and Trumaí had arrows with long pointed bamboo
191 knives for war and for hunting jaguar. Spindle-shaped bamboo
411 splinters up to 35 centimeters long and up to 36 millimeters wide,
[824] knife-sharp on the edges, are mounted on the wooden stick driven deep into the reed shaft; the wooden stick is embedded in a groove
T cut below along the inner surface of the splinter. And, to be
[284] sure, the pointed spindle is only loosely fastened with a little resin and thread; when shot it remains in the body that was hit, while the shaft with the wooden stick flies off behind it.

B The most remarkable thing about the arrow is the feathering
*191 at the lower end. Two feathers, more correctly two halves of
411 feathers, for the feather is split at the shaft, are carefully fastened
237 in a spiral twist which goes around one-fourth of the circumfer-
ence; each flag stands with the plane of its upper part perpendicu-
lar on that of its lower part, so that the flying arrow spirals
B through the air. The feathers are set in a row of small holes,
[284] which are made with an agutí tooth and enlarged with a pointed buriti splinter, and, one may say, are sewed onto the arrow; the cotton thread is wound around the ends and is itself protected by
B being wound with waimbé bark (Philodendron). Usually the
[825] feathers come from gallinaceous birds, jakú (Penelope) and mutung (Crax), from the falcon, and from the blue arara. Where the hand grasps the arrow shaft there is a wrapping of waimbé. At the bottom a notch is cut in parallel to the upper part of the feathers.

/231 cont./

171 411 in battle. The purpose of the throwing board is /232/ to throw a stone-weighted arrow, or, if one wishes, a more graceful spear, [824] with great force. The type present on the Schingú is a thin, smooth stick of hard palm wood about 70 centimeters long, which widens at the front end into a holding plate provided with a hole and bears a small hook at the other, rear end. In other words, no board and no sign of a groove. Cf. Figures 28 /see p. 241/ and 6, p. 91.

The arrow is set in on the barb at the back, the index finger is stuck through the hole of the holding plate, while the other fingers grasp the plate and the arrow; thus, the rear part of the arrow lies securely against the throwing board, is lifted with a powerful swing, the throwing stick describes an arc forward and upward and with this lever motion sends out the arrow so "that it [824] positively whizzes." The throwing boards are made of light or [237] dark palm wood, /Fig. 28 appears here/ they are nicely smoothed, and some of them give an impression of elegance, especially if a small bunch of colored feathers hangs down from the barb cord. The plate has a width of about five centimeters in front, six centimeters in the rear, and a length of 15 centimeters; it is cut biconcave, so that the hand grasps it securely. The shaft is [284] about four times as long. The barb on which the dart is set, a bone among the Karayá, is here a little stick, two and a half centimeters long, lashed on diagonally with cotton thread. There were throwing boards in small sizes for children.

The reed thrown by our Indians is not a spear, but a real ubá arrow and is also called an arrow by them /in this work it is called arrow (Pfeil) or dart (Wurfpfeil). Only the feathering is usually more carelessly worked and not arranged spirally. Bone points and sharp wooden points do not occur. The characteristic thing about the dart is the opposite -- a possibility not provided for in the German language, it seems -- a "blunt point." /233/ In this respect, too, the characteristic of the "spear" is lacking. [284] The dart does not spear and stab, but shatters with a heavy blow. Inserted into the shaft, lashed with string, and smeared with wax were heavy stone or wood points. The stones either conical, like

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The situation was comparable to the previously mentioned communal planting of the garden of the Kamayurá, Uluku.

Canoes

The standard bark canoe of the upper Xingú was made and used by the Trumaí.[4] Construction was simple and much less time was required to complete it than the typical dugout canoe of the tropical forest. A long, rectangular piece of bark was cut from the *jatobá* tree by men standing on platforms. The bark was then heated over a fire to soften it. The sides were bent up, and the top end of the bark, which narrowed slightly, was made into the bow by bending it upwards. The center of the stern was bent inwards, allowing the whole stern to be well above the water. Leaks were mended with patches of river mud or clay. Propulsion was by paddle, although occasionally poles were used.

There was also one small dugout in the village which belonged to Aloari, Quain's cook and helper. Aloari had been a Yuruna captive, and it was undoubtedly during this experience that he had learned to make this type craft. He also had a bark canoe and was the only Trumaí to own two canoes.

Basketry

The Trumaí men manufactured baskets that were variously shaped and served several purposes. In general, the Trumaí were less skilled in this art than their upper Xingú neighbors. Among the baskets described by Quain was a deep, round tray made of *buriti* fiber and another which was used to store manioc flour and, when equipped with shoulder and forehead tumplines, to carry loads. The latter was an openwork container made of bark strips. A smaller basket of this type was made of *buriti* fibers. The manioc sieve, or *tuafi*, was made of stiff *buriti* fronds and was also used to store small articles. It was made by the women. The women also made a bark cloth bag known as the *tdesnit*, a term that, in addition, designated the female pubic covering.

All of the baskets and similar containers described by Quain were made by other groups of the area, but the art of manufacturing certain varieties was known to only a few Trumaí. Some baskets were obtained in trade.

Textiles

All work in cotton was the exclusive province of the women. Hammocks of both twined and woven types were made. The loom consisted of two upright posts between which a warp of *buriti* fiber was extended.

[4] Cf. von den Steinen 1897, pp. 322-23.
[i.e. building Quain's house -- Analyst]

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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CHAPTER THREE

Trumaí Social Organization

Property Ownership

105 Trumaí society was relatively simple. There was no social stratification based on wealth, nor were the mechanisms of social control and cohesion highly developed. This was in accord with the individualization of productive effort and the low level of economic surplus. The political unit was a single community, the sole bearer of Trumaí culture.

All land and productive resources were considered the property of the community, and the right to their exploitation resided with any individual willing to expend the labor. Gardens were individual property, but only in the sense that the man who reclaimed the land from the jungle was entitled to its product. There was no concept of alienable property in land, entailing the right of disposition. The *piquí* trees were said to be owned individually, but the owner exercised exclusive rights only over the first fruits. Other wild food plants were community property and their fruits belonged to the gatherer.

The fishing rights to lagoons and backwaters of the rivers belonged to the tribes in whose territory they were located. There was no individual ownership of fishing sites.

There was property in foods, but as soon as they were cooked they were freely distributed. *Beijú* belonged to the women, but the manioc out of which it was prepared was said to be the property of the man who grew it. Such distinctions were largely academic. Actually, the men grew the vegetable and the women harvested it, prepared it, and cooked it, after which it was distributed and eaten. The same situation prevailed in regard to the products of fishing, hunting, and gathering. Salt was the only exception, as it was prepared and owned by individual men and women. The difference undoubtedly lies in the fact that salt was an important trade item, while the other commodities were not.

Very little property can be said to have belonged to the family. Baskets and gourd containers were made by the men for themselves and for the women, but they were often used by both a man and his wife. Nearly all material objects outside of natural resources were owned by the person who made them or the person to whom an object was given. House ownership was vague, since houses were built and occupied by more than one man, and abandoned when the village moved. The house, however, was often considered the property of the man who put

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All woodwork was done by the men with, at the time of Quain's visit, steel tools. The most distinctive article was the zoomorphically carved wooden stool, found among all upper Xingú peoples. Quain's notes contain a sketch of one such stool which is very similar to the one depicted by von den Steinen.[5] Other wood products were canoe paddles, *beijú* paddles, manioc graters, and mortars and pestles, used by the women to pulverize the hard, dry balls of manioc flour.

Weapons

Bows and arrows were used almost to the exclusion of other weapons. The Trumaí got their bows in trade from the Kamayurá, but made the bowstrings themselves from the fiber of a tree known to them as the *patacy*. They made their own feathered arrows out of cane, at the end of which was inserted a thin wooden shaft. The points were fixed to the shaft with a tree resin (*awalitsu*) and were wrapped at the juncture with cotton thread. Monkey bone points were used for shooting fish and birds. One man who was making a bamboo point told Quain that it was used for hunting and warfare. Another was seen hammering an arrow point out of a piece of metal.

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[5] *Ibid.*, p. 141.

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411 The Trumaí made no war clubs at the time of Quain's investigation, although von den Steinen stated that the Trumaí and the Suyá were the only groups of the region to have clubs.[9] The only war club in the village was a long, fluted one of wood that the Waurá had captured from the Suyá and had subsequently given to one of the Trumaí men. It was only used ceremonially.

Firemaking

372 Fires were kindled by use of a simple, hand-twirled fire drill. Generation of a new fire was not often necessary as there was almost always an active fire in the village from which a flame could be taken. Gathering firewood was woman's work.

[313] [467]

Ornaments and Body Decoration

29 [30] Except for ornaments, men and women were completely nude. The women wore a cord belt that passed around the body just above the buttocks. Some of the women still had what Quain called a "fig leaf," probably a piece of leaf or bark, strung on a cord passing between the buttocks. It was known as the *idesnit*, the Trumaí term for the *uluri*, the common upper Xingú version of which they did not use.

302 Except for occasional body painting, the women indulged in little ornamentation. They were plucked of all body hair, but in contrast to the shorter tonsure of the males, they let their hair grow over their shoulders.

29 30 The men wore belts of cotton thread or bark fiber, but did not tie their penes. Occasionally flat shell beads were strung around the waist, but more often they were used in necklaces. Necklaces, which were worn in ceremonies, were made by stringing flat rectangular shells on cotton thread. The shells were strung only on the front half of the necklace. Quain noted one type that had two black panels on each end of the [439] necklace. Shell necklaces were an important commodity in intertribal trade, as has already been indicated. Cotton or bark fiber bands were tied around the ankles, just below the knees, and around the biceps.

301 237 287 Featherwork ornaments were worn ceremonially and included headdresses, ear pendants, and feather necklaces. Quain noted one pendant made from the whole breast of a bird. The breast had four colored bands: black, yellow, red, and again yellow, from top to bottom. Another feather pendant consisted of black, red, and yellow feathers arranged [314] in bands and attached to a short piece of wood. A black tree resin held the feathers firmly in place. The feathers were obtained from the tips of parrot wings.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 222.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Necklaces were made by tying feathers to a cotton cord with *buriti* fibers. Headdresses included one consisting of a ring of cotton threads with colored feathers attached. The front feathers were long and formed a sort of plume. Another headdress, a feather topknot tied to a cotton headnet, was captured in warfare with the Caiabí. A third was a crown woven of bamboo splints traded from the Waurá for arrow feathers. There were probably many other kinds, as intertribal trade in headdresses was lively.

Belts and anklets were also traded between tribes. A few Brazilian type shirts and hats had found their way into the Trumaí village. They had been obtained from travelers in the region, and especially from the missionaries, Thomas Young and his wife.

The men wore their hair cut straight around the head on a line even with the tops of the ears. A small patch on the crown was plucked, but Quain noted that the Trumaí were much less careful about keeping these parts free of new growth than were the neighboring groups. The scissors which Quain gave to one of the men replaced the old method of hair cutting with an instrument made of *piranha* teeth. A composite comb (*kuwau*) was also used. The back was made of two parallel pieces of cane joined by cotton thread and the teeth of splints from the small roots of a palm-like shrub.

The Trumaí used several vegetable paints to decorate their bodies. This method of adornment was always invoked for ceremonies, and often for wrestling, or when there were guests. The paint most commonly used was the red *urucú* (*matdot*) which was grown in the gardens. The *urucú* was made into a paste by mixing it with oil from the visceral fat of a fish. The paste could be rolled into a ball and applied directly, or spread with the fingers or a spatula made from the middle rib of the *buriti* leaf.

Other body paints were *tawariri*, a black tree gum mixed with soot, and a preparation made from *piquí* fruit and fish oil. There was also a dye, *atdot*, which was not described, and one or two other paints which Quain was unable to identify. *Jany*, a non-decorative paste made from the liver of a fish, was used to ward off insects.

Designs included dots, crescents, zig-zags, circles, curves, straight lines, and combinations of these. Quain observed several standard patterns, many of which were symbolic; others were possibly symbolic representations also, but he was unable to learn their meanings.

One man painted crescents on his chest above either nipple which he said represented vaginas. A rattlesnake design consisted of a half ellipse on the flanks with dots in the center. Quain was told that a design of red spots, with two near the nipples ringed in black, was a boa constrictor. Another snake pattern, made by painting zig-zags down the sides and back, was used on one of the posts erected during the *ole* ceremony.

/191 cont./

484 In perfect order, as though this were a carefully rehearsed theatri-
501 cal performance /192/ supported by very successful scenery, the
609 long, narrow craft glided silently along, a considerable distance from our praia /sandy shore; see the glossary, p. 172 /, closer to the opposite wooded shore; no command sounded. Almost all the naked occupants were painted black and bright red on faces and bodies, many simply blackened all over with soot; on their heads they wore white feather caps, the hair was cut short all around, as among the Bakaïrí; the standing ones were overtopped by the bows, almost two and a half meters long, and in the left hand held a thick bundle of colorfully feathered arrows.

609 Gradually they came to a stop and the stillness was followed
576 by a dreadful noise, a fanatical howling and bellowing. There
101 could be no doubt but that they were Trumaí, for they shouted this word incessantly as though their lives depended on it, beat their fists against their chests, and at the same time made bows with their upper bodies all the more violently since their legs had little room for lively gesticulation. Nevertheless, if any of us had behaved half as excitedly in the canoe, we would surely have fallen hopelessly into the water at the very beginning of the imitation. But we were on firm ground, and the example is contagious. We, too, howled; we, too, bellowed; we, too, beat our chests. Everybody shouted whatever he happened to remember of an Indian language: "Katú, hekatú Trumaí, Bakaïrí, Kustenaú," interspersed with an occasional lusty "diavo," heiliges Donnerwetter /hang it all/ in German, "don't these fellows have any sense?"

123 But far from it! No matter how invitingly we waved to them, how affably we clapped our hands, how graciously we pointed to our campsite, as though we were speaking to the Spaniard, "Sir, this house is your house," it did not help in the least. It was clear that this performance is official on the Schingú; we should be committing a breach of etiquette were we to speak of other things before we had thoroughly introduced ourselves to each other for half an hour.

BO /193 cont./
291 of the Paraguay that they wear, not the cuff, but the string:
17 "The men tie only the glans around their abdomen by means of
283 a fine bast thread, so that they keep themselves free of insects
and are not hindered in running."

B All methods, with slight variations, achieve the same re-
*17 sult, the covering of the glans, either by simply extending the
291 praeputium or by tying it up besides and even also enclosing it
in palm straw.

B As for the women, I have mentioned that they all remove
302 the pubic hair.

B The Suyá women, who adorned themselves with neck chains
30 and wore thick, rolled-up palm-leaf strips resembling tape meas-
291 ures in their pierced ear-lobes, went about completely naked.

T The Trumaí women wore a band of soft, grayish-white
29 bast; it was twisted into a rope so that there was concealment
287 only within the most modest limits and surely could not have been intentional, since merely a wider strip could have been used. They rolled a long, narrow, folded bast-strip up a little at one end, held this little roll with one hand pressed against the lower corner of the mons pubis, twisted the free strip around themselves several times with the other hand, and drew it up toward the back between the legs, came to the front again to the little roll, pressed it to them with the strip drawn across it, and turned back over the other hip to the small of the back, where they twisted in the free end and tied it securely.

BO The Bororó women likewise had the soft, gray bast band,
29 which they replaced by a black one during the menses, but they
287 fastened the band to a hip cord. Twisted in there in front, three
841 to four fingers wide, it ran, becoming narrower, over the fissure of the vulva and the perineum to the small of the back and was
BO again tied to the hip cord. In place of the hip cord, a wide,
287 tightly embracing piece of bark was also worn around the body.
See the illustration, "Bororó, Mother and Daughter" /see p.589 /.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

123 means that I simply must come back here soon, within the next five years — so I can take advantage of the long delay. I expect to know a lot of useful, but academically unimportant things about the Kuliseu before I get through. This is the place — if I ever heard of one — where a half-dozen ethnologists should be working. Friendly Indians as yet untouched; twenty or more villages within a radius of a month's travel — all of which are culturally different, one from the other. In fact nothing nicer can be imagined.[5]

114 Although several expeditions had penetrated the upper Xingú area before Quain's time, the greater part of the region was unexplored. Karl von den Steinen is perhaps the best known of the early investigators. Reports of his trips in 1884 and 1887 are given in *Durch Central-Brasilien: Erste Schingu Expedition*[6] and in *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*,[7] respectively. Together they provide us with the first ethnographic data on the tribes of the upper Xingú area. Von den Steinen was warned by the other tribes in the area not to visit the Trumaí, who were said to be dangerous warriors and antagonistic to all outsiders. But contact was made eventually, first with isolated individuals and later with two villages. Von den Steinen describes the small, thin people who received him and his colleagues with solicitous hospitality. [291] Some women still wore the traditional pubic covering, the *uluri*. The German ethnographer also noted the peculiar speech of the Trumaí, their excitability, their uneasy relationships and wars with neighboring tribes, and certain features of material culture.

Von den Steinen's expeditions were followed by numerous others, but only those of Hermann Meyer in 1896 and 1899,[8] Max Schmidt in 1901,[9] and Vincent Petrullo in 1931[10] had ethnological importance. Yet systematic knowledge of the upper Xingú tribes remained relatively scanty, limited to information mainly on material culture and word lists. In fact, until Quain's visit to the Trumaí, most of the ethnographic researches in the area were essentially in the nature of general surveys. Although Quain's data are incomplete, his was the first attempt to study with modern anthropological methods the life of an upper Xingú River tribe, and this at a time when the people of the area were still relatively undisturbed by outside influences.

197 Today, however, the long isolation of the upper Xingú River area is being broken. In 1945, an expedition of the Central Brazil Foundation, which aimed at opening a road through Brazil to the Amazon, penetrated the region, and constructed a landing strip. The Brazilian Indian Service now maintains a permanent post in the heart of this region, and several anthropologists (and numerous other scientists, journalists, and tourists) have traveled into the area by Brazilian Airforce planes.

[5] Quain letter, July 23, 1938.
[6] Von den Steinen 1897.
[7] Schmidt 1902—4.
[8] Von den Steinen 1886.
[8] Meyer 1896—7 and 1900.
[9] Petrullo 1932.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

171 zoomorphic benches; the bull roarer; use of the spear-thrower in inter-tribal games; whistling arrows; the mode of hair-cutting and body painting and ornamentation; the use of the *uluri*, or triangular bark pubic cover. The basic subsistence economies of the upper Xingú groups are almost identical, and there are strong similarities in social organization. In the latter sphere, the extended family, bilaterality with some patrilineal emphasis, patrilocality, and the men's cult appear general. The various tribes share many of the same ceremonies and co-participate in some. Insofar as is known, shamanism is much the same among all groups, and there is great similarity in religious beliefs and in mythology.

Trumaí History

174 Although the linguistic affiliations of the other upper Xingú peoples
167 indicate their origins to be in the north, all available evidence points to a migration of the Trumaí from the southeast. Apparently this move did not occur very long ago, for the Trumaí themselves still tell of it. According to Trumaí tradition they came into their present habitat from a land far to the southeast. There, they say, there is still a Trumaí village. Informants varied as to whether or not the forebears of the Xingú [291] Trumaí knew how to grow manioc. They were said to have had long hair like the Gê-speaking Suyá, to hunt tapir, and to tie up their penes. Matiwana, the old man of the Trumaí, claimed to remember when the [177] Trumaí still treated their genitalia in this way. He also claimed that, when the Trumaí moved into the area and saw the Kamayurá and other tribes, they adopted the customs of hair-cutting and penis freedom. [291] The tale, coupled with the fact that the Trumaí women did not use the true *uluri* pubic cover when von den Steinen first visited them,[1] suggests a fairly recent entry of the Trumaí into the upper Xingú area—perhaps no earlier than the nineteenth century — and due possibly to the pressures of white colonization.

174 Other evidence also argues for the recency of the present Trumaí
177 habitat. The diffusion of culture traits in the upper Xingú is extensive, and in most cases it is difficult to determine the direction of borrowing. The Trumaí lexicon, however, shows heavy influence from their neighbors, especially the nearby Kamayurá. This influence manifests itself chiefly in names of plants and objects of material culture and in cere- [533] monial songs. The songs of two major Trumaí ceremonies, both of which are practiced also by the Kamayurá, show a preponderance of Kamayurá words and phrases. Carib and Arawakan words are frequent in [92] other songs. Also, the word for bull roarer in both Kamayurá and Trumaí is *uriuri*. The Trumaí words for such typically tropical forest domestica-

[1] Von den Steinen, 1897, p. 133.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

The situation was comparable to the previously mentioned communal planting of the garden of the Kamayurá, Uluku.

Canoes

The standard bark canoe of the upper Xingú was made and used by the Trumaí.[4] Construction was simple and much less time was required to complete it than the typical dugout canoe of the tropical forest. A long, rectangular piece of bark was cut from the *jatobá* tree by men standing on platforms. The bark was then heated over a fire to soften it. The sides were bent up, and the top end of the bark, which narrowed slightly, was made into the bow by bending it upwards. The center of the stern was bent inwards, allowing the whole stern to be well above the water. Leaks were mended with patches of river mud or clay. Propulsion was by paddle, although occasionally poles were used.

There was also one small dugout in the village which belonged to Aloari, Quain's cook and helper. Aloari had been a Yuruna captive, and it was undoubtedly during this experience that he had learned to make this type craft. He also had a bark canoe and was the only Trumaí to own two canoes.

Basketry

The Trumaí men manufactured baskets that were variously shaped and served several purposes. In general, the Trumaí were less skilled in this art than their upper Xingú neighbors. Among the baskets described by Quain was a deep, round tray made of *buriti* fiber and another which was used to store manioc flour and, when equipped with shoulder and forehead tumplines, to carry loads. The latter was an openwork container made of bark strips. A smaller basket of this type was made of *buriti* fibers. The manioc sieve, or *tuaſi*, was made of stiff *buriti* fronds and was also used to store small articles. It was made by the women. The women also made a bark cloth bag known as the *tdcenit*, a term that, in addition, designated the female pubic covering.

All of the baskets and similar containers described by Quain were made by other groups of the area, but the art of manufacturing certain varieties was known to only a few Trumaí. Some baskets were obtained in trade.

Textiles

All work in cotton was the exclusive province of the women. Hammocks of both twined and woven types were made. The loom consisted of two upright posts between which a warp of *buriti* fiber was extended.

[4] Cf. von den Steinen 1897, pp. 322-23.
[i.e. building Quain's house -- Analyst]

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

The Trumaí made no war clubs at the time of Quain's investigation, although von den Steinen stated that the Trumaí and the Suyá were the only groups of the region to have clubs.[6] The only war club in the village was a long, fluted one of wood that the Waurá had captured from the Suyá and had subsequently given to one of the Trumaí men. It was only used ceremonially.

Firemaking

Fires were kindled by use of a simple, hand-twirled fire drill. Generation of a new fire was not often necessary as there was almost always an active fire in the village from which a flame could be taken. Gathering firewood was woman's work.

Ornaments and Body Decoration

Except for ornaments, men and women were completely nude. The women wore a cord belt that passed around the body just above the buttocks. Some of the women still had what Quain called a "fig leaf," probably a piece of leaf or bark, strung on a cord passing between the buttocks. It was known as the *tdesnit*, the Trumaí term for the *uluri*, the common upper Xingú version of which they did not use.

Except for occasional body painting, the women indulged in little ornamentation. They were plucked of all body hair, but in contrast to the shorter tonsure of the males, they let their hair grow over their shoulders.

The men wore belts of cotton thread or bark fiber, but did not tie their penes. Occasionally flat shell beads were strung around the waist, but more often they were used in necklaces. Necklaces, which were worn in ceremonies, were made by stringing flat rectangular shells on cotton thread. The shells were strung only on the front half of the necklace. Quain noted one type that had two black panels on each end of the necklace. Shell necklaces were an important commodity in intertribal trade, as has already been indicated. Cotton or bark fiber bands were tied around the ankles, just below the knees, and around the biceps.

Featherwork ornaments were worn ceremonially and included headdresses, ear pendants, and feather necklaces. Quain noted one pendant made from the whole breast of a bird. The breast had four colored bands: black, yellow, red, and again yellow, from top to bottom. Another feather pendant consisted of black, red, and yellow feathers arranged in bands and attached to a short piece of wood. A black tree resin held the feathers firmly in place. The feathers were obtained from the tips of parrot wings.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 222.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Necklaces were made by tying feathers to a cotton cord with *buriti* fibers. Headdresses included one consisting of a ring of cotton threads with colored feathers attached. The front feathers were long and formed a sort of plume. Another headdress, a feather topknot tied to a cotton headnet, was captured in warfare with the Caiabí. A third was a crown woven of bamboo splints traded from the Waurá for arrow feathers. There were probably many other kinds, as intertribal trade in headdresses was lively.

Belts and anklets were also traded between tribes. A few Brazilian type shirts and hats had found their way into the Trumaí village. They had been obtained from travelers in the region, and especially from the missionaries, Thomas Young and his wife.

The men wore their hair cut straight around the head on a line even with the tops of the ears. A small patch on the crown was plucked, but Quain noted that the Trumaí were much less careful about keeping these parts free of new growth than were the neighboring groups. The scissors which Quain gave to one of the men replaced the old method of hair cutting with an instrument made of *piranha* teeth. A composite comb (*kwoau*) was also used. The back was made of two parallel pieces of cane joined by cotton thread and the teeth of splints from the small roots of a palm-like shrub.

The Trumaí used several vegetable paints to decorate their bodies. This method of adornment was always invoked for ceremonies, and often for wrestling, or when there were guests. The paint most commonly used was the red *urucú* (*matdot*) which was grown in the gardens. The *urucú* was made into a paste by mixing it with oil from the visceral fat of a fish. The paste could be rolled into a ball and applied directly, or spread with the fingers or a spatula made from the middle rib of the *buriti* leaf.

Other body paints were *tawariri*, a black tree gum mixed with soot, and a preparation made from *piquí* fruit and fish oil. There was also a dye, *atdot*, which was not described, and one or two other paints which Quain was unable to identify. *Jany*, a non-decorative paste made from the liver of a fish, was used to ward off insects.

Designs included dots, crescents, zig-zags, circles, curves, straight lines, and combinations of these. Quain observed several standard patterns, many of which were symbolic; others were possibly symbolic representations also, but he was unable to learn their meanings.

One man painted crescents on his chest above either nipple which he said represented vaginas. A rattlesnake design consisted of a half ellipse on the flanks with dots in the center. Quain was told that a design of red spots, with two near the nipples ringed in black, was a boa constrictor. Another snake pattern, made by painting zig-zags down the sides and back, was used on one of the posts erected during the *ole* ceremony.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

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Aloari

Yanahi

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Kokumu, Suyá Woman

/191 cont./

484 In perfect order, as though this were a carefully rehearsed theatri-
501 cal performance /192/ supported by very successful scenery, the
609 long, narrow craft glided silently along, a considerable distance from our praia /sandy shore; see the glossary, p. 172 /, closer to
[291] the opposite wooded shore; no command sounded. Almost all
302 the naked occupants were painted black and bright red on faces
[289] and bodies, many simply blackened all over with soot; on their heads they wore white feather caps, the hair was cut short all
[411] around, as among the Bakaïrí; the standing ones were overtopped by the bows, almost two and a half meters long, and in the left hand held a thick bundle of colorfully feathered arrows.

609 Gradually they came to a stop and the stillness was followed
576 by a dreadful noise, a fanatical howling and bellowing. There
[101] could be no doubt but that they were Trumaí, for they shouted this word incessantly as though their lives depended on it, beat their fists against their chests, and at the same time made bows with their upper bodies all the more violently since their legs had little room for lively gesticulation. Nevertheless, if any of us had behaved half as excitedly in the canoe, we would surely have fallen hopelessly into the water at the very beginning of the imitation. But we were on firm ground, and the example is contagious. We, too, howled; we, too, bellowed; we, too, beat our chests. Everybody shouted whatever he happened to remember of an Indian language: "Katú, hekatú Trumaí, Bakaïrí, Kustenaú," interspersed with an occasional lusty "diavo," heiliges Donnerwetter /hang it all/ in German, "don't these fellows have any sense?"

[123] But far from it! No matter how invitingly we waved to them, how affably we clapped our hands, how graciously we pointed to our campsite, as though we were speaking to the Spaniard, "Sir, this house is your house," it did not help in the least. It was clear that this performance is official on the Schingú; we should be committing a breach of etiquette were we to speak of other things before we had thoroughly introduced ourselves to each other for half an hour.

1: Steinen--78), E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi
Trumai SP23

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Trumaí

/195 cont./

301 a head-net, above which they pointed upwards, sticking out on
237 all sides, and into which they could be bent back to protect them
415 after use. There was also a dainty little pot with a notched edge,
283 and red cotton strings which several Trumaí wore around the waist
276 or around the lower leg. There was some tobacco wrapped in
415 green leaves; on the beach there were also a few gourd vessels
272 containing insipid, pasty mingau[1] which was just as poor as the mandioca bread.

142 There was no indication that the Trumaí are on a higher level than the Bakaïrí; as far as their body structure is concerned, I did not notice anything peculiar during the brief encounter; in size they did not differ from the Bakaïrí and Kustenaú. The fact that they appeared so ugly in the face may have been due to the
● 291 disfigurement. They protect themselves against penetrating in-
825 sects in the strangest and most primitive manner -- präputium filo gossypii rubro ante glandem farciminis instar constringunt /the foreskin is bound with red cotton thread in front of the glans in such a manner as to look like farcy/. This arrangement may also be useful in the water against the prying candiru fish.

123 What now? A closer study of the Trumaí is, of course, inconceivable. War has been declared; we have no choice but to disappear from the scene of action as quickly as possible. We are forced to forego all further soundings and measurements and bid the Kulisëu farewell. We can still draw one advantage from the awkward situation, however. Since we have departed this far from the path of virtue, we need not have any scruples about transgressing still more. After all, we did not get back our fine ax (two canoes capsized and sank when the Trumaí fled to land). Why should we hesitate to exchange the most warped and defective canoes for those abandoned there, which are well built and excellently dried out?

501 /196/ Several men are sent out and return with three canoes
171 and a few oars, which do not differ from those of the Bakaïrí; one of them is for Valentin and me, a second will be pulled
000 along as a reserve, the third goes to the sergeant. Meanwhile Castro's craft has also been brought home.

[1] [i.e. a drink mixed with manioc flour--Analyst]

/122 cont./

123 half an hour renewed howling and women's screams announced
152 the arrival of Wilhelm and Carlos, who were led up and likewise gave expression to their friendly intentions with words and gestures.

142 /123/ There were mostly small, frail figures with small heads, receding chins, and ugly faces; among the old women there were truly magnificent specimens of witch-models. The
291 women in part wore the triangular uluri, in part a wardrobe garment new to us, a grayish-white bast loop that was drawn over
194 the hips and thickened into a small roll. The language in its cadence reminded us not a little of that of the Suyá, with which it had in common the nagging, squeezed habitus and could be immediately distinguished from all the Kulisehu languages by the frequent terminal sound of ts and by the f.

727 It was strange that the Trumaí had let themselves be taken by surprise in this way. Probably they had fled from the Suyá who had plundered their villages and from us at the same time. Their scouts, who were roving about among the Auetó, Yaulapiti, and Kamayurá, probably believed that we would not return directly to the Auetó from the Kamayurá, but would go to Schingú-Koblenz in order to join Perrot and Vogel, whose trip was already known to them, and reach the Auetó harbor on the river. The camp of the fugitives presented a spectacle of
[162] disorder and confusion. There were about 50 persons in all;
[352] numerous small fires were burning beside the brown hammocks, bundles of all kinds lay about and hung from the trees; the shelter-huts of the Auetó plantation remained unused. The
[501] Indians had come in part by way of the canals: a small flotilla of canoes had drawn up in the swampy water nearby, many of them in bad shape and where necessary pasted up merely with lumps of loam.

437 The beijús, the filled gourd bowls, and the cigars were necessarily lacking at this reception. They brought small balls of cotton and asked for beads. Unfortunately, we had given away almost everything to the Kamayurá and could therefore not offer much. With the remains, however, a few

B /191 cont./
+171 industrious women did not have a hip cord. Smaller boys were
291 usually already provided with the cord, but then always had a couple of dainty trifles strung on it.

/192/ The purpose of the hip cord is to extend the praeputium. The penis is placed upward against the body and pushed under the hip cord in such a way that the uppermost section of the praeputium remains pinched off. The young man is made to do this when the first erections set in. He tries to adhere to the procedure for days and removes the annoying pubic hair.

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[283] The Trumaí had a bizarre method which is also reported from other Brazilian tribes. They tied up the praeputium in front of the glans with a cotton string usually dyed red with urucú. The front end of the penis looked like the end of a sausage. Thus they achieved permanently what the others with their hip cord managed only temporarily. Unfortunately, we were unable to observe them in their village life under normal conditions. When we

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[291]
Fig. 17. Penis cuff of the Bororó.

found them in the vicinity of the Auetö, on their flight from the Suyá, we did not notice the strange string on all of the men, although those not provided with it showed the tying-off marks on the praeputium caused by its use. It would not be inconceivable that the men were somewhat embarrassed in front of the Auetö; at any rate, the rest of the tribes, when we spoke to them about the Trumaí, always manifested very special amusement over the wool /Woll/ cord which they mocked and found as funny as we did. We met the company, however, when they were entirely

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/192 cont./

T 291 among themselves, and the chief reason, I presume, in view of the calamity, was the only too explicable neglect of their outward appearance. We also noticed that it was older persons in particular who lacked the string, just as the older ones are the most careless concerning the tonsure. Among older men who wore the string, it rested directly on the scrotum, and the contours of the penis had completely disappeared, so that one saw only a little tied-up bag. And it was scarcely different when they wore no string.

BO 291 191 This consequence of continual mistreatment was no less evident in the case of the cuff or straw collar, which none of the Kulisehu tribes wore, but which I should like to mention here. We saw this device, which is not unknown elsewhere in Brazil, among the Yuruna, the inhabitants of the middle and lower course, who were unacquainted with the upper tribes, and in a larger size among the Bororó of the southern Mato Grosso. A long strip of rather brittle yellow palm-straw is rolled and folded, as the illustration /Fig. 17; see p. 184/ shows, so that a funnel-shaped cuff, tapering to a point at the bottom, is formed; the BO [531] left, projecting end of the strip in the illustration may be ignored, since it was only on festive occasions that the cuff bore such a flag painted with red designs. Its effect is exactly like that of the string: the praeputium is drawn through it in such a way that the /193/ lower, narrow end of the funnel tightly ties off just a tip; see the frontispiece /see p. i/ and Plate 27 /see p. 588/. Here, too, the rest of the penis usually disappears in the scrotum, but the advantage of the rigid cuff over the string is that it does not cut in so sharply. The cuff is an improvement and an embellishment in comparison with the string. I presume that the hip cord was worn first and some of them used pieces of it for the binding, while others were content to clamp the skin. The former went on to the milder and more coquettish cuff, but retained the old and in any case still useful or ornamental hip cord, just as the Bororó wear it besides the cuff, while the cuff-wearing Yuruna have developed it into a wide beaded belt. Actually, Waehneldt reports (1863) of the Bororó living in the source region

BO /193 cont./
29 of the Paraguay that they wear, not the cuff, but the string:
17 "The men tie only the glans around their abdomen by means of
283 a fine bast thread, so that they keep themselves free of insects and are not hindered in running."

B All methods, with slight variations, achieve the same re-
* 17 sult, the covering of the glans, either by simply extending the
291 praeputium or by tying it up besides and even also enclosing it in palm straw.

B As for the women, I have mentioned that they all remove
302 the pubic hair.

B The Suyá women, who adorned themselves with neck chains
301 and wore thick, rolled-up palm-leaf strips resembling tape meas-
291 ures in their pierced ear-lobes, went about completely naked.

T The Trumaí women wore a band of soft, grayish-white
● 29 bast; it was twisted into a rope so that there was concealment
287 only within the most modest limits and surely could not have been intentional, since merely a wider strip could have been used. They rolled a long, narrow, folded bast-strip up a little at one end, held this little roll with one hand pressed against the lower corner of the mons pubis, twisted the free strip around themselves several times with the other hand, and drew it up toward the back between the legs, came to the front again to the little roll, pressed it to them with the strip drawn across it, and turned back over the other hip to the small of the back, where they twisted in the free end and tied it securely.

BO The Bororó women likewise had the soft, gray bast band,
29 which they replaced by a black one during the menses, but they
287 fastened the band to a hip cord. Twisted in there in front, three
841 to four fingers wide, it ran, becoming narrower, over the fissure of the vulva and the perineum to the small of the back and was
BO again tied to the hip cord. In place of the hip cord, a wide,
287 tightly embracing piece of bark was also worn around the body. See the illustration, "Bororó, Mother and Daughter" /see p.589 /.

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naked Suyá women washed their sexual parts at the river in our presence.

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If the glans constantly threatens to become exposed through erections and sexual intercourse, could the wish arise on the part of maturing men to keep it covered for protection? There is much to be said in favor of this. To be sure this need for protection might least of all be related to underbrush and thorns.

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More seriously to be considered are the assaults of the animal kingdom. If the Trumaí, as was maintained of them, were animals who lived in the water and slept on the bottom of the river, they would be urgently required to close off the urethral opening against the little candiru fish (Cetopsis candiru). This transparent, span-long little monster, whose occurrence we noted in the Batovy in 1884, has the peculiar habit of penetrating the body openings accessible to it when human beings are in the water; it slips into the urethra, cannot get back because of its fins, and may easily cause the death of the unfortunate one who has no other recourse but, willy-nilly, to perform the urethrotomia externa with his knife.*

> *The Brazilians' fear of this fish, so harmless in and of itself, is thus probably justified; it is best characterized by a Munchausenism which an officer, with a perfectly straight face, reported to us as true: in the waters beside Villa Cáceres the candiru is so vicious and so consumed with its passion that even when a person relieves himself on the shore it quickly goes up in the jet of water.

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Since, however, the amphibian nature of the Trumaí will justifiably encounter skepticism, and the stay in the water, even for the fisherman or the rower hauling his canoe through the cataracts, plays only an insignificant role, it is /196/ not necessary to grasp at the only occasional danger from the candiru. On

B /196 cont./ their domestic tasks
*171 have made them less accustomed to squatting than the men,
136 and they are therefore less protected. In the illustration on the
516 next page /see p. 192/ a group of Bakaïrí from the second village
751 shows very well the characteristic positions of both sexes in sitting or squatting.

B In the case of the women, too, if protection of the mucous
*171 membrane was to be effected by their devices, this purpose would
291 probably be achieved and certainly be achieved better than, say,
136 the purpose of concealment. Furthermore, it should be realized
751 that, assuming the purpose to be protection of the mucous membrane, a need for this was at least increased through sexual life, since in the case of the young /197/ woman the mucosa became more accessible, in the pregnant state more turgescent, and as a result of childbirth more slack.

Thus it would indeed be improper, on the basis of local conditions, to doubt that the methods described could offer the adults of both sexes protection against external assaults and that there was no lack of occasions when they were bound to be useful in this sense. It would also be natural for young people to be duly furnished with them as early as the onset of puberty when they began to work with the older ones. The explanation, however,

B cannot possibly be exhaustive. For the importance and indis-
*171 pensableness of the devices are out of proportion to the idea /Fig.
291 19 appears here/ of protective apparatus. Why should they not
83 have been removed more often, especially at night in the ham-
[751] mock? Why should the young men have been so intent on training the praeputium. Why should particular fuss have been made one day about wearing the uluris or the cuffs? The connections with sexual life must be direct and not merely indirect.

B In the case of the female sex one encounters no difficulty.
*171 Suddenly bleeding appears; there is illness here. That the Indian
291 thought this originally is clearly proved by the utterly superfluous
84 medical treatment of the menstruating girl customary among
T most tribes, /198/ with isolation, fumigation, diet, incisions,
171 and other remedies against the unknown foes. One neatly re-
● 291 moved the pubic hair and donned a bandage, the bast loop, or a
84 cushion, the uluri. The bast loop among the Trumaí women --

B /198 cont./
*171 a combination of bandage and cushion -- is twisted like a rope, in
291 the case of the uluri wearers the narrow bark strip makes possible
841 the stretching over the perineum; in both bases there is provided a
T
171 support pressing against the pubic symphysis, in the former case by
291 means of the little roll, in the latter case by means of the springy
841 triangle. One realizes that it was not cleanliness which prompted the procedure, but the medical attempt to counteract the loss of blood. These are truly not inventions of modesty, such as aprons or similar loose hangings.

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Fig. 19. Squatting Bakaïrí.

000 similar loose hangings.

B In the case of the men, the explanation is not so obvious. Here,
*171 too, an attempt has been made to preserve the connection with a
291 causative, primary sense of modesty. The view has been expressed
834 that shame was felt only when the glans of the penis was exposed to the gaze of others and therefore it alone was covered. Unfortunately, I did not observe anything that might settle the question directly. I saw that the people were not ashamed when they gave us their devices

A /267 cont./

531 825 No. 3 are armored fish, akará. They have the same shape as the nuki fish of the Bakaïrí, No. 8 on Plate 20 /see p. 280/, so they are perhaps also a species of cascudos. Now, the armored sheatfish do not have a rhomboid form like the mereschu, but are elongated. Since we also see the pakũ, likewise not rhomboidal, as a rhombus, and since even Nos. 14 and 15 of Plate 21 /see p. 281/, the non-schematically drawn fish, look slightly more rhomboid than corresponds with reality, we realize that the fish body in any stylization is meant to be a rhombus, whether or not this is appropriate for the species in question, as it actually is only for the mereschu, applied everywhere with quite overwhelming preference. For more detailed characterization there are worked in, in the case of the pakũ, the dots, and, in the case of the armored sheatfish, the sharply contrasted, hard scales, which are polygonal, but which in the larger specimens appear as slightly overlapping triangles (cf. Brehm, Fische /Fish/, p. 144, illustration).

A 531 [291] In No. 2 we see the uluri triangles, which among the Auetõ, too, are named with the word corresponding to the women's triangle (umpám). It is a great pity that we could not have met the T [291] [171] [531] Trumaí under peaceful circumstances, for they are the only ones whose women wear a bast band; to be sure, they have borrowed so much from their neighbors that they may also have the women's triangle in their ornamentation. In the flute house of the A [345] Auetõ there was a rather long frieze under the vault of the roof, where a whole series of umpams or uluris had been painted in black on narrow strips of light wood.

A 531 825 Now for No. 1. Two rows of triangles, one above the other, exactly like the uluris, but above the triangles there runs a zigzag line bordering the upper sides, which never occurs in the case of the uluris. These are suddenly bats, tatsiá of the Auetõ, and, to be sure, tatsiá pevũ, "level," "flat bats." In like manner, bats in vertical position are the same triangles which horizontally in No. 2 we must acknowledge as uluris; they even lack the accompanying zigzag line of No. 1, but they are designated as hanging bats. The semímo, the bats of the Bakaïrí, on the third back-stick

1: Steinen--162 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Trumai SP23
Suya SP21
Yuruna SP26

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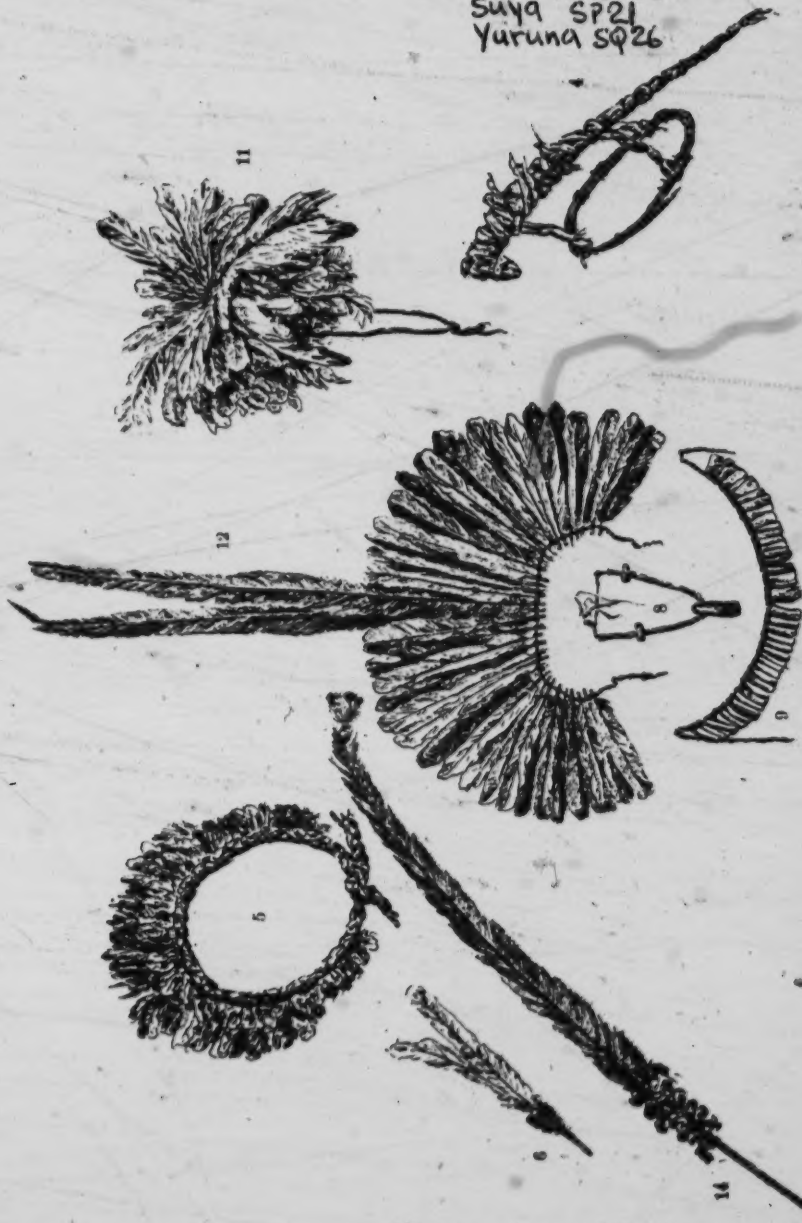

/See caption on following page./

1: Steinen--163 D E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi
Trumai SP23
Suya SP21
Yuruna SP26

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/From Ethnological Pl. I: 4, Bakaïrí headdress from the festival hut; 5, Bakaïrí straw wreath with feathers; 6, Bakaïrí ear feathers; 8-9, Bakaïrí necklaces (8, stone disks; 9, pieces of shell and also popular among the Suyá); 11, Trumaí feather-cap; 12, Suyá feather-diadem; 14, Yuruna ear-feather./

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

The woof was made of cotton threads. The men's hammocks were usually woven, while those made by the women for themselves were generally an inferior twined product. Other manufactures of cotton were arm and leg bands.

Ceramics

The knowledge of ceramic manufacture cannot be properly considered a part of Trumaí culture, despite their daily use of pottery in cooking, manioc processing, eating and storage. All pottery utensils were obtained in trade with the Arawakan Waurá, usually in return for salt. The only clay article of Trumaí manufacture was the *ja'meo*, a crude clay griddle on which the *beijú* was baked. The Trumaí did not rely completely on pottery for watertight containers, as gourds, grown in their own gardens, were extensively used.

Wood Manufactures

All woodwork was done by the men with, at the time of Quain's visit, steel tools. The most distinctive article was the zoomorphically carved wooden stool, found among all upper Xingú peoples. Quain's notes contain a sketch of one such stool which is very similar to the one depicted by von den Steinen.[8] Other wood products were canoe paddles, *beijú* paddles, manioc graters, and mortars and pestles, used by the women to pulverize the hard, dry balls of manioc flour.

Weapons

Bows and arrows were used almost to the exclusion of other weapons. The Trumaí got their bows in trade from the Kamayurá, but made the bowstrings themselves from the fiber of a tree known to them as the *patacy*. They made their own feathered arrows out of cane, at the end of which was inserted a thin wooden shaft. The points were fixed to the shaft with a tree resin (*awalitsu*) and were wrapped at the juncture with cotton thread. Monkey bone points were used for shooting fish and birds. One man who was making a bamboo point told Quain that it was used for hunting and warfare. Another was seen hammering an arrow point out of a piece of metal.

Spears were not used often, although the Trumaí made them. Quain saw a spear point being made of the shin bone of a tapir. The spear-thrower (*xopep*) was used only in the annual spear-throwing contest. It was made from the wood of a palm. Quain sketched one that had a flat handle with a finger hole and a shaft with a hook on the end, and another that lacked the hook, but had a thong on the end.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 141.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

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[9] *Ibid.*, p. 222.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

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The Trumaí used several vegetable paints to decorate their bodies. This method of adornment was always invoked for ceremonies, and often for wrestling, or when there were guests. The paint most commonly used was the red *urucú* (*matdot*) which was grown in the gardens. The *urucú* was made into a paste by mixing it with oil from the visceral fat of a fish. The paste could be rolled into a ball and applied directly, or spread with the fingers or a spatula made from the middle rib of the *buriti* leaf.

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1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

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Aloari

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[943]

Yanahi

Kokumu, Suyá Woman

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

PLATE IV

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Yawala

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Mother and Child in Hammock

/194 cont./

609 123 [437] [262] It was only then that we recovered our senses and were able to understand the reason for the incident. Apparently the Trumaí had been animated by the urgent desire to barter as soon as possible and with as little ceremony as possible for some of our treasures in exchange for their miserable beijús, which looked gray as though made with buckwheat flour, were coarse-grained, and tasted slightly sour. With this in mind they had been active everywhere. Of Wilhelm's companions, one had been busy with the hunting knife and the other with the gun at the same time, and the latter, while my cousin was trying in the friendliest way to keep them off, had unfortunately pressed the cock. In any case the culprit was the most surprised by the effect; otherwise he would not have been kicking so frightenedly on the ground.

In spite of the miraculous speed with which they dashed to the boats, however, the Trumaí had not lost all presence of mind. The two who had just been trying on Castro's and Antonio's hats did not forget in their hasty running to put them on well down over their heads. Another old hand had still found time on his flight to snatch up quickly one of the large fish lying on the beach.

Antonio's behavior when he was so unexpectedly deprived of his precious hat was characteristic. Without further ado he shot his pistol at the thief, but in his rage fortunately missed. And when we /Illustration appears here/ /195/ asked him whether he really wanted to kill the man, he nodded with the greatest composure, "Yes, he had my hat."

126 411 The returning men brought back a rich ethnological collection, at least in terms of the number of objects. The bows were very fine and strong; one was shot to pieces, proof that the shots had not been fired entirely happazardly. The arrows provided with pointed pieces of bamboo were plentiful; these bamboo blades, which, as could be easily seen, had been freshly sharpened, are only loosely inserted in the shaft with a little resin; after the arrow has reached its mark, they break off and remain embedded in the body. There was a single club, crudely worked, flat, 86 ● 301 centimeters long. One feather ornament was particularly pretty; 237 the green, orange-colored, and white feathers were mounted on

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 79]

1: Steinen--78), E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi
Trumai SP23

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Trumaí

/195 cont./

301 a head-net, above which they pointed upwards, sticking out on
237 all sides, and into which they could be bent back to protect them
415 after use. There was also a dainty little pot with a notched edge,
283 and red cotton strings which several Trumaí wore around the waist
276 or around the lower leg. There was some tobacco wrapped in
415 green leaves; on the beach there were also a few gourd vessels
272 containing insipid, pasty mingau[1] which was just as poor as the mandioca bread.

142 There was no indication that the Trumaí are on a higher level than the Bakaïrí; as far as their body structure is concerned, I did not notice anything peculiar during the brief encounter; in size they did not differ from the Bakaïrí and Kustenaú. The fact that they appeared so ugly in the face may have been due to the
291 disfigurement. They protect themselves against penetrating in-
825 sects in the strangest and most primitive manner -- präputium filo gossypii rubro ante glandem farciminis instar constringunt /the foreskin is bound with red cotton thread in front of the glans in such a manner as to look like farcy/. This arrangement may also be useful in the water against the prying candiru fish.

123 What now? A closer study of the Trumaí is, of course, inconceivable. War has been declared; we have no choice but to disappear from the scene of action as quickly as possible. We are forced to forego all further soundings and measurements and bid the Kulisëu farewell. We can still draw one advantage from the awkward situation, however. Since we have departed this far from the path of virtue, we need not have any scruples about transgressing still more. After all, we did not get back our fine ax (two canoes capsized and sank when the Trumaí fled to land). Why should we hesitate to exchange the most warped and defective canoes for those abandoned there, which are well built and excellently dried out?

501 /196/ Several men are sent out and return with three canoes
171 and a few oars, which do not differ from those of the Bakaïrí; one of them is for Valentin and me, a second will be pulled
000 along as a reserve, the third goes to the sergeant. Meanwhile Castro's craft has also been brought home.

[1] [i.e. a drink mixed with manioc flour--Analyst]

1: Steinen--162 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Trumai SP23
Suyá SP21
Yuruna SP26

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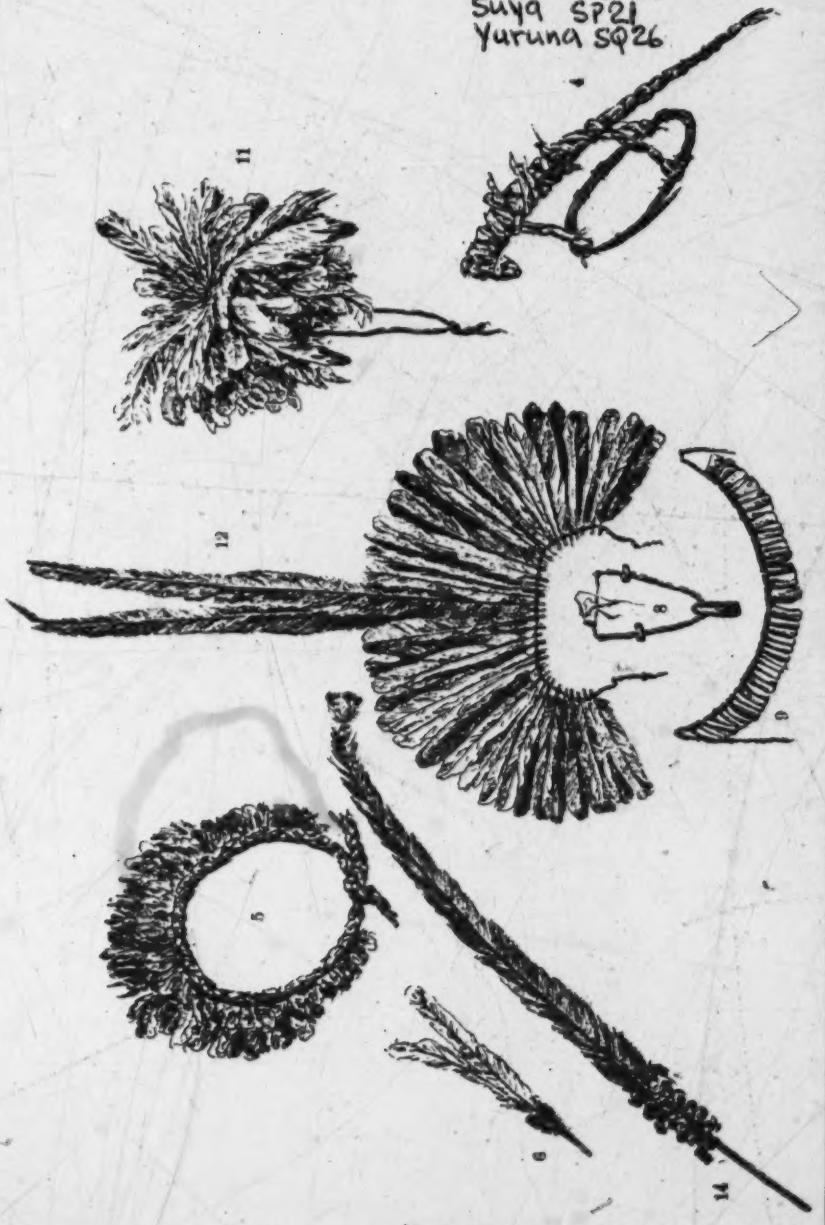

/See caption on following page./

1: Steinen--163 D E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Trumai SP23
Suya SP21
Yuruna SQ26

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/From Ethnological Pl. I: 4, Bakaïrí headdress from the festival hut; 5, Bakaïrí straw wreath with feathers; 6, Bakaïrí ear feathers; 8-9, Bakaïrí necklaces (8, stone disks; 9, pieces of shell and also popular among the Suyá); 11, Trumaí feather-cap; 12, Suyá feather-diadem; 14, Yuruna ear-feather./

B /183 cont./
*171 We found pieces of stalks, pieces of bark, seed kernels,
301 and berries of the most diverse kinds: nut beads from the large
824 and the small tucum palm, fruits of a climbing plant, of a campo tree takipé, of a plant called (Bakaïrí) udayáki, red and black seeds of Papilionaceae, of mamona-Ricinus, tonka beans (Dipteryx odorata), among the Auetö gourd seeds and almeisca kernels, and even a small, bottle-shaped gourd seven centimeters long.

B Among the Yaulapiti, Trumaí, and, coming from them,
*171 among their neighbors, stone chains were frequent: pierced
301 disks and cylinders which the Nahuquá imitated in the amber-
T like jatobá resin and in clay. It was the diorite of the stone
171 ●301 axes and throwing-stick arrows /Wurfholz-Pfeile/; it was
B pierced with the stone chip fastened to the twirling stick and
[321] the addition of sand. Small, pear-shaped stones, such as go with the darts /Wurfpfeilen/, are popularly hung on children's chains by the Mehinakú and Auetö.

Thus there were distinct differences in the material, which were probably, as is certainly the case with the stones, locally conditioned. All chains made of white shell pieces went back to the Bakaïrí, all those of red to the Nahuquá, all those made of stones to the Trumaí or Yaulapiti.

B /184/ Animal material was found everywhere. There
*171 were horn beads and bone beads, the latter also in the form of
301 little rods; they were sometimes strung on individually, some-
237 times joined for whole chains, especially monkey teeth and
T jaguar teeth. Cf. the illustration of the Auetö chief, page 90.
171 Among the Nahuquá we procured a chain with jaguar teeth
301 and small, colored feathers. The Trumaí prized capybara
237 teeth. Among the Mehinakú in particular there was an abundance of children's ornaments, which were hung in bunches on infants; besides the others, monkey teeth in particular, teeth of the jaguatirica (Felis mitis), fish vertebrae, bones of the bagadú fish, once a huge, black beetle-horn. Also claws or hoofs of the tapir (Kamayurá), jaguar, and deer.

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[317]

/204 cont./

embedded individual crystals of olivine and quite a number of quartz granules. The blades, 11-21 centimeters long, are usually evenly cylindrical, but some are round in the center like a roller, taper toward the rear, and have a broad front end with a bow-shaped cutting edge. Without any lashing, they fit into a wooden handle 0.5 meters long on the average, which consists of a cylindrical upper piece bored crosswise and a thinner handle set off from this like a reed stalk from its spike. The stone points inserted in the darts and the ornamental stones of the neck chains are made of the same diabase. The Trumaí ground the blades to a point on their stones and bored the ornamental stones; besides them, only the neighboring Yaulapiti did this. The other tribes simply sharpened on the river sandstone the axes that became dull. Shells and stones were bored with a twirl-borer. A triangular, hard splinter of stone was clamped to a small staff, and, to be sure, at both ends so that one could alternate them, and was secured by cord lashing. The little staff was almost half a meter long and was twirled between the hands. If stone was to be bored, sand was added. This is all the Indians achieved in the working of stone; they had

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Fig. 21.
Twirl-borer.*
(1/2 nat. size/ as shown in the original illustration/.)

*The twirl-staff is represented discontinuously.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

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SP23 Trumai SP23

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1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

531 Black zig-zags on a grayish background were painted on the body of one
302 of the singers. Many designs were undoubtedly conventionalized, but seemingly not according to rigid standards.

All of these designs were observed on men. The women painted themselves much less often, and their patterns were far simpler. Blackened foreheads and black streaks on the thighs were most common. The latter looked as if the women had merely wiped their hands on their thighs after having painted their husbands.

Children also had their bodies painted. Some of the boys blackened their faces or had black dots put on their chests. One little girl had black angles painted on her cheek by her mother. Children's and women's body designs were simple and required little paint. The men reserved most of the paint for themselves.

A husband's painting was often done by his wife, but men frequently adorned themselves or another man, particularly a younger close relative. There may also have been specialized knowledge of certain designs. Only one man was said to be able to make the zig-zag snake pattern, and he painted it on the bodies of others.

Work Patterns

461 Accompanying the low degree of specialization and cooperation in
512 production was a lack of rhythm in the work habits of the Trumaí. The day started at about three or four o'clock in the morning. At this time many persons got out of their hammocks to fan their fires and huddle around them, for these were the chilliest hours. The men might get together at this time and talk while the women prepared food. Not much work was done then. At most, a man might add some thatch to his house. By sunrise everyone was awake, and the women went in a [515] body to a nearby arm of the lagoon to bathe and draw containers of water. The men usually went to bathe a little later in pairs or alone. After bathing, everyone ate, and the work day really began.

Those who intended to garden went out early and labored until ten or eleven o'clock, that is, while it was cool and insects were less trouble- [264] some. As a rule, they ate again upon returning and then stayed in the village the rest of the day, working at various crafts as the spirit moved them. Actually a good deal of time was spent loafing and sleeping.

Those who planned to fish started out in the morning, but usually after the gardeners had departed. Unless a two or three day trip was planned, they commonly returned by four o'clock, and always before dark. Occasionally a group of men and women went to the lagoon to [258] spend a day or two making salt.

One of the striking features of Trumaí economic activity was the number of different tasks done by various people on the same day.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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291
142
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Aloari

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301
302

[563]

Yanahi

Kokumu, Suyá Woman

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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PLATE IV

142
302

Yawala

142
302
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301

Mother and Child in Hammock

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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but the frequent repetitions and the small number of pitches made accompaniment possible, and their voices fell consistently into the fourth interval below those of the men. The women, however, enjoyed their role thoroughly and gave far better support than the men, who made little effort to coordinate their activities. 796 243 533

The songs were arranged in a series of three verses. Each time a new house was entered, the singer started a new series. Matiwana's songs were more elaborate than Nitvary's. Occasionally the old man would make a mistake and have to start the verse over again, but these lapses merely amused him. The only musical instrument used was the tapir hoof rattle. [534]

Quain gives no detailed information on the dances involved, but apparently they were simple, and perhaps partially improvised. Nitvary was the sole person to take special pains with his toilet before leading a dance. At such a time he usually wore a feather headdress and painted his body ornately. [535] [302]

One of the more important parts of the *ole* ceremony was the complex of activities surrounding the *ole* posts. A few days after the ceremony began several poles were brought into the clearing just outside the village, and the bark was peeled from them. They were rubbed with white clay and painted in colored designs. Each man placed the pole he had decorated upon his shoulders and brought it into the village with shouts and singing. With the poles on their shoulders, they danced about the village, finally placing their burdens upright in holes that had been dug previously in the village plaza. The children helped by packing dirt around them. The women then smeared red *urucú* dye on the bases of the poles and just below the upper ends. Tufts of cotton were put on top by both men and women. An offering in the form of fish on *beijú* was placed in front of the posts. Later in the afternoon, and early every afternoon for the next two weeks, the men ate together among these poles. Their attitude in this ceremonial milieu was certainly not one of special reverence, for they draped two blankets Quain had given them over the posts for shade. 796 243 [386] [782]

Nearly every day additional food offerings were placed in front of the posts. One post was given special attention. This was Nukekerehe, which was said to be malignant. However, fear of Nukekerehe was mixed with jokes. Quain was told one night that the men would not go to bed until he did, for if he stayed up long Nukekerehe would surely eat him. Weeks later, when the posts were pulled up and brought into the houses of their owners, the man carrying this pole stamped his feet at the children and pretended anger, much to everyone's amusement. On one occasion Matiwana performed a ritual in which he was apparently acting the part of Nukekerehe. He made wrathful noises and jumped about in front of the post, before which were two bowls of manioc soup. [782] 796 243 522 [242]

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Jakwanari then presented to the dancers as payment. In another part of the ceremony, a gourd of the *piquí* fruit drink was poured on Jakwanari in the same manner that the manioc gruel was poured on Matiwana during the *ole* festival.

The Spear-Throwing Contest

The spear-throwing contest involved intertribal participation and was completely secular. The core of the celebration, which took place at the end of the rainy season, was a duel between rival teams representing the tribes of the area. The purpose of the duel was for a member of the team on the offensive to strike a member of the defending team with a blunt-ended spear propelled by an *atlatl*, or spear-thrower. The defendant held a few sticks vertically, one end resting on the ground, and tried to deflect the oncoming spear with them. The distance between the two was about twenty paces and hits were frequently scored. After each turn, the defender went on the offensive. The games were conducted in a spirit of friendship and festivity. Bruises, some of which must have been severe, were compensated for by gift exchanges.

The participants painted their bodies elaborately for the combat. One informant erroneously stated that the masks for which the area is famous (but which were no longer made by the Trumaí) were worn during one part of the festival.[1] Intertribal wrestling matches were also held at this gathering.

The Bull Roarer

Information on the defunct bull roarer rites, as for other ceremonies, is extremely meagre. As the Trumaí express it, they have "buried the *kuth*" (bull roarer), but most of the adult men knew the ritual connected with it and remembered when it was still in use. The Trumaí formerly went to the Kamayurá village and took part in the ceremony there. One man told Quain that dancing in the Trumaí village preceded the ritual, whereupon they all went to the Kamayurá village and "did things that the women cannot see." Then, he said, there was a great deal of wrestling and copulation. Yati, Maibu, and Tun played a ceremonial role known only to them, while Yati, Oirupa, and Nitvary sang certain songs at night when everyone was asleep. The ceremonial flutes found throughout the upper Xingú are not mentioned in Quain's notes. Apparently, they were no longer used by the Trumaí.

[1] These masks are worn during a ceremony called the *jakuí* by the Kamayurá, which, according to Galvão (1950, p. 355.) takes place in the same season, thus explaining the confusion.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Changes in status and expected behavior were connected with the transition to manhood, and new modes of participation in the culture were open to the young man. It is necessary, however, to differentiate between the transition consequent upon increased age and that which resulted specifically from passage through the life crisis rites. Ideally, such a distinction should not have existed, as the achievement of physical maturity should have been heralded by the socio — religious observances. But there were two young married men, Yanahi and Aloari, who had not completed the ritual — the former because of disinclination, the latter due to the delay caused by his captivity among the Yuruna. Aloari, although both vocal and aggressive, and having the men's haircut, was definitely not one of the men's group yet. His smoking was only of the "lying" kind. He still needed the ritual admittance to the smoking group. Yanahi, on the other hand, still had the youthful haircut, but, for unknown reasons, was already a full-fledged member of the men's group. He was frequently seen with the adolescent boys, however, and his activities were characterized by a youthful lack of gravity. His history shows that there was no sudden break with boyhood among the Trumaí. The puberty rites were spread over a long enough time to allow a slow incorporation into the adult world.

Upon reaching man's estate, the young man became an integral part of the household and village economies. To be sure, property attitudes had been developed early, but he now had a greater opportunity to express them, inasmuch as he was able to participate in the upper Xingú trade system and thus accumulate more personal possessions. His entrance into the men's circle gave him a larger voice in community affairs, but at the same time it involved him in many village squabbles, which were intensified by his search for sexual partners or a wife. Also, among his added responsibilities was the defense of the village.

In short, the status of the newly arrived man brought greater economic independence and a fuller participation in the social and ceremonial life of the community. In return for his heightened importance he was expected to act with sobriety and self-reliance, to show courage and fortitude, and to be more aggressive in asserting his new rights and prerogatives. This last was largely a matter of degree, for Quain had been impressed at the extent to which children asserted themselves and shared the mannerisms and attitudes of adults.

Female Puberty

The only data available on female puberty observances concern the first menses (*waeipanes*), when the girl is confined for a period during which she wears her hair over her face. Rodrigues Ferreira, in commenting on a Trumaí girl in seclusion, states that she must remain in her

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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tention of marriage. But an intention of marriage did not insure exclusive sexual rights. The man usually continued to get gratification wherever he could find it. The knowledge of his other liaisons did not particularly disturb his bride-to-be, as she herself may well have been receiving attentions from other lovers. After marriage, such tranagressions were not so readily tolerated.

The chief obstacles in the way of the marriage-bent Trumai swain were the necessity to shout down his rivals and gain the approval and consent of the girl's kinsmen. The woman's consent was not necessary in making the marriage, and she usually remained aloof, waiting to see who won. If, however, she was not pleased with the mate to whom she was awarded, she was free to leave him. And this she often did. While Quain was in the village, there were marriages that lasted only a day or two due to the bride's dissatisfaction.

In addition to the arguments that precede most marriages, the man was expected to go through certain formalities. He went to the girl's mother and stated his intentions. If the girl had no mother, he approached the nearest male relative. In order to gain the favor of her kinsmen, he distributed gifts, the most important to the girl's mother, others to her father, siblings, and her mother's brother. The gift to the latter was especially important, as he was the one who formally gave the woman, or as the Trumaí phrase it, "spreads her legs." Gifts were also given the girl, culminating with a present of fish. In the meantime the girl made an especially fine hammock which she gave to the groom.

If everything was accepted, the man was free to take the girl to his house. The wedding was preceded by a fishing expedition in which nearly all the men participated, and by a wrestling match for which the groom was beautifully painted. The women held a trade game. The actual ceremony consisted of nothing more than the woman's moving into the house of her mate. A male relative carried her hammock to his home.

This was the way weddings should have been conducted in the Trumaí village. Actually, they were even less formal, especially in the case of second wives in polygamous unions. Marriage and sex preoccupied the Trumaí, for there were not enough women to go around; but even the few formal acts involved interested the Trumaí little. If the marriage was durable, the couple settled down and had children. After marriage and the birth of children no great change occurred in their positions in the community until they reached old age.

Old Age

Everyone in the village was classified as "younger" or "older." The men were either *axoesk* (younger) or *tdakek* (older), while the terms for the women were, respectively, *axoesktsa* and *tdakits*. These were not age

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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cumbent upon the males was a prohibition against wearing body paint for several months after the death. This ban extended to women, also. In addition, the female mourner could not sing in any of the ceremonies, and she cut her hair immediately after the death. Marriage was also forbidden her during the mourning period. (Autu came under censure as she had married her dead husband's sister's son — which at any time was reprehensible — even though her hair, cut when he died, had not yet grown back.) The woman was also required to wail occasionally for the dead person during the time of mourning, and she made flat mud discs, about one inch high, in the village center. Quain never found out the reason for this, although Kayaru made several of these markers for her dead brother. No special reverence or respect was given to the markers as they were usually demolished during the wrestling matches.

Recreation and Amusement

Trading sessions have been referred to as "games" because they are a form of amusement, but this appellation is in a way misleading, as the economic aspect of the "trade game" is very important. Actually, except for the intertribal spear-throwing contest, the only organized recreation is wrestling, and this is immensely popular throughout the whole upper Xingú area.[4] Wrestling matches were especially frequent during intertribal visits and ceremonials. These occasions aroused keen interest, and competitive spirits ran high, but the onlookers made it a point of etiquette to show no partisanship, and the contestants made every effort to conceal latent intertribal hostility. They were always friendly to each other, and at the end of the match they exchanged a friendly embrace. This was not necessary between fellow Trumaí or close kinsmen of different villages. The most effusive behavior was always shown toward those who were most disliked and mistrusted.

Wrestling matches always took place in the afternoon. All that was needed to start a match was a quorum of four or five men. These small bouts were usually informal and more in the nature of practice than competitive contests. When most of the men were in the village the contests attracted more attention and required more preparation. Bodies were painted and arm and leg bands were worn. The hair was usually combed and plastered down.

The men lined up on the log in the men's circle or brought stools. The women and young boys watched from the periphery. Uninitiated boys were not allowed to take part in the men's wrestling, but the older ones were generally permitted to sit with the men.

Each wrestler tried for a grip by grabbing at the body of the other. A variant of the half-Nelson was frequently attempted. The match

[4] Cf. Galvão 1949, p. 44.

/191 cont./

484 In perfect order, as though this were a carefully rehearsed theatri-
501 cal performance /192/ supported by very successful scenery, the
609 long, narrow craft glided silently along, a considerable distance from our praia /sandy shore; see the glossary, p. 172/, closer to the opposite wooded shore; no command sounded. Almost all [291] the naked occupants were painted black and bright red on faces [302] and bodies, many simply blackened all over with soot; on their [289] heads they wore white feather caps, the hair was cut short all [411] around, as among the Bakaïrí; the standing ones were overtopped by the bows, almost two and a half meters long, and in the left hand held a thick bundle of colorfully feathered arrows.

609 Gradually they came to a stop and the stillness was followed
576 by a dreadful noise, a fanatical howling and bellowing. There [101] could be no doubt but that they were Trumaí, for they shouted this word incessantly as though their lives depended on it, beat their fists against their chests, and at the same time made bows with their upper bodies all the more violently since their legs had little room for lively gesticulation. Nevertheless, if any of us had behaved half as excitedly in the canoe, we would surely have fallen hopelessly into the water at the very beginning of the imitation. But we were on firm ground, and the example is contagious. We, too, howled; we, too, bellowed; we, too, beat our chests. Everybody shouted whatever he happened to remember of an Indian language: "Katú, hekatú Trumaí, Bakaïrí, Kustenaú," interspersed with an occasional lusty "diavo," heiliges Donnerwetter /hang it all/ in German, "don't these fellows have any sense?"

[123] But far from it! No matter how invitingly we waved to them, how affably we clapped our hands, how graciously we pointed to our campsite, as though we were speaking to the Spaniard, "Sir, this house is your house," it did not help in the least. It was clear that this performance is official on the Schingú; we should be committing a breach of etiquette were we to speak of other things before we had thoroughly introduced ourselves to each other for half an hour.

/192 cont./

123 609 It was necessary to make another attempt; since our Indian was apparently not adequate, Antonio was induced to make a speech in Bakaïrí. After a little shy resistance, he took heart and shouted across energetically that he was a Bakaïrí, and that the Bakaïrí are good, and that the Trumaí are also good, and that the Bakaïrí were friendly to the Trumaí, that therefore the Trumaí should also be friendly to the Bakaïrí. Actually, he made himself heard for a moment, but the Trumaí realized at once that they did not understand him and outshouted the poor soul, whose voice died away. Hold on, I remember two Trumaí words which the Kustenaú chief had told me: apirí, /Illustration appears here/ /193/ "friend," and meijú, our beijú, the mandioca bread. With a truly stentorian voice I therefore cry: "Apirí Trumaí, meijú Trumaí, apirí." If my purpose had been to fan the storm, I could have been satisfied. The effect was dazzling. My words came back in the loudest echo; I had definitely spoken [262] good Trumaí. From the bottom of the canoe they fetched the beijús, which have the shape of large pancakes baked in a pan, [302] and waved this token of peace in the air. Particularly the chief shouter, a young man painted brick-red from head to toe, talked with great enthusiasm about such a cake which he seemed to be demonstrating and explaining like a professor in a classroom.

Some success was noticeable, however; they were quarreling among themselves. The brick-red one was obviously inclined to [302] break off the preliminaries and to enter into closer acquaintance; but one canoe in particular, with three tall, uncanny, coal-black ones, decidedly refused and implored the other heroes not to listen to the words of that demagogue. But the opposition was overruled. Three of our men climbed into a canoe and rowed into the midst of the hostile fleet, laughing kindly and talking; that won their hearts. Still parleying a bit, they approached the shore and [152] finally landed. The black or red, ugly faces, whether the more so by artifice or by nature I do not know, grinned happily in our direction; each of us took one of the fellows by the arm, whereupon a second man of theirs quickly took his other arm; thus we strode, fraternally united, to our campsite.

[Text Continues on P. 176]

/171 cont./

B
302 The lashes were plucked, especially among the Nahuquá until the last trace had disappeared. The same was true of the beard hair. We often, however, came across a moderate mustache or chin beard, occasionally even a cheek beard, mostly among the Kamayurá. Underarm and pubic hair was also plucked out.

B
142 The facial type of the individual tribes showed certain differences which are difficult to define. There is a Bakaïrí face which I would be confident about not confusing with a face of any other Kulisehu tribe, but which has the greatest similarity with the Karaiben of the Guianas. I would immediately take for a Bakaïrí a Karaiber Apiaká /Apiaca/ of the Tokantíns whom Ehrenreich photographed. Other Bakaïrí, however, could also belong to any of the other Kulisehu tribes on the basis of their physiognomy. The more Indians one became acquainted with, of course, the more uncertain one became. The Bakaïrí or Karaiben face that I am referring to almost has a European structure, the prognathism is slight, the forehead not high but well rounded, the nose has a somewhat wide bridge, pronounced alae, a rounded tip, wide upper lips, the eyes are beautifully almond-shaped and full. On the other hand, there is a second Bakaïrí type with strong prognathism, a markedly receding chin, low, sloping forehead, and a rather long nose with aquiline bridge, which we noticed particularly among the Bakaïrí of the Paranatinga. A peculiar specialty of the third Bakaïrí village was the distinct Jewish physiognomies. The photogravure Plate 13½/172/ shows us the best representative of this variety, who owed his name "Izzy" to our travel mood. Izzy was the smallest Bakaïrí, but very agile and strong and, as may be seen in the photograph, equipped with a powerful chest; he had black curly hair, a broad-bridged, aquiline nose, and would probably not be taken for an Indian by a naïve person. If there are people today, aside from the Mormons, who would have the children of Israel immigrating to America and being the tribal fathers of the redskins, they may take Izzy's picture as excellent documentary proof. Probably a few Egyptians also joined the caravan of lost tribes; at any rate, a few women in their hair style,

A² [See P. 138--Analyst]

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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upon his parents cohabiting; and they immediately told everyone in the village.

Puberty Rites

Male puberty rites were divided into two periods. The first, which was preparatory, covered about three or four years and consisted of the administration of certain medicines (*okeis*) and body-scraping. The second covered a much shorter period and constituted the actual initiation of the boy into the men's group. The observances, starting when a boy was between ten and twelve years of age, increased in frequency and intensity until his final initiation. The purposes, as expressed by the Trumaí, were to make him grow big and strong, give him courage and fortitude, and mark certain achievements on the road to manhood.

Body-scraping was one of the most important means used to accomplish these ends. Two different types of scarification instruments were in use. One was a sort of comb made of fish teeth imbedded in wood; the other was a polished armadillo claw. The former was used during the early phases of scarification, the latter, during the late phases when the whole body was scraped.

The first scraping was limited to the arms or legs. Kamkuti received his initial scarification on the biceps as an aftermath of shooting his first fish. The scraping, painful though it was, was a reward and a recognition of manly achievement. It was also a test of endurance and resistance to pain, and the boy was admonished against flinching or weeping. Such occasions were the first on which the child was exhorted to be manly and courageous.

When the boy reached biological puberty, the scraping became more severe. Arms, legs, flanks, chest, back, and stomach were all scraped, and the operation must have been most painful. Each boy could expect to have this happen to him a few times during the course of his initiation. Jawaku, Maibu's foster-son, had his first overall scarification while Quain was in residence. This was a prelude to the full initiation rites, through which he was soon to pass. Jawaku was a very timid boy, and significantly lacked the assertiveness that was so much a part of Trumaí personality. Katauka, who was officiating, scraped his legs first, then his back, flanks and arms, ending with a light treatment on his chest and stomach. Jawaku looked extremely unhappy, but he did not cry until Katauka began scraping his back. Maibu held him firmly and told him not to cry, while others scolded him for being a baby.

Before the scarification started Jawaku's body was moistened with water from a nearby pot. After it was finished, Katauka rubbed him completely with the bark of the *aruparukatem* tree. This or the bark of the *ñi'i* tree (the source of the fish poison previously referred to) were always used to treat the wounds made by scraping.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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always used to treat the wounds made by scraping. Jawaku walked away in a hurt and angry mood, his body covered with blood.

A few days later, in recognition of his advancement, Jawaku made the afternoon serving of food to the assembled men, a custom associated with the *ole* (manioc) ceremony. A further sign of his new position was the drinking of an herbaceous emetic before eating the first *piquí* fruit. Only boys who had not yet had their stomachs scraped could eat *piquí* without first taking the medicine.

One important purpose of body-scraping, the Trumaí thought, was to make the boy grow and give him strength. For this reason even the adult males occasionally scraped their arms. The scars themselves were very much admired. Of still greater value was the size of the muscles of the arms, chest, shoulder, and back of the neck, which the Trumaí believed to be the result of the scraping.

Another method of inducing growth was by drinking medicines made from herbs. All of the upper Xingú peoples were said to know of these preparations. The Suyá were said to have learned to make them also, but not the Yuruna. Adults drank these medicines, but they were especially important during the final phase of the puberty rites.

The perforation of the ear lobes was a distinct and separate part of the cycle of puberty rites, and the only one in which the boys went through a prescribed phase as a group. This observance took place during the equinoctial festive period which follows the rainy season and involved intertribal participation. At the next dry season festival, Quain was told, all the boys would have their ears pierced. Jawaku's ears, however, had been pierced before, whereas Autsuki, who was older and had entered the puberty cycle earlier, had not yet had his ears perforated. Manifestly, the time of the first perforation varied.

At the first piercing the young boy added the name of his mother's father to the name of his paternal grandfather, which he had been given previously. This was also an occasion for scarifying the arms.

Quain was informed that ear-piercing was done by all the upper Xingú area tribes. The Suyá, in common with other Gê-speaking peoples, made very large, and to the Trumaí, very unsightly, perforations in the lobes. Two Trumaí men who had been Suyá captives had such perforations and also pierced lower lips. The latter condition explained satisfactorily to the Trumaí why the Suyá "cannot speak properly."

The puberty ceremonies were climaxed by a final series of tests of strength and courage: wrestling with a small anaconda, a subsequent intensive drinking of *okeis*, and further body-scraping. After this the boy was kept in seclusion until his ears were again pierced.

Both Jawaku and Autsuki were at this stage. One day a snake was located in the lagoon, and Jawaku was urged to go after it. He and Makurawa ran through the brush to the lagoon and searched for it along

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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the banks, while men crowded into a canoe. The reptile was located, but instead of the one-foot diameter that it was at first said to have, it turned out to be only three inches thick. But, as Quain laconically observed, it was hungry. The men shouted at Jawaku to jump in the water and grab it.

The boy approached the reptile cautiously and with obvious fear. The anaconda, aroused, slithered through the water to the other side of the lagoon. Jawaku's unwillingness to fight was now apparent. There were shouts that he was frightened. These goads temporarily overcame his reluctance, and he waded through the water and grabbed the snake around the middle, lifting it out of the water. The anaconda began throwing its coils, while striking at the boy. In a panic, Jawaku stumbled blindly for the shore, tripped over a log, and released his hold on the snake. All the men shouted, "He's afraid!" as the crestfallen boy dragged himself out of the water and silently walked home.

That night, Maibu made a lengthy speech in which he absolved himself from any responsibility for Jawaku's cowardice. The next day another reptile was sighted, but Jawaku did not even bother to look at it.

On the other hand, Autsuki measured up to what was expected of him, and thus was able to continue the ritual that marked his maturation. Immediately upon the successful outcome of his struggle with an anaconda, he went to his house. He had now entered the seclusion phase of his puberty rites. Tun, his mother's brother, who was acting as next of kin, built a partition screening him off from the rest of the house. He was allowed nothing to eat but a medicinal preparation called *wyryx*, and he could leave his confinement to defecate only when everyone was asleep.

The seclusion period was to last until the ear-piercing festival which was to be held several months later, but Autsuki was cheerful about it. In accordance with normal practice, he had his arms scraped shortly after he entered confinement, and he was also given the adult tonsure.

There remained only one more step in the cycle of initiation rites: initiation into the shamanistic art of curing. Completion of this final phase was necessary for full participation in the men's circle and for the privilege of smoking tobacco.[3] All of the uninitiated Trumaí youths knew how to smoke and occasionally did so, but the adults referred to this as "lying smoking." In order to "really" smoke it was necessary to have a ceremony performed by Matiwana. Exactly when this occurred is open to question, but ideally it was supposed to follow the final seclusion and ear-piercing. Aloari had not yet had the ceremony performed, although he was married and had a child. In his own words, he was still "too young." Aloari was evidently equating maturation with the puberty rites.

[3] Oberg (1953, p. 60) reports that uninitiated men may not smoke among the Kamayurá, either.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The Trumaí made no war clubs at the time of Quain's investigation, although von den Steinen stated that the Trumaí and the Suyá were the only groups of the region to have clubs.[6] The only war club in the village was a long, fluted one of wood that the Waurá had captured from the Suyá and had subsequently given to one of the Trumaí men. It was only used ceremonially.

Firemaking

Fires were kindled by use of a simple, hand-twirled fire drill. Generation of a new fire was not often necessary as there was almost always an active fire in the village from which a flame could be taken. Gathering firewood was woman's work.

Ornaments and Body Decoration

Except for ornaments, men and women were completely nude. The women wore a cord belt that passed around the body just above the buttocks. Some of the women still had what Quain called a "fig leaf," probably a piece of leaf or bark, strung on a cord passing between the buttocks. It was known as the *tdesnit*, the Trumaí term for the *uluri*, the common upper Xingú version of which they did not use.

Except for occasional body painting, the women indulged in little ornamentation. They were plucked of all body hair, but in contrast to the shorter tonsure of the males, they let their hair grow over their shoulders.

The men wore belts of cotton thread or bark fiber, but did not tie their penes. Occasionally flat shell beads were strung around the waist, but more often they were used in necklaces. Necklaces, which were worn in ceremonies, were made by stringing flat rectangular shells on cotton thread. The shells were strung only on the front half of the necklace. Quain noted one type that had two black panels on each end of the necklace. Shell necklaces were an important commodity in intertribal trade, as has already been indicated. Cotton or bark fiber bands were tied around the ankles, just below the knees, and around the biceps.

Featherwork ornaments were worn ceremonially and included headdresses, ear pendants, and feather necklaces. Quain noted one pendant made from the whole breast of a bird. The breast had four colored bands: black, yellow, red, and again yellow, from top to bottom. Another feather pendant consisted of black, red, and yellow feathers arranged in bands and attached to a short piece of wood. A black tree resin held the feathers firmly in place. The feathers were obtained from the tips of parrot wings.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 222.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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411 The Trumaí made no war clubs at the time of Quain's investigation, although von den Steinen stated that the Trumaí and the Suyá were the only groups of the region to have clubs.[6] The only war club in the village was a long, fluted one of wood that the Waurá had captured from the Suyá and had subsequently given to one of the Trumaí men. It was only used ceremonially.

Firemaking

372 Fires were kindled by use of a simple, hand-twirled fire drill. Generation of a new fire was not often necessary as there was almost always an [313] active fire in the village from which a flame could be taken. Gathering [467] firewood was woman's work.

Ornaments and Body Decoration

29 Except for ornaments, men and women were completely nude. The [30] women wore a cord belt that passed around the body just above the buttocks. Some of the women still had what Quain called a "fig leaf," probably a piece of leaf or bark, strung on a cord passing between the buttocks. It was known as the *tdesnit*, the Trumaí term for the *uluri*, the common upper Xingú version of which they did not use.

302 Except for occasional body painting, the women indulged in little ornamentation. They were plucked of all body hair, but in contrast to the shorter tonsure of the males, they let their hair grow over their shoulders.

29 The men wore belts of cotton thread or bark fiber, but did not tie
30 their penes. Occasionally flat shell beads were strung around the waist, but more often they were used in necklaces. Necklaces, which were worn in ceremonies, were made by stringing flat rectangular shells on cotton thread. The shells were strung only on the front half of the necklace. Quain noted one type that had two black panels on each end of the [439] necklace. Shell necklaces were an important commodity in intertribal trade, as has already been indicated. Cotton or bark fiber bands were tied around the ankles, just below the knees, and around the biceps.

301 Featherwork ornaments were worn ceremonially and included head-
297 dresses, ear pendants, and feather necklaces. Quain noted one pendant
287 made from the whole breast of a bird. The breast had four colored bands: black, yellow, red, and again yellow, from top to bottom. Another feather pendant consisted of black, red, and yellow feathers arranged in bands and attached to a short piece of wood. A black tree resin held [314] the feathers firmly in place. The feathers were obtained from the tips of parrot wings.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 222.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Specialization and Trade

439 Among the more distinctive features of upper Xingú culture are community craft specialization and a widespread system of trade relationships. The Trumaí traded among themselves, but the most important exchanges took place on the intertribal level, and it is here that the products of tribal specialization become significant to the economy. At the time of Quain's investigations, the Arawakans maintained a monopoly on pottery, but the once active Trumaí stone axe manufacture had fallen into disuse. In its place, the Trumaí were specializing in the preparation of salt, obtained by burning a species of water-lily and sifting the ashes. The Trumaí depended on the Kamayurá for a highly prized type of bow, as the proper wood was not found in their territory. According to Oberg, this black, rectangular bow was eagerly sought by other tribes, also.[20]

While the Kamayurá monopoly on these bows can be explained by the local availability of the raw materials, craft specialization cannot be looked upon simply as a function of the exclusive possession of certain skills. Other arts diffused rapidly among the tribes, and it is evident that the specialties remained such for non-economic reasons. For example, the three Arawakan tribes, the Mehinaku, Kustenaú and Waurá, all made pottery, but each traded their wares only with certain tribes. The Bacairí obtained their pottery from the Kustenaú, who were, in von den Steinen's time, their neighbors on the Batoví River. On the Kuliseu, the Nahukwa traded for ceramics with the nearby Mehinaku, while the Tupian-speaking tribes and the Trumaí relied on the Waurá. Despite the fact that each Arawakan tribe dealt with its nearest neighbors, the exclusiveness of these relationships is not a physical necessity. The Trumaí could have obtained Mehinaku pottery. They had many kinship ties with the Mehinaku, and even conducted joint puberty rites. The distance between them was not great. Manifestly some standardized channeling of trade relationships existed.

This is further confirmed by the confinement of pottery manufacture to the Arawakans. It is probable that when the various groups first settled in the area, the Arawakans were the only ceramicists. With the development of close intertribal relationships, however, there was every opportunity for the craft to diffuse. It could have been learned by outsiders in trips to Arawakan villages and then practiced at home, as the clay is easily gotten from the river bottoms. Obvious means for its diffusion were marriage or capture of Arawakan women. But the manufacture of pottery was not observed by Quain in any non-Arawakan village of the area, despite the fact that Arawakan women were living in many such communities. In the Trumaí village no pottery was made,

[20] Oberg 1953, p. 30.

/203 cont./

proper, we started first with the primitive peoples, we should not fail to recognize that there is Paleolithic as well as Neolithic work among them even today, depending on the kind of stone available, the material provided from another quarter, and the technical purposes present. We should see that the negative term "metal-less" is, of course, appropriate, but that the positive name "Stone Age" can be very unfortunate. We should also consider the case where man has no stones at all or unsuitable ones and still makes excellent tools and weapons. As an unprejudiced observer, it would scarcely have occurred to me to maintain that the Schingú Indians are living in the "Stone Age."

It is certainly true that their most difficult accomplishments -- clearing the forest, building houses, building canoes, making stools, and the like -- go back to the stone ax. But the various tribes were entirely dependent on one source, which was in the possession of the Trumaí. Neither the Bakaïrí nor the Nahuquá nor the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ and their relatives, nor the Auetö nor Kamayurá /Camayura/ had stone axes of their own manufacture. Their sandstone was not suitable for axes. I have asserted exactly the same thing about the former times of the docilê Bakaïrí of the Paranatinga: in this region the Kayabi /Cayabi/ had a monopoly on the stone axes; the neighboring Bakaïrí were obliged to get them from them, later their deadly enemies. The tribes of the Batovy, Kulisehu, and Kuluêne obtained their stone axes from the Trumaí (the Suyá living on the main river had some of their own). Thus, the stone ax is presented to us here as an import article.

Fig. 20.
Stone ax.
(1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.

In answer to my inquiries, I was told that the stones were found "along a brook in the sand." The material has been identified by Herr Professor Arzruni /204/ of Aachen as diabase, a rock consisting of augite, plagioclase, mica, chlorite, and magnetite, in which are

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embedded individual crystals of olivine and quite a number of quartz granules. The blades, 11-21 centimeters long, are usually evenly cylindrical, but some are round in the center like a roller, taper toward the rear, and have a broad front end with a bow-shaped cutting edge. Without any lashing, they fit into a wooden handle 0.5 meters long on the average, which consists of a cylindrical upper piece bored crosswise and a thinner handle set off from this like a reed stalk from its spike. The stone points inserted in the darts and the ornamental stones of the neck chains are made of the same diabase. The Trumaí ground the blades to a point on their stones and bored the ornamental stones; besides them, only the neighboring Yaulapiti did this. The other tribes simply sharpened on the river sandstone the axes that became dull. Shells and stones were bored with a twirl-borer. A triangular, hard splinter of stone was clamped to a small staff, and, to be sure, at both ends so that one could alternate them, and was secured by cord lashing. The little staff was almost half a meter long and was twirled between the hands. If stone was to be bored, sand was added. This is all the Indians achieved in the working of stone; they had

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Fig. 21.
Twirl-borer.*
(1/2 nat. size/ as shown in the original illustration/.)

*The twirl-staff is represented discontinuously.

B /183 cont./
*171 We found pieces of stalks, pieces of bark, seed kernels,
301 and berries of the most diverse kinds: nut beads from the large
824 and the small tucum palm, fruits of a climbing plant, of a campo tree takipé, of a plant called (Bakaïrí) udayáki, red and black seeds of Papilionaceae, of mamona-Ricinus, tonka beans (Dipteryx odorata), among the Auetö gourd seeds and almeisca kernels, and even a small, bottle-shaped gourd seven centimeters long.

B Among the Yaulapiti, Trumaí, and, coming from them,
*171 among their neighbors, stone chains were frequent: pierced
301 disks and cylinders which the Nahuquá imitated in the amber-
T like jatobá resin and in clay. It was the diorite of the stone
171 axes and throwing-stick arrows /Wurfholz-Pfeile/; it was
301 pierced with the stone chip fastened to the twirling stick and
B the addition of sand. Small, pear-shaped stones, such as go with
● [321] the darts /Wurfpfeilen/, are popularly hung on children's chains by the Mehinakú and Auetö.

Thus there were distinct differences in the material, which were probably, as is certainly the case with the stones, locally conditioned. All chains made of white shell pieces went back to the Bakaïrí, all those of red to the Nahuquá, all those made of stones to the Trumaí or Yaulapiti.

B /184/ Animal material was found everywhere. There
*171 were horn beads and bone beads, the latter also in the form of
30 little rods; they were sometimes strung on individually, some-
237 times joined for whole chains, especially monkey teeth and
T jaguar teeth. Cf. the illustration of the Auetö chief, page 90.
171 Among the Nahuquá we procured a chain with jaguar teeth
301 and small, colored feathers. The Trumaí prized capybara
237 teeth. Among the Mehinakú in particular there was an abundance of children's ornaments, which were hung in bunches on infants; besides the others, monkey teeth in particular, teeth of the jaguatirica (Felis mitis), fish vertebrae, bones of the bagadú fish, once a huge, black beetle-horn. Also claws or hoofs of the tapir (Kamayurá), jaguar, and deer.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The woof was made of cotton threads. The men's hammocks were usually woven, while those made by the women for themselves were generally an inferior twined product. Other manufactures of cotton were arm and leg bands.

Ceramics

The knowledge of ceramic manufacture cannot be properly considered a part of Trumaí culture, despite their daily use of pottery in cooking, manioc processing, eating and storage. All pottery utensils were obtained in trade with the Arawakan Waurá, usually in return for salt. The only clay article of Trumaí manufacture was the *ja'meo*, a crude clay griddle on which the *beijú* was baked. The Trumaí did not rely completely on pottery for watertight containers, as gourds, grown in their own gardens, were extensively used.

Wood Manufactures

All woodwork was done by the men with, at the time of Quain's visit, steel tools. The most distinctive article was the zoomorphically carved wooden stool, found among all upper Xingú peoples. Quain's notes contain a sketch of one such stool which is very similar to the one depicted by von den Steinen.[1] Other wood products were canoe paddles, *beijú* paddles, manioc graters, and mortars and pestles, used by the women to pulverize the hard, dry balls of manioc flour.

Weapons

Bows and arrows were used almost to the exclusion of other weapons. The Trumaí got their bows in trade from the Kamayurá, but made the bowstrings themselves from the fiber of a tree known to them as the *putacy*. They made their own feathered arrows out of cane, at the end of which was inserted a thin wooden shaft. The points were fixed to the shaft with a tree resin (*aucalitou*) and were wrapped at the juncture with cotton thread. Monkey bone points were used for shooting fish and birds. One man who was making a bamboo point told Quain that it was used for hunting and warfare. Another was seen hammering an arrow point out of a piece of metal.

Spears were not used often, although the Trumaí made them. Quain saw a spear point being made of the shin bone of a tapir. The spear-thrower (*xopep*) was used only in the annual spear-throwing contest. It was made from the wood of a palm. Quain sketched one that had a flat handle with a finger hole and a shaft with a hook on the end, and another that lacked the hook, but had a thong on the end.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 141.

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"Tremendous interest in property, together with a simple and declining culture, results in my being a seriously disturbing element in their lives. Casual conversation always degenerates into a squabble about gift-giving .... There is intense pleasure in possession. Children get no sympathy when they are hurt, but objects are usually given to them. Every child has the right at least 'to see' anything he desires. In this respect children are pampered. Adults whine for things; withholding a desired object makes them intensely unhappy. Aggressive possession is admired.. Trade games make the exchange of property very fluid. Yet values in trade are well defined, and there is no prestige in giving more than one gets. Within the kinship circle, however, the old lavish property on the young. A father's garden is spoken of as that of his five year old son. There is a deliberate attempt to instill aggressive ownership attitudes in the young. A three year old girl is taught to claim objects in a loud voice. This is done by shouting the possessive pronoun....

"These are a settled people who live within the strict limits of their village. Their small number has advantage in the study of individuals. They have no knowledge of the world beyond the Kuluene-Kuliseu. It has no more real existence than the various inhabited regions of the heavens. The half dozen expeditions which have passed down the river have communicated with the natives only with signs. The one important result of such contact was division from peripheral tribes and the rise of metal tools. The disappearance of the stone industry, on which a defunct Trumaí moiety had a monopoly, has occurred within the last generation.[1] The increased leisure which probably resulted is not utilized economically.

"The complete lack of self-consciousness among these people makes behavior observation remarkably easy. Before I knew any of the language, I could sit by the hour in various households and time the actions of people while they paid no attention to me. For instance, one man during twenty minutes of leisure lay down to rest in his hammock fifteen different times, but each time disturbed himself with the remembrance of some petty chore undone....

"The only restriction of behavior that I have seen in casual intra-village personal relations is that the children are told not to litter the floor. The only positive rule is that the head of a household must sit with a guest and converse while the guest is inside his house .... Furthermore, extra-marital sexual intercourse has occurred in a shadowy corner of my house.. This lack of self-consciousness contrasts strongly with the Karajá, who are more prudish than the Fijians....

"Shortage of women, because of theft of young women, polygamy, lack of sexual interest in old wives (of which there are several), and

[1] Quain refers here to the moiety-like division of the Trumaí which has been discussed in Chapter Three. This appears to be rather a result of the merger of the northern and southern Trumaí villages. The latter specialised in axe-making.

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Fig. 21.
Twirl-borer.*
(1/2 nat. size/ as shown in the original illustration/.)

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264 Eating seemed to be casual, and it would be inaccurate to speak of "mealtimes." The time for eating was governed by what one happened to be doing on that day. While a person was in the village, he ate whenever food was offered, which occured frequently. If fishing was in order, the fishermen ate before and after their trip and also took food with them. Quain noticed that people usually ate on arising and, during the planting season, again upon returning from the gardens. Meals, then, were only an intensification of eating, occasioned by the return of people to the village. All the people of a household frequently ate at the same time, but the whole village seldom ate simultaneously. Meals involved little formality, and the Trumaí man often ate in his hammock between naps.

House Building

342 114 Unfortunately, Quain left few detailed drawings of houses or other aspects of material culture, and his descriptions are brief. Most of the data on material culture were gathered from his careful inventory of all the houses in the village. He was probably reserving the detailed documentation for the proposed return trip which he never made.

342 335 The first step in the construction of a house was to sink the two heavy center posts in a deep hole. The ridge pole was then set in place at the top of the center posts by raising it with forked sticks. A few men stood with the sticks at either end of the ridge pole, and each group in turn lifted and set the end on the center posts. A "water-shed" (not well described by Quain but undoubtedly a cap of thatch) was placed over the ridge pole. The tops of the center posts were not notched to receive the ridge pole; instead, sticks were lashed on opposite sides of the two [283] center posts to form a fork in which the ridge pole was laid. All joining of the framework in the house was done with bark fiber. Wall posts, about four feet high, were set in the ground so as to form an elliptical floor plan around the center posts.

The next step was to lash on the curved longitudinal poles which join the wall posts to the ridge pole. Horizontal poles were tied across these and across the wall posts to form a frame for the thatch. Additional smaller poles could be added to give a tighter thatch frame. Thatching was sometimes started in one section before the frame had been entirely completed. The grass (*damok*) for thatch was gathered by the house-builders and brought back tied in bundles.

342 The roof was thatched first, but a section was often left incomplete until the rainy season. Quain was told by Maibu, the chief, that he would finish thatching his house after the rains began because the grass was longer then. In the case of one house, the thatching of the walls was started when the roof was nearly completed. While one builder

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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was working on the roof, the other thatched the wall facing the forest, and the house was subsequently occupied while work was still proceeding on that wall. The wall toward the village was temporarily hung with cloth drapes for privacy, although for purposes of protection from enemies the opposite side was thatched first. 342

Additional thatch was placed on the house at the beginning of the rainy season. At that time light poles were bound to the frame for greater support. The chief's house began to sag from the weight of the thatch, and braces had to be put under the ridge pole. Two posts, as heavy as the center posts, were crossed just below the ridge pole and bound together. A few men got behind each post and pushed so that the poles would assume a more nearly vertical position and give firmer support to the ridge poles. When this had been accomplished, the bases of the posts were set in holes. 342 335

Quain had the opportunity to observe two houses being constructed: his own and a fifth dwelling being built by two Trumaí men. His own small house took one week to build. The work started off with a great burst of effort, and in four hours all the wall posts, center posts and the ridge pole were in place. However, every day thereafter progress became increasingly slower. 123 342 461

House styles and construction were not rigidly conventionalized. The Trumaí helped build a house for the missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Young, and they thought that Quain, being a *kuratiba* (white man), would like one such as the Youngs had designed for themselves. When they were half finished with the frame, Quain realized what was happening, and asked for a haystack house like theirs. The revision was made easily and the result was a hybrid. This, added to the fact that two of the houses in the village were much larger than the other two, indicated a certain flexibility and willingness to imitate. The Kamayurá classified the different posts and poles that went into house building, but the Trumaí had only very broad terms for the corresponding parts. 123 341 [197] [192] [335]

The heavy work of raising the ridge pole, stepping in braces, and carrying and inserting center posts was done cooperatively. These joint labors, although brief and infrequent, made for a festive occasion and gave rise to laughter and gaiety, an unusual thing among the men. With the exception of operations requiring the combined efforts of more men, the house was built by the males who were to occupy it. Women took no part in the building. Yanahi and Mayuva, who were building a new house, shared the work unequally, Yanahi doing the larger part. They did not always work at the same time, and, when they did, they worked on separate sections of the house. 335 342 476 [462]

Quain's house was built cooperatively because he was an outsider, and it was the obligation of the whole community to accommodate him. 123 342 476 574

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The plaza was the center of Trumaí social life. Here guests were entertained, ceremonials and wrestling matches were held, and the men gathered daily. Although the women might sit in front of their houses and watch these activities, they were not allowed to come near the log bench, even when the men were not there. The plaza of the Trumaí village was also used as the burying ground.

A short distance north of the circle of houses, on the path to the two main garden clearings of the Trumaí, was another smaller clearing used during the *ole*, or manioc, ceremonies. Other paths radiated outward from the village to the other gardens and to nearby groves of piqui trees. Quain noticed that the paths leading to the Kamayurá village were much broader and cleaner. The Kamayurá were proud of their paths and kept them in good condition. Their plaza was also cleaner of weeds and trash than that of the Trumaí.

Of the four completed houses in the village, two were as large as those of the Kamayurá, but the other two, which were much smaller, were considered by Quain's informants to be genuinely Trumaí in type. Insofar as is known, the details of the construction and shape of all four were substantially the same. They had an elliptical floor plan and were haystack-shaped. Although the side walls were only four feet high, the roof attained a height of fifteen feet. The silhouette of the house was an almost smooth curve from ridge pole to ground. The frame was covered with a grass thatch. There were no windows, and a single entry opened on the plaza.

Each family occupied its own section of the house and had its own fireplace. Personal belongings hung from the walls and ceilings or were placed on small shelves. Hammocks were hung between the side wall posts and the two center posts, the woman's hammock beneath that of her husband. Except for two nuclear families that screened off their sections with blankets and cloth given them by Quain, there was no internal division of the house.

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1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

264 Eating seemed to be casual, and it would be inaccurate to speak of "mealtimes." The time for eating was governed by what one happened to be doing on that day. While a person was in the village, he ate whenever food was offered, which occured frequently. If fishing was in order, the fishermen ate before and after their trip and also took food with them. Quain noticed that people usually ate on arising and, during the planting season, again upon returning from the gardens. Meals, then, were only an intensification of eating, occasioned by the return of people to the village. All the people of a household frequently ate at the same time, but the whole village seldom ate simultaneously. Meals involved little formality, and the Trumaí man often ate in his hammock between naps.

House Building

342 114 Unfortunately, Quain left few detailed drawings of houses or other aspects of material culture, and his descriptions are brief. Most of the data on material culture were gathered from his careful inventory of all the houses in the village. He was probably reserving the detailed documentation for the proposed return trip which he never made.

342 335 The first step in the construction of a house was to sink the two heavy center posts in a deep hole. The ridge pole was then set in place at the top of the center posts by raising it with forked sticks. A few men stood with the sticks at either end of the ridge pole, and each group in turn lifted and set the end on the center posts. A "water shed" (not well described by Quain but undoubtedly a cap of thatch) was placed over the ridge pole. The tops of the center posts were not notched to receive the ridge pole; instead, sticks were lashed on opposite sides of the two [283] center posts to form a fork in which the ridge pole was laid. All joining of the framework in the house was done with bark fiber. Wall posts, about four feet high, were set in the ground so as to form an elliptical floor plan around the center posts.

The next step was to lash on the curved longitudinal poles which join the wall posts to the ridge pole. Horizontal poles were tied across these and across the wall posts to form a frame for the thatch. Additional smaller poles could be added to give a tighter thatch frame. Thatching was sometimes started in one section before the frame had been entirely completed. The grass (*damok*) for thatch was gathered by the house-
342 builders and brought back tied in bundles.

The roof was thatched first, but a section was often left incomplete until the rainy season. Quain was told by Maibu, the chief, that he would finish thatching his house after the rains began because the grass was longer then. In the case of one house, the thatching of the walls was started when the roof was nearly completed. While one builder

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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was working on the roof, the other thatched the wall facing the forest, and the house was subsequently occupied while work was still proceeding on that wall. The wall toward the village was temporarily hung with cloth drapes for privacy, although for purposes of protection from enemies the opposite side was thatched first. 342

Additional thatch was placed on the house at the beginning of the rainy season. At that time light poles were bound to the frame for greater support. The chief's house began to sag from the weight of the thatch, and braces had to be put under the ridge pole. Two posts, as heavy as the center posts, were crossed just below the ridge pole and bound together. A few men got behind each post and pushed so that the poles would assume a more nearly vertical position and give firmer support to the ridge poles. When this had been accomplished, the bases of the posts were set in holes. 342 335

Quain had the opportunity to observe two houses being constructed: his own and a fifth dwelling being built by two Trumaí men. His own small house took one week to build. The work started off with a great burst of effort, and in four hours all the wall posts, center posts and the ridge pole were in place. However, every day thereafter progress became increasingly slower. 123 342 461

House styles and construction were not rigidly conventionalized. The Trumaí helped build a house for the missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Young, and they thought that Quain, being a *kuruáiba* (white man), would like one such as the Youngs had designed for themselves. When they were half finished with the frame, Quain realized what was happening, and asked for a haystack house like theirs. The revision was made easily and the result was a hybrid. This, added to the fact that two of the houses in the village were much larger than the other two, indicated a certain flexibility and willingness to imitate. The Kamayurá classified the different posts and poles that went into house building, but the Trumaí had only very broad terms for the corresponding parts. 123 341 [197] [192] [335]

The heavy work of raising the ridge pole, stepping in braces, and carrying and inserting center posts was done cooperatively. These joint labors, although brief and infrequent, made for a festive occasion and gave rise to laughter and gaiety, an unusual thing among the men. With the exception of operations requiring the combined efforts of more men, the house was built by the males who were to occupy it. Women took no part in the building. Yanahi and Mayuva, who were building a new house, shared the work unequally, Yanahi doing the larger part. They did not always work at the same time, and, when they did, they worked on separate sections of the house. 335 342 476 [462]

Quain's house was built cooperatively because he was an outsider, and it was the obligation of the whole community to accommodate him. 123 342 476 574

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

The situation was comparable to the previously mentioned communal planting of the garden of the Kamayurá, Uluku.

Canoes

The standard bark canoe of the upper Xingú was made and used by the Trumaí.[4] Construction was simple and much less time was required to complete it than the typical dugout canoe of the tropical forest. A long, rectangular piece of bark was cut from the *jatobá* tree by men standing on platforms. The bark was then heated over a fire to soften it. The sides were bent up, and the top end of the bark, which narrowed slightly, was made into the bow by bending it upwards. The center of the stern was bent inwards, allowing the whole stern to be well above the water. Leaks were mended with patches of river mud or clay. Propulsion was by paddle, although occasionally poles were used.

There was also one small dugout in the village which belonged to Alcari, Quain's cook and helper. Alcari had been a Yuruna captive, and it was undoubtedly during this experience that he had learned to make this type craft. He also had a bark canoe and was the only Trumaí to own two canoes.

Basketry

The Trumaí men manufactured baskets that were variously shaped and served several purposes. In general, the Trumaí were less skilled in this art than their upper Xingú neighbors. Among the baskets described by Quain was a deep, round tray made of *buriti* fiber and another which was used to store manioc flour and, when equipped with shoulder and forehead tumplines, to carry loads. The latter was an openwork container made of bark stripe. A smaller basket of this type was made of *buriti* fibers. The manioc sieve, or *tuafi*, was made of stiff *buriti* fronds and was also used to store small articles. It was made by the women. The women also made a bark cloth bag known as the *tdewsit*, a term that, in addition, designated the female pubic covering.

All of the baskets and similar containers described by Quain were made by other groups of the area, but the art of manufacturing certain varieties was known to only a few Trumaí. Some baskets were obtained in trade.

Textiles

All work in cotton was the exclusive province of the women. Hammocks of both twined and woven types were made. The loom consisted of two upright posts between which a warp of *buriti* fiber was extended.

[4] Cf. von den Steinen 1897, pp. 322-23.

[i.e. building Quain's house--Analyst]

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The plaza was the center of Trumaí social life. Here guests were entertained, ceremonials and wrestling matches were held, and the men gathered daily. Although the women might sit in front of their houses and watch these activities, they were not allowed to come near the log bench, even when the men were not there. The plaza of the Trumaí village was also used as the burying ground.

A short distance north of the circle of houses, on the path to the two main garden clearings of the Trumaí, was another smaller clearing used during the *ole*, or manioc, ceremonies. Other paths radiated outward from the village to the other gardens and to nearby groves of *piquí* trees. Quain noticed that the paths leading to the Kamayurá village were much broader and cleaner. The Kamayurá were proud of their paths and kept them in good condition. Their plaza was also clearer of weeds and trash than that of the Trumaí.

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1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Visits might be made to obtain a bride, engage in trade, participate in some intertribal ceremony, or for a combination of any of these reasons. Most visits were ostensibly of a purely social nature, but they were also used to frighten and impress. Stealing was frequent, especially when the host tribe, like the Trumaí, was weak. The Trumaí rarely protested against thefts while the visitors were still in the village, although they vehemently expressed their indignation later. Such discretion was due more to fear than etiquette.

The inferior position of the Trumaí was most evident when visitors were in the village. The Kamayurá, especially, treated the Trumaí with arrogance and contempt. At times they would enter the Trumaí village without having built the customary warning fire. The Trumaí, on the other hand, did everything possible to please their visitors and prove their generosity and good will toward them. Quain was berated by the Trumaí chief for being too niggardly toward the Kamayurá, and he found that greater respect was accorded to the Kamayurá chief than to either himself or the Trumaí chief. The Kamayurá felt slighted that Quain had not visited them instead of the contemptible Trumaí, and, when Quain went to meet the visiting Kamayurá chief, the latter turned away with an air of bored indifference.

The Kamayurá chief was immediately given a stool to sit on and was plied with cigarettes. When he threw one away after a few puffs, he was promptly given another. Deference was also paid to ordinary Kamayurá, although to a lesser degree. Once when such a member came to the Trumaí village alone, the man who received him rushed to Quain's house to borrow a chair in order to reach some tobacco which had been placed on a high shelf. He was in a great hurry, for it would not be good to keep his guest waiting.

This behavior stands in sharp contrast to a visit to the Kamayurá village made by Quain and a party of Trumaí. The chief delegated their reception to his brother. No special attention was paid to them, although the villagers were active and industrious in an apparent effort to impress. The Trumaí were not even asked to sit on the log in the village center.

Due to the extensive intertribal relations, command of a language besides one's own is common in the area generally. But since Trumaí is an independent tongue and the number of Trumaí small, it is probable that multilingual people were more frequent among them than in other tribes. Their "second" language was usually Kamayurá, but few outsiders spoke Trumaí, although more understood it. When Kamayurá came to visit, conversation was ordinarily in their tongue. Of the three foreign women in the Trumaí village, only the Suyá woman could speak even a broken Trumaí. Since the Suyá had no peaceful relations with the tribes of the headwaters, the Gé language was not widely known there. The other two foreign women merely understood Trumaí.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The woof was made of cotton threads. The men's hammocks were usually woven, while those made by the women for themselves were generally an inferior twined product. Other manufactures of cotton were arm and leg bands.

Ceramics

The knowledge of ceramic manufacture cannot be properly considered a part of Trumaí culture, despite their daily use of pottery in cooking, manioc processing, eating and storage. All pottery utensils were obtained in trade with the Arawakan Waurá, usually in return for salt. The only clay article of Trumaí manufacture was the *ja'meo*, a crude clay griddle on which the *beijú* was baked. The Trumaí did not rely completely on pottery for watertight containers, as gourds, grown in their own gardens, were extensively used.

Wood Manufactures

All woodwork was done by the men with, at the time of Quain's visit, steel tools. The most distinctive article was the zoomorphically carved wooden stool, found among all upper Xingú peoples. Quain's notes contain a sketch of one such stool which is very similar to the one depicted by von den Steinen.[5] Other wood products were canoe paddles, *beijú* paddles, manioc graters, and mortars and pestles, used by the women to pulverize the hard, dry balls of manioc flour.

Weapons

Bows and arrows were used almost to the exclusion of other weapons. The Trumaí got their bows in trade from the Kamayurá, but made the bowstrings themselves from the fiber of a tree known to them as the *patacy*. They made their own feathered arrows out of cane, at the end of which was inserted a thin wooden shaft. The points were fixed to the shaft with a tree resin (*awalitsu*) and were wrapped at the juncture with cotton thread. Monkey bone points were used for shooting fish and birds. One man who was making a bamboo point told Quain that it was used for hunting and warfare. Another was seen hammering an arrow point out of a piece of metal.

Spears were not used often, although the Trumaí made them. Quain saw a spear point being made of the shin bone of a tapir. The spear-thrower (*xopep*) was used only in the annual spear-throwing contest. It was made from the wood of a palm. Quain sketched one that had a flat handle with a finger hole and a shaft with a hook on the end, and another that lacked the hook, but had a thong on the end.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 141.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

PLATE IV

142
302

Yawala

142
302
352
301

Mother and Child in Hammock

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

cumbent upon the males was a prohibition against wearing body paint for several months after the death. This ban extended to women, also. In addition, the female mourner could not sing in any of the ceremonies, and she cut her hair immediately after the death. Marriage was also forbidden her during the mourning period. (Autu came under censure as she had married her dead husband's sister's son — which at any time was reprehensible — even though her hair, cut when he died, had not yet grown back.) The woman was also required to wail occasionally for the dead person during the time of mourning, and she made flat mud discs, about one inch high, in the village center. Quain never found out the reason for this, although Kayaru made several of these markers for her dead brother. No special reverence or respect was given to the markers as they were usually demolished during the wrestling matches.

Recreation and Amusement

Trading sessions have been referred to as "games" because they are a form of amusement, but this appellation is in a way misleading, as the economic aspect of the "trade game" is very important. Actually, except for the intertribal spear-throwing contest, the only organized recreation is wrestling, and this is immensely popular throughout the whole upper Xingú area.[4] Wrestling matches were especially frequent during intertribal visits and ceremonials. These occasions aroused keen interest, and competitive spirits ran high, but the onlookers made it a point of etiquette to show no partisanship, and the contestants made every effort to conceal latent intertribal hostility. They were always friendly to each other, and at the end of the match they exchanged a friendly embrace. This was not necessary between fellow Trumaí or close kinsmen of different villages. The most effusive behavior was always shown toward those who were most disliked and mistrusted.

Wrestling matches always took place in the afternoon. All that was needed to start a match was a quorum of four or five men. These small bouts were usually informal and more in the nature of practice than competitive contests. When most of the men were in the village the contests attracted more attention and required more preparation. Bodies were painted and arm and leg bands were worn. The hair was usually combed and plastered down.

The men lined up on the log in the men's circle or brought stools. The women and young boys watched from the periphery. Uninitiated boys were not allowed to take part in the men's wrestling, but the older ones were generally permitted to sit with the men.

Each wrestler tried for a grip by grabbing at the body of the other. A variant of the half-Nelson was frequently attempted. The match

[4] Cf. Galvão 1949, p. 44.

/122 cont./

123 192 doubts vanished at the end of the trail. Two women there were crossing the path, let out a dreadful scream, and disappeared with lightning speed into the bushes. A chorus of confused, shrill cries and suddenly between the trees figures running excitedly hither and thither everywhere. We were in the midst of the Trumaí!

An unpleasant situation. To go back was, of course, impossible. Therefore, straight ahead. I have never heard more insane noise. In the background women and children dashed [411] away with ear-splitting howls; the men gathered up their weapons here and there and, swinging bows, arrows, darts, they drew together into a screaming, dancing, raging knot, toward which we resolutely strode, one behind the other. I fixed my eye on a short gentleman who seemed to be the chief, stepped straight up to him, placed my hand on his shoulder, and did what is always best on such occasions, I laughed. Nor did I omit a forcefully expressed "katú katú karáiba, kúra kúra karáiba." In fact, I addressed several short sentences to him in a language which he had most probably never heard, but the sounds of which readily spring to my lips at critical moments and then always help to triumph over the gravity of the situation; it is my beloved Düsseldorf dialect, reinforced with a few carnivalistic catchwords that are appropriate for any situation. They had their effect on the Trumaí as well; the little old chief was, to be sure, too horrified to be able to laugh with me, but he nevertheless greeted me as graciously as he could.

[352 539] Two stools were hastily dragged up and the straw in which they were packed was torn off; they were bird-shaped, and one, which represented a vulture, was distinguished by two necks and heads, like a double eagle. We sat down in the forest camp, and the company, looking quite wild in their terror, surged and pressed all around us among the trees. When I declared with jovial mien that I wanted to sleep among them, twenty hands moved at once clearing away the brush and making room -- more attentive service could not be imagined. After

/122 cont./
123 half an hour renewed howling and women's screams announced
152 the arrival of Wilhelm and Carlos, who were led up and likewise gave expression to their friendly intentions with words and gestures.

142 /123/ There were mostly small, frail figures with small heads, receding chins, and ugly faces; among the old women there were truly magnificent specimens of witch-models. The
291 women in part wore the triangular uluri, in part a wardrobe garment new to us, a grayish-white bast loop that was drawn over
194 the hips and thickened into a small roll. The language in its cadence reminded us not a little of that of the Suyá, with which it had in common the nagging, squeezed habitus and could be immediately distinguished from all the Kulisehu languages by the frequent terminal sound of ts and by the f.

727 It was strange that the Trumaí had let themselves be taken by surprise in this way. Probably they had fled from the Suyá who had plundered their villages and from us at the same time. Their scouts, who were roving about among the Auetó, Yaulapiti, and Kamayurá, probably believed that we would not return directly to the Auetó from the Kamayurá, but would go to Schingú-Koblenz in order to join Perrot and Vogel, whose trip was already known to them, and reach the Auetó harbor on the river. The camp of the fugitives presented a spectacle of
[162] disorder and confusion. There were about 50 persons in all;
●[352] numerous small fires were burning beside the brown hammocks, bundles of all kinds lay about and hung from the trees; the shelter-huts of the Auetó plantation remained unused. The
[501] Indians had come in part by way of the canals: a small flotilla of canoes had drawn up in the swampy water nearby, many of them in bad shape and where necessary pasted up merely with lumps of loam.

437 The beijús, the filled gourd bowls, and the cigars were necessarily lacking at this reception. They brought small balls of cotton and asked for beads. Unfortunately, we had given away almost everything to the Kamayurá and could therefore not offer much. With the remains, however, a few

Trumai SP23
Waura SP18
Mehinacu
Aueto SP6
Camayura

/287 cont./

A W 352 532 825 chiefly in their beaks; that of the wood ibis is curved ibis-like. The largest and handsomest birds were preferably portrayed. Thus, among the Mehinakú, we found a magnificent king-vulture, Sarcoramphus papa, or red urubu. The red warts

Fig. 82. Tujujú stool. Kamayurá. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration.

which this splendid predatory bird has between its beak and its eyes were carefully carved. The Trumaí stool illustrated here (Fig. 84 /see p. 326/) is supposed to represent the white urubu; it lacks the warts. Strangely enough, it was given two necks

T 352 532 825 171

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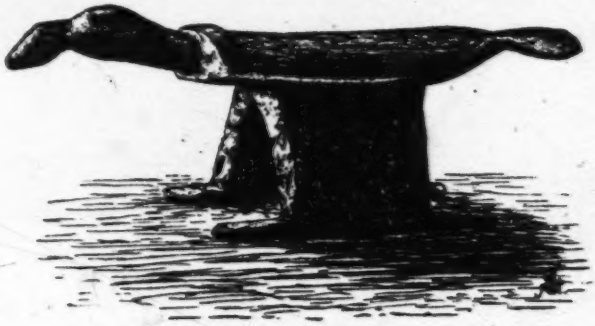

Fig. 83. Wood-ibis stool. Mehinakú. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

T 352 532 825 171 and heads, so we see here the chief's chair in the form of a double eagle; they are supposed to be male and female. By contrast, T [386] [415] the /288/ the depression in the back-plate is somewhat prosaic; it serves as a bowl for crushing and mixing the dyeing resin. In

[Text continues on P. 327]

Trumai SP23
Yaruma SP25
Nahuqua
Waura SP18
Mehinacu

/288 cont./

T
352
532
825

Fig. 84. Double-vulture stool. Trumaí.
(1/9 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Y
352
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Fig. 85. Monkey stool. Nahuquá. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

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532
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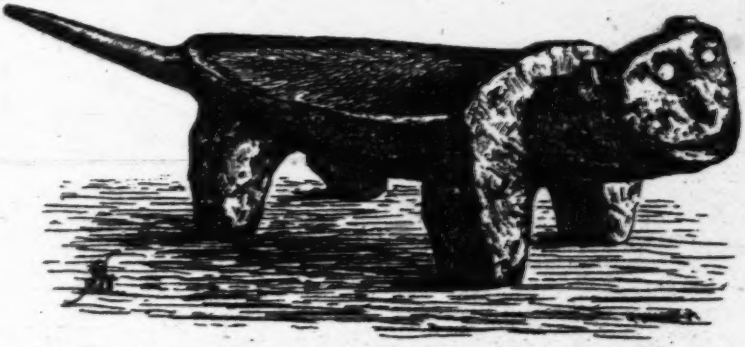

Fig. 86. Jaguar stool. Mehinakú. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Truma; SP23
AueTO SP6
Camayura
Yaruma SP25
Nahuqua
Wauka SP18
Mehinacu

A T W 352 532 825 /288 cont./ In the case of all the birds, the supporting boards /Figs. 84 and 85 appear here/ of the simple stool, provided with rails, have been retained, except that they are now spread farther apart and are set on the center line of the abdomen. The seat-plate and the supporting boards consist of one piece. The upper surface is extremely carefully smoothed. The measurements of the double vulture, which correspond to those of the others, are as follows: 61 centimeters long, 24 centimeters wide, 25 centimeters high.

Y 352 532 825 We found two quadrupeds. Here, too, higher types were chosen. The support boards have been transformed into four legs. Among the Nahuquá we acquired a not very handsome monkey, 46 centimeters long, characterized by the ears, nose, and the long horizontal tail. The back had its natural roundness. The animal was /Fig. 86 appears here/ always immediately identified correctly among the other tribes. The most splendid specimen of our collection, however, is the jaguar of the Mehinakú, a chunky creature, 90 centimeters long and 18 centimeters wide, /Plates XXIII and XXIV appear here/ /289/ with a clumsy head and a well worked-out neck, a long plate-like back and a long, slightly raised tail. The cat's ears are excellently reproduced, the nose is limited to a vague elevation, the mouth is a wide cross-furrow, and the eyes are a pair of round Unio-shell pieces with a mother-of-pearl sheen.

W 352 532 825

B * 171 323 Pots. The basic form of the clay bowls (cf. pages 254, 255) with which we are exclusively concerned here is, like that of the gourd bowls, hemispherical to almost the shape of half an egg. The pots drawn on the two plates 23 and 24 /see pp. 328-329/ are all in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde. They come from no particular village, but were made exclusively by Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ women. With the exception of Numbers 25, 26, and 27 of the second plate, all forms are animal motifs. We obtained pot No. 26 among the Mehinakú; it was attributed to the Waurá women, the chief artists of the Nu-Aruak group. It consists of reddish clay, which heightens the similarity to a real gourd bowl, is covered with an attractive mereschu design, and has a string fastened to it. We acquired No. 25, the spiny shell of a forest fruit, from the family of the Yanumakapü-Nahuquá whose

[Text Continues on P. 330]

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The plaza was the center of Trumaí social life. Here guests were entertained, ceremonials and wrestling matches were held, and the men gathered daily. Although the women might sit in front of their houses and watch these activities, they were not allowed to come near the log bench, even when the men were not there. The plaza of the Trumaí village was also used as the burying ground.

A short distance north of the circle of houses, on the path to the two main garden clearings of the Trumaí, was another smaller clearing used during the *ole*, or manioc, ceremonies. Other paths radiated outward from the village to the other gardens and to nearby groves of *piquí* trees. Quain noticed that the paths leading to the Kamayurá village were much broader and cleaner. The Kamayurá were proud of their paths and kept them in good condition. Their plaza was also clearer of weeds and trash than that of the Trumaí.

Of the four completed houses in the village, two were as large as those of the Kamayurá, but the other two, which were much smaller, were considered by Quain's informants to be genuinely Trumaí in type. Insofar as is known, the details of the construction and shape of all four were substantially the same. They had an elliptical floor plan and were haystack-shaped. Although the side walls were only four feet high, the roof attained a height of fifteen feet. The silhouette of the house was an almost smooth curve from ridge pole to ground. The frame was covered with a grass thatch. There were no windows, and a single entry opened on the plaza.

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The two largest garden clearings were situated respectively about one mile northeast and one mile northwest of the village. Three small ones were located southeast of the settlement. In order of size, the gardens were named Nariatan, Waniwanitan, Anariatan, Tan Toreake, and Tandatake. Nariatan, the largest, contained, by Quain's rough calculation, approximately seven acres divided into ten plots, representing the gardens of seven men. One plot contained two acres, but the average garden varied between one-fourth and one acre in size. One of the men had erected a temporary thatch shelter in his plot, providing protection from the sun, but not from the rain. Inside there was only a basket of manioc flour, a rack for cooking fish, and a large shallow pot into which manioc was grated. This was the sole garden shelter Quain saw, and, significantly, it belonged to the most industrious horticulturist in the village.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Recent ethnographic researches have for the most part concentrated upon the Kamayurá (Galvão 1949, 1950, and 1952; Oberg 1953), the Waurá (de Lima 1949, 1950), and the Kuikuru (Robert Carneiro and Gertrude E. Dole, unpublished). Only incidentally have these observers commented upon the Trumaí. Therefore, in 1953 when I had the opportunity to spend a little time in the upper Xingú area, I made a point of remaining a few days with the remants of the Trumaí. They were camped temporarily at Karajaja, the old village site, on a lake about half a mile away from the Kuluene River; their permanent houses were then at Anariatan, near the village site during Quain's visit. It was the dry season and the Trumaí were fishing. There were only 24 persons in the group — six adult males, ten adult females, four boys and four girls. Three of the women were unmarried widows, and there was one unmarried girl just past puberty. The chieftain whose current name was Ilitoari (no doubt the Aloari of Quain's notes), was married to two sisters, and there were four monogamous families. Two of the men were old and unmarried. Thus, the Trumaí were again united as a village (they had disbanded for a while). In 1953, however, there were not even enough men for the Trumaí to participate in the intertribal spear-throwing contests, a sport in which they had once been famous throughout the area.

The process of steady social and cultural disintegration and depopulation, which was already apparent among the Trumaí in 1938, has been a continuing one; and it is only a question of a very short time before these people cease to exist as a separate tribal group. Thus, the information and insights that Robert Murphy has brought together from Buell Quain's field work may be all that we shall ever have on Trumaí life and society.

Columbia University
February 1955

CHARLES WAGLEY

[P. x contains no textual material]

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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line by canoe would involve a journey of several hundred miles through mostly uninhabited country. The southern approach is the only feasible one for surface transportation. Even this is difficult as canoes and pack animals are needed after leaving Cuyabá. Between that city and the upper Xingú, the Planalto de Matto Grosso intervenes. This is an extremely rugged upland, hard to traverse. The isolation of the area made difficulties for ethnologists, but these were more than compensated for by the intactness of the native cultures. The establishment in 1947 of an outpost and airstrip of the Fundação Brasil Central, located below the juncture of the Kuluene and Kuliseu rivers, has done much to overcome the physical obstacles. The near future should see a considerable increase in ethnographic data from the headwaters of the Xingú.

In 1938 the Trumaí village was situated on the Kuluene River near its juncture with the Kuliseu. The Kuluene is the easternmost of the six parallel rivers that form the headwaters of the Xingú. The Xingú, itself, is one of the largest of the rivers tributary to the Amazon. It joins the Amazon about two hundred miles from the mouth of that river, after flowing from south to north for approximately one thousand miles. The six rivers which flow parallel to each other for over two hundred miles and then join to form the Xingú are, from east to west, the Kuluene, Kuliseu, Batoví, Jatobá, Ronuro, and Steinen rivers. They rise in the uplands, flowing through plains country and gallery forest. Further downstream they widen out and begin their descent into the tropical rain forest. The open country between the streams diminishes and the area covered by forest increases. The terrain is flat with but slight elevations between the rivers. Opening on the rivers are marshy subsidiary streams and large systems of lagoons which extend for several miles. Adjacent to the Kuluene and Kuliseu are broad sections of periodically inundated savannah lands, which are little used by the Indian population.

The heavy rains from October to April have the same profound effect upon the annual cycle of life here as they do in other sections of the Brazilian rain forest. Of great importance, also, is the effect of the rains upon the soil. The rains are too heavy to allow the surface soil to retain them. The water runs off or sinks deeply into the loose earth, leaching the surface of minerals and making it poor for agriculture. Since no form of mineral replenishment is used, a garden plot becomes exhausted in about two or three years, or after two plantings.

Nevertheless, the rain forest is suitable for primitive agriculture, since the looseness of the soil makes it ideally adapted to the primitive tools in use. As the open grasslands in this section of South America have extremely poor soil and cannot be tilled with simple hand tools, the Trumaí, like other tropical forest peoples, are forced to make their gardens in forest clearings in locations that are not flooded annually.

[text continues on p. 7]

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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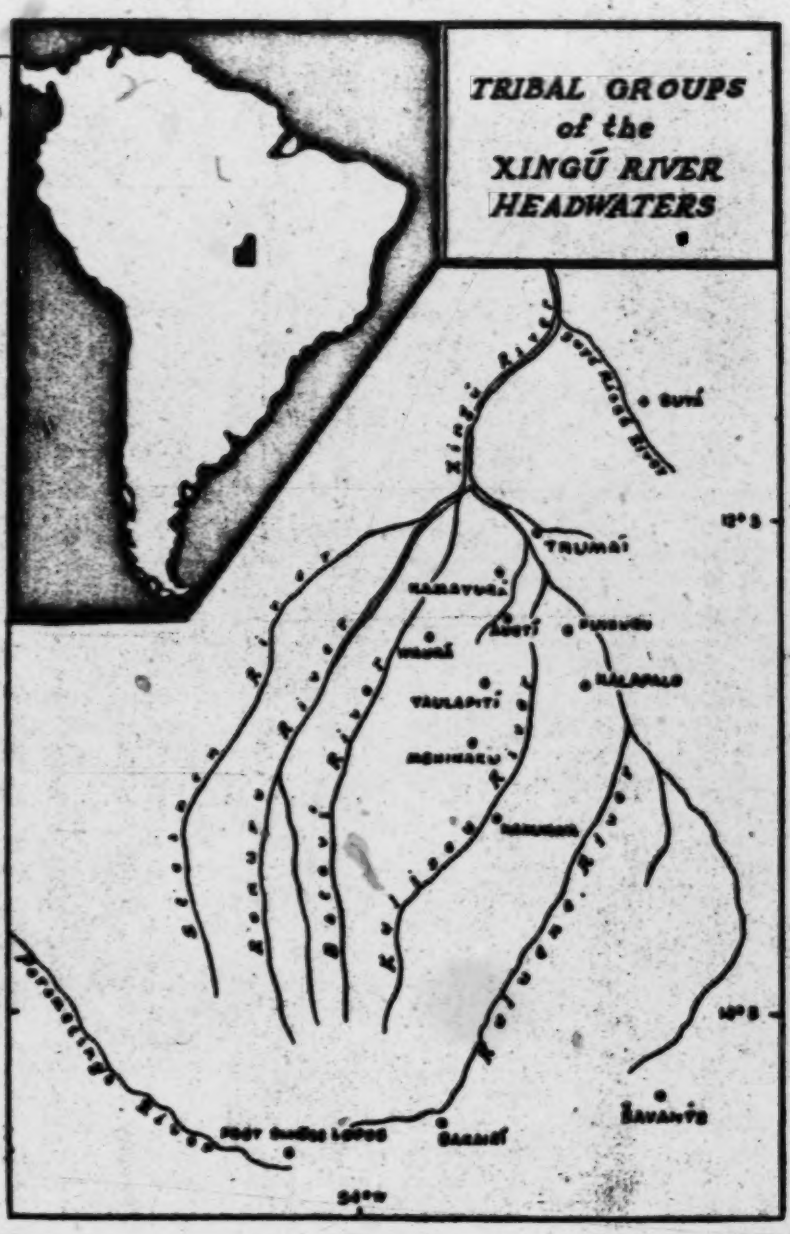

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The rapid exhaustion of the soil forces them into a life which, although not nomadic, involves frequent moves. As the soil in old plots is exhausted, new ones have to be opened up. The area of exploitable land around the village is limited by the need to transport the produce and protect the villagers from their enemies. Thus, after the land available to the village has been used, the group moves.

The main subsistence of the nine village groups now living in the upper Xingú area is derived from this typically Amazonian shifting horticulture coupled with fishing in the extensive streams, lagoons, and estuaries. Apparently, the population of the region was never great enough to cause any pressure on land or other resources. Each village maintained exclusive rights of exploitation over certain waterways and areas of land within which the village always moved. There evidently were not, and still are not, any clearly defined territorial boundaries; but village rights are implicitly recognized.

The Neighbors of the Trumaí

Although there is considerable uniformity in the cultures of the upper Xingú tribes, their linguistic affiliations are diverse. The main language stocks of aboriginal Brazil are represented. On the Kuluene River are the linguistically independent Trumaí and the Cariban Kuikuru, Kalapalo, Tsuva, and Naravute. Near the waters of the Kuliseu River live the Tupian Kamayurá and Auetí, the Arawakan Mehinaku and Yaulapití, and the Cariban Nahukwa. The Batoví River is inhabited by the Arawakan Waurá and Kustenaú.[1] All these villages maintain a rather distrustful peace among themselves, but live in fear of their hostile Gê- and Tupian-speaking neighbors on the perimeters of the upper Xingú drainage area.

The upper Xingú "tribes" consist of one village each. It seems evident from the linguistic heterogeneity of the region that it is a *cul de sac* — one of the aboriginal refuge areas which characterize the cultural landscape of the headwaters of the Amazon and its tributaries.

The cultural uniformity of the above peoples has impressed all observers, as has the extensive contact that they maintain with each other. Descriptions of this homogeneity are to be found in von den Steinen[2] and, latterly, in Galvão[3] and Oberg.[4] Among the principal material traits which distinguish the area as opposed to neighboring, but outside, groups are: haystack-shaped houses arranged in a circle around a central plaza; bark canoes; dependence upon fish for protein;

[1] Oberg (1953, p. 4) states that the Yaulapití, Kustenaú, Tsuva, and Naravute no longer live in independent villages, but reside among other groups, usually of the same linguistic family.

[2] Von den Steinen 1886. [3] Galvão 1949. [4] Oberg 1953.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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ted plants as beans and gourds and for the flat manioc flour cake, the *beijú*, are almost identical with the corresponding Kamayurá words.

The pre-contact history of the Trumaí is largely inferential and their recent history is poorly documented. The white explorers and scientists who visited the upper Xingú frequently did not encounter the Trumaí, and almost never visited their villages. Historical data indicate that in von den Steinen's time and possibly as late as the 1931 trip of Petrullo the Trumaí lived in two villages. Von den Steinen showed an abandoned Trumaí village, in substantially its present location, and another on the lower end of the Tsahuku, a network of waterways and lagoons west of and parallel to the Kuliseu River.[6] Although Meyer's map did not show this southern village in 1896,[7] it appears in Schmidt's map for 1901.[8] Petrullo encountered Trumaí, most probably of the southern village, on the west bank of the Kuliseu, between the locales of the Nahukwa and Mehinaku villages.[9] M. Moennich, one of a party of American missionaries who descended the Kuliseu in 1937, did not, however, note a Trumaí village near this site.[10] When Quain arrived in 1938 there was only one Trumaí village, which was located at the northern site. This would suggest that the southern village was abandoned in 1937–38, but it is possible that those Trumaí seen by Petrullo and Moennich were the same ones whom Quain visited.

The northern and southern villages mentioned in the literature are the only ones recorded. It is certain that since 1884 there have only been two communities, although each has been located in many different places. Unfortunately, the exact locations of the abandoned sites and their periods of occupation are not well known. Each of the old village locales had a name, and these designations are still known. Among them are Morena, Waniwani, Karajaja, Iakare, Jawpew, and Wahldat. Some of the names, such as Iakare, are obviously of Tupían origin. Jawpew was the name of the northern Trumaí village at the time of von den Steinen's expeditions. Karajaja was the last location before the one in which Quain resided. This site was located near the Kamayurá village on the Tsahuku and appears on Petrullo's map. The Trumaí said that it was a good village, but that they had to move because the Kamayurá and Auetí were practicing sorcery against them. The village to which they moved, and where Quain visited them, was named Anariatan.

People were often referred to by other Trumaí according to the village in which they were born. Thus, a *Wahldat jaxlo* was, literally, a son of Wahldat. Also, garden sites were most commonly named after an abandoned village. The old villages were looked on with reverence as the homes of the ancestors of the Trumaí. They were considered to be places of great interest, and Quain was repeatedly urged to visit them.

[6] *Ibid.*, 1897, p. 93. [7] Meyer 1897, Plate I. [8] Schmidt 1942.
[9] Petrullo 1932, p. 180. [10] Moennich 1942.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The fishing grounds and the still productive fruit trees of the old villages were considered to be the domain of the Trumaí, and these rights were apparently respected by others. When the village moved in search of new land, it was usually to one of the old sites, whose name the new village would take.

The Trumaí were once feared by the other tribes of the upper Xingú and were evidently a relatively numerous and vigorous people. However, when Quain visited them in 1938, they numbered only 43, and only ten years later, in 1948, the population had shrunken to a meagre 25.[11] Their small numbers had forced them to abandon village life once since Quain's visit, but they subsequently reunited in a new community.[11a]

Warfare

The topography of the flat upper Xingú Basin encourages considerable contact between tribes. The waterways are extensive and have importance beyond subsistence, as they are the chief avenues of trade and warfare. Communication through the river and flood plain system is the main reason for the high degree of cultural homogeneity that has been achieved by these tribes of diverse origins and languages. Intertribal relations are not confined to trade and warfare, but enter the spheres of social organization, ceremonialism and mythology.

Intertribal bonds within the upper Xingú Basin were based on peaceful relations between the tribes. These tribes formed part of a bounded social system in which groups outside the area did not take part. The Bakairí Indians of the Paranatinga River were on a friendly basis with the headwaters groups only because they had once lived on the Batoví River. Other tribes were uniformly enemies, regardless of cultural or linguistic affinities. Despite this peaceful interaction among the upper Xingú villages, there was considerable mutual fear and hostility between them which was expressed in witchcraft, petty thievery and intimidation. The practice of sorcery upon other villages is especially significant, in that sorcery is used in nearly all cultures only between people who share close interpersonal ties. This illustrates better than anything else the high degree of intervillage integration in the upper Xingú River Basin. The component groups constitute far more than a culture area — they form a society.

Despite the nominal peace within the upper Xingú area, the Trumaí lived in dread of their neighbors, and with good reason.[12] Situated

[11] Oberg 1953, p. 4.

[11a] Latest reports state that a measles epidemic has wrought great havoc, and that the few survivors have all joined other groups.

[12] Although fear of neighboring groups is general in the upper Xingú, do Lima (1949, p. 28) noted it to be especially strong among the numerically weak Trumaí.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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CHAPTER TWO

TRUMAÍ SUBSISTENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Vital Statistics

162 The population of the Trumaí village in 1938 was 43. This figure includes the 3 foreign women in residence and excludes those few Trumaí who were living with other groups. There were 17 men, 16 women, and 10 pre-pubescent children, of whom 8 were male and only 2 were female. [127] Due to the previously mentioned capture and forced marriage of Trumaí women, the average age of females seems to have been considerably greater than that of males. Two men were considered by the Trumaí [163] as old, while four women were placed in that category. This disparity of age undoubtedly had an influence on the Trumaí birth rate.

165 Infant mortality seems to have been high, and Quain was of the 849 opinion that it was further aggravated by abortion and infanticide. The fact that there were eight male children and but two girls suggests that infanticide must have been practiced only upon females. Quain's notes, however, give no indication that this was the fact. Pulmonary diseases 164 have devastated all the groups of the upper Xingú, but the drop in the 161 Trumaí population from 43 in 1938 to 25 in 1948 is probably not paralleled in the other villages during that time.

Village and Gardens

361 The Trumaí settlement was located a scant half-mile from a lagoon 133 that opened directly upon the east shore of the Kuluene just a few miles away. The mouth of the lagoon was narrow, but it broadened out into a lake of moderate size with many small bays and was ringed with [36] swamps. Proximity to the river made insects a continual nuisance during the rainy season. The Kamayurá village, located near the sandy beaches of a lagoon lined with *buriti* palms, was relatively free of insects.

361 The village consisted of four houses and another under construction. Between the houses and the surrounding forest lay an area of weeds and low underbrush into which refuse was thrown. The ground within the ring of houses was kept comparatively free of weeds and litter. The village "plaza" was about 200 feet wide. In the center were the log [231] bench and fireplace of the men's gathering place. Nearby was a conical wicker cage in which the village harpy eagle was kept for its feathers, which were used in ceremonies.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The plaza was the center of Trumaí social life. Here guests were entertained, ceremonials and wrestling matches were held, and the men gathered daily. Although the women might sit in front of their houses and watch these activities, they were not allowed to come near the log bench, even when the men were not there. The plaza of the Trumaí village was also used as the burying ground.

A short distance north of the circle of houses, on the path to the two main garden clearings of the Trumaí, was another smaller clearing used during the *ole*, or manioc, ceremonies. Other paths radiated outward from the village to the other gardens and to nearby groves of *piquí* trees. Quain noticed that the paths leading to the Kamayurá village were much broader and cleaner. The Kamayurá were proud of their paths and kept them in good condition. Their plaza was also clearer of weeds and trash than that of the Trumaí.

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The path which led from the village to Nariatan, the northwestern garden clearing, passed through the previously mentioned ceremonial clearing north of the village. A short distance beyond this point, a branch took off to the east and led to Waniwanitan, the northeastern and second largest clearing, which contained nine garden plots totaling approximately five acres. Each garden was tilled by a different man, but two men had plots in both Nariatan and Waniwanitan. The size of the average garden was one-half acre. There was no newly cleared land, and, in contrast to Nariatan which was still yielding, nearly all of the crop (mostly manioc) had either died or been harvested. Quain noticed that the soil in Nariatan had a gray tone, whereas that of Waniwanitan was reddish in hue. This difference in color was due to the ashes deposited by the more recent burning over of the former site.

Nariatan was a newer garden than Waniwanitan, and the former was planted to a variety of crops while the latter was nearly all in manioc. This is indicative of the common tropical forest slash and burn system whereby second year gardens are used only for manioc growing, and new areas in which the soil is still comparatively rich are used for other vegetables in addition to manioc. The Trumaí are unique, however, in that the garden clearing was divided into individually owned plots. Smaller individual gardens or large gardens cleared and cultivated collectively are the general rule in the rain forests of South America.

The three other clearings were small, and each contained one garden plot. One was one-quarter acre in size, while the other two each comprised one-half acre. These small gardens were connected with the village by separate paths and were closer to it than the two larger clearings. Anariatan, Nariatan and Waniwanitan were named after old village sites, but Quain knew of no abandoned locations from which the names Tan Toreake and Tandatake could have been derived.

Horticultural Techniques

It is difficult to assess the relative importance of horticulture, fishing and gathering in the subsistence economy of the Trumaí. At different times of the year each made the major contribution to the diet. Most garden products became available at about the middle of the rainy season, but manioc was dug up when needed throughout the year. Fish and manioc were staples the year-round, although fishing was poorer during the rains. Each was more important in the total diet than were the products of gathering. However, the subsistence of the Trumaí at certain times of the year, especially in the early part of the rainy season, would have been seriously threatened without the wild foods.

The agricultural cycle started in the early part of the dry season when the clearings needed for the next rainy season's gardens were made.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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"Tremendous interest in property, together with a simple and declining culture, results in my being a seriously disturbing element in their lives. Casual conversation always degenerates into a squabble about gift-giving .... There is intense pleasure in possession. Children get no sympathy when they are hurt, but objects are usually given to them. Every child has the right at least 'to see' anything he desires. In this respect children are pampered. Adults whine for things; withholding a desired object makes them intensely unhappy. Aggressive possession is admired.. Trade games make the exchange of property very fluid. Yet values in trade are well defined, and there is no prestige in giving more than one gets. Within the kinship circle, however, the old lavish property on the young. A father's garden is spoken of as that of his five year old son. There is a deliberate attempt to instill aggressive ownership attitudes in the young. A three year old girl is taught to claim objects in a loud voice. This is done by shouting the possessive pronoun....

"These are a settled people who live within the strict limits of their village. Their small number has advantage in the study of individuals. They have no knowledge of the world beyond the Kuluene-Kuliseu. It has no more real existence than the various inhabited regions of the heavens. The half dozen expeditions which have passed down the river have communicated with the natives only with signs. The one important result of such contact was division from peripheral tribes and the rise of metal tools. The disappearance of the stone industry, on which a defunct Trumaí moiety had a monopoly, has occurred within the last generation.[1] The increased leisure which probably resulted is not utilized economically.

"The complete lack of self-consciousness among these people makes behavior observation remarkably easy. Before I knew any of the language, I could sit by the hour in various households and time the actions of people while they paid no attention to me. For instance, one man during twenty minutes of leisure lay down to rest in his hammock fifteen different times, but each time disturbed himself with the remembrance of some petty chore undone....

"The only restriction of behavior that I have seen in casual intra-village personal relations is that the children are told not to litter the floor. The only positive rule is that the head of a household must sit with a guest and converse while the guest is inside his house .... Furthermore, extra-marital sexual intercourse has occurred in a shadowy corner of my house.. This lack of self-consciousness contrasts strongly with the Karajá, who are more prudish than the Fijians....

"Shortage of women, because of theft of young women, polygamy, lack of sexual interest in old wives (of which there are several), and

[1] Quain refers here to the moiety-like division of the Trumaí which has been discussed in Chapter Three. This appears to be rather a result of the merger of the northern and southern Trumaí villages. The latter specialized in axe-making.

Waura SP18
Yaulapiti
Trumai SP23

/121 cont./

W 122 487 and the trip across the southern lagoon -- and then a land route to the end or, as reckoned by us, to the beginning of the Auetö canal, where the plantings and shelter-huts of the Auetö were -- and finally, another embarkation there and the trip to the Auetö village.

W 122 The unpleasant thing was that for these three trips there was always only one canoe available, and, what was more, it might easily happen that this canoe would be underway and not available when it was needed.

From the second Yaulapiti village, first Ehrenreich and I departed in the one canoe that lay there, while Wilhelm and Carlos were obliged to sit in the shadeless swamp with the blazing heat of the sun for over three hours until they, too, W 123 were picked up. We two reached the first Yaulapiti village and had great difficulty in obtaining a canoe here and getting away; the people by all means wanted us to stay longer, so that W they would get more beads and knives. The chief, however, 123 seemed to have an additional reason for delaying our departure. 648 Not until he saw that we were adamant did he give us a canoe and tell us, looking fearful, that the Trumaí were among the Auetö. He was very much worried that we intended to do them harm. He urgently beseeched me not to, and as he was bidding me farewell he asked me once again in all seriousness, with very expressive pantomime, whether I were not going to cut the throats of all the Trumaí?

W /122/ We crossed the lagoon, sent the boat back, and set 122 out on the way to the Auetö canal. It was a fine afternoon; the W Indian who carried our luggage had a happy nature and, in spite [534] of his burden, happily blew his little Panpipe. In this pleasant mood we were disturbed by the braggart Moritona, the great sorcerer of the Yaulapiti, who came striding along, all alone, with his carrying basket. He tried to hold us back and delivered T a long speech, the alpha and omega of which were the Trumaí; ● 361 apparently they were nearby. We passed a spot where people had been camping and a number of fires had been burning. All

T 123 /124 cont./ pocket along the way. A certain amount was obviously missing; I hope it was distributed among various fanciers and taken by them with some success for the skin diseases particularly common among the Yaulapiti.

T 126 Much as we were urged to depart, we still had to undertake at least the most important body measurements and would not relent; seven men were measured in haste, in between our packing, and the only photographic plate left was used for a group shot -- unfortunately ruined later.

T 122 At 9:45 we set out in two canoes, accompanied by four Trumaí. Three times one would have to sleep, they said, before reaching their villages. The Mehinakú could also be reached by way of the canals and only one day was needed to their second village. At 11:00 we landed near the Auetó village, at a place other than where we had left. In the damp T [136] leaves lay huge quantities of giant earthworms; wherever one put his foot, he stepped on them. The path led us to the two huts of the Yaulapiti-Auetó families.

T ● 361 It is advisable to insert here what Vogel and Perrot reported about the Trumaí villages after their return home from Schingú-Koblenz. They had not caught sight of an Indian, but below the place where the Kulisehu empties into the Kuluëne, on a bank five meters high, they had found one Trumaí village of eight houses and, a kilometer farther east, a second one of five T houses with buildings under construction among them. The 727 Suyá had burned down all the houses and smashed whatever T was left of large pots and utensils. There were plantings of re- 241 markably large size and careful cultivation directly adjoining the T villages. About ten fresh graves were noted; judging from the 764 circular excavation, the corpses had been buried in a squatting position. They seemed to lie deep; at least they were /125/ not uncovered by some superficial subsequent digging. Antonio B had been very alarmed when Perrot said to him: "o doutor Carlos 186 precisa d'uma cabeça /Doctor Carlos wants a head/." It was only with great effort that Antonio had been persuaded to go along on the trip and expose himself to the possibility of meeting the detested Trumaí.

/127 cont./

B T 103 133 T [361] luggage. They reached the place where the Kulisehu empties /128/ into the beautiful wide Kuluëne in seven hours, passed a tributary on the left, a canal of the Mariapé-Nahuquá on the right, found on the right bank the Trumaí villages in the condition described on page 114, and from here were able in all of four hours -- in eight hours from the emptying of the Kulisehu -- to reach Schingú-Koblenz at the junction of the Kuluëne and Ronuro, that large sandy beach where our meeting with the Trumaí was enacted in 1884.

At that time the Trumaí had thus come down on their Kuluëne, and this large river, of which we knew only the mouth, was designated for us as the "Kulisehu." A strange development! On our new expedition we had sought the "Kulisehu" and had found and traveled the Kulisehu as well, but we had meant the Kuluëne. Even the Trumaí live below the Kulisehu mouth; farther up on the Kuluëne lived the Nahuquá tribes, which fortunately, however, were also settled on the Kulisehu in the village visited by us.

Vogel and Perrot had bad weather. On account of the cloud cover, the astronomical latitude could not be determined either at the mouth of the Kulisehu or in Koblenz. The Kuluëne was 241 meters wide below the Kulisehu mouth, 289 meters somewhat above it. From Koblenz they had gone up the Ronuro, had passed the Batovy mouth in a scant half hour -- where on 30 August 1884 we had emerged from the endlessly winding forest stream and for the first time were able to enjoy with some certainty the hope that we had actually found the Schingú -- and had finally continued the journey on the Ronuro for two kilometers farther upstream. The Ronuro had an average width of 250 meters and a depth of three to six meters; the Kuluëne, above Koblenz, measured only 187 meters and the main river at our sandy beach, 366 meters.

B 122 If we did not wish to jeopardize all of our success, the thought of traveling up the Kuluëne and visiting the other Nahuquá villages was completely out of the question. The rainy period had set in in earnest, the journey upstream was becoming

/154 cont./

000 B W 101 361 103 harpy village. Then, on the right bank, comes the village of the Nahuquá. Again on the left, somewhat apart and not visited by us, there is a fourth village of the Bakaïrí. Farther downstream the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ are on the left bank in the two villages which the Bakaïrí designated as Paischuéti (dogfish village) and Kalûti. It seems, however, that there are three villages; the Paischuéti-Mehinakú also spoke of the Yutapühü -- this would be "Kaluti" -- whose harbor we passed on 15 October, of the Atapilú, and at the same time warning us against the Ualapihü, Ulavapitü, that is, our Yaulapiti. From the Mehinakú territory there begin numerous canals, which, along with several lagoons, are found throughout the region between the lower courses of the Kulisehu and Batovy. The village of the Auetö may be regarded as a sort of central point for the canal traffic.*

B W 487 A [361]

A [101]

* It is really strange that their name seems to have this meaning. They are called "Auití" by their neighbors; now in Guaraní the unsoftened adjectival form apité means "what is at the center, in the middle."

B W 101 361 On two lagoons, in two villages, we find the Yaulapiti, on a third lagoon the Kamayurá /Camayura/, who had four villages close together and were on the point of uniting them into a single one. The Arauití (see p. 94) are a mixture of Yaulapiti and Auetö.

T 101 ● 361 167 The Kulisehu flows into the Kuluëne; a few hours of rowing led to the Trumaí settled in two villages on its right bank not far above Schingú-Koblenz. This tribe, driven away by the Suyá, had the intention of founding a new home near the Auetö.

Y 361 103 101 The Nahuquá live upstream on the Kuluëne, and also on small tributaries between it and the Kulisehu, in a series of villages that have separate names. We become acquainted with single individuals from the Guapirí, Yanumakapü, Guikurú /Kuikuru/, and Yaurikumá; the Yanumakapü, the Enomakabihü of the Bakaïrí, do not live on the main river, and of the Guapirí the Bakaïrí specifically pointed out that they are found overland between the Kulisehu and Kuluëne.

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The Nu-Aruak fall into the subdivisions of the Nu tribes and the Aruak. "Nu-" is the characteristic fossil of these tribes, the pronominal prefix of the first person, highly characteristic for most of them, which we come across from Bolivia and the Mato Grosso to the Lesser Antilles. In the Guianas we see the Nu-Aruak in intimate contact with the Karaiben; on the Lesser Antilles, where the Aruak were attacked and oppressed by the Karaiben, a true amalgamation would in all probability have come about without the arrival of the Europeans, bringing destruction. Father Raymond Breton in 1665 left us a dictionary of the Island Karaiben, whose Indian-French part, unfortunately only this, has become generally available in a facsimile edition, thanks to Julius Platzmann (Leipzig, 1892), and strove earnestly to separate the words of the Karaiben men and the Aruak women, where they differed, but proved by his compilation that two languages were no longer spoken independently of each other, as was mentioned above, but that the Karaiben men had allowed the substance and form of their old "mother tongue" to be tremendously changed by the new "language of their mothers."

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[171]
On the distant Kulisehu we met the exact mirror image of the conditions in the Guianas. The Mehinakú, Kustenaú, Waurá, and Yaulapiti are Nu-Aruak; their influence was clearly asserted in language and culture traits among the Nahuquá who had taken several Mehinakú women.

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Therefore, according to linguistic investigation, the tribes of the Schingú source region are to be classified as follows (the number of villages in parentheses):

Karaiben: Bakaïrí (8), Nahuquá (9);
Nu-Aruak: Mehinakú (3), Waurá (1), Kustenaú (1), Yaulapiti (2);
Tupí: Kamayurá (4), Auetö (1);
Isolated: Trumaí (2).

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/159/ Just as the Nahuquá embrace nine different "tribes," which correspond merely to nine different independent villages, we could likewise put the Mehinakú, Waurá, and Kustenaú together as one tribe. These three tribes speak exactly the same idiom. They also, as we shall see, form an ethnological unit,

/200/

III. Hunting, Agriculture, and "Stone Age" Culture.

Population figures. Location of the villages. Combination of ancient agriculture and the world view of hunters. Hunting and fishing must furnish the most important tools for the tribes lacking metals, for whom the expression "Stone Age" is incorrect. Stone-ax monopoly, teeth, bones, shells, feathers. List of useful plants and distribution according to tribes. No bananas. Plant names as evidence of continuous development. Lack of intoxicating flour-beverages proves that simplicity is not the same as degeneration. Combination of hunting and agriculture made possible through the division of labor of the sexes. Indian women do the agriculture; they invent pots to replace gourds; the men do the roasting, the women the boiling. Culture with agriculture, pottery, and the preparation of flour was spread and maintained by foreign women after wars, in particular by Nu-Aruak women.

The population of the Schingú /Xingu/ source region probably amounts to approximately 2500-3000 souls. I am not in a position to give more than a very superficial estimate. Even in the third Bakaïrí village, the young women and girls fled into the woods when we arrived. Usually the fugitives gradually returned, to be sure, but we never knew for certain whether we were seeing before us the normal number of inhabitants. The opposite also occurred, namely, that visitors from the neighboring villages had come in, and the company surrounding us seemed too large. The smallest villages consisted of only two family-houses, the largest of almost 20. In general, it will be correct if one reckons for the villages, depending on their size, a population of 30 to 150 and, where it is high, up to 200 inhabitants.

Only the Trumaí and, beyond Schingú-Koblenz, the Suyá lived along the river bank. These were the most warlike and restless tribes; one might regard the Suyá as the pike in a fish pond. The rest lived in peaceful security, often more than two hours of travel inland from the river. But while the river in the region of the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ was still narrow and had

SP8 Bororo
Trumai SP23
Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25

T 101 361 648 [50]

The Trumai were met on the west bank of the Kuluseu, between the Anahukua and Mehinaku ports. They had no canoes. We learned that their village was close to the Batovy. It would seem that they also have shifted their village site since Von den Steinen's encounter with them.

All of these people live at peace with each other, though of course quarrels arose at times. Their common enemies are, however, the tribes living to the east and west, tribes that roam across the headwaters and depend on hunting rather than fishing for food.

B 101 829

The Bakairi gave the following list of tribes that are supposed to live in the forests east of the Kuluene: Kayahó (Kayapó); Kaviji; Turi; Maritsava; Phoi, who are pygmies, a little over a metre high; Penehoko, who are a very large people; Tsuyakadi, who also are very large; Yaruma; Suya; Tsuruna; and, on the Paranatinga, the Tonali, who are also known as Kayabi, Kajabi; Apiakala (Apiaka) and the Pana, who are a very tall people.

Y 101 829 648

The Kalapalu gave the names of the following tribes who are supposed to live to the east of the Kuluene and with whom they are permanently in a state of war: lower part of Kuluene, the Siuya (Suya) and Tsuruna (Juruna); directly to the east of their village, the Ahinkotl, Turi, Juruma, Tumbilyaka, Kayapo (big feet) Alitsowa, Aiiva, Yahã, Ravine, Aruga (hide away to kill people), Yarpitsu (kill people), Tahulgi (pygmies). [See map, Plate XXV.]

Y B 648

Our attempt to meet some of these tribes that are supposed to have their villages close to the banks of the Seventh of September river was not successful. In view of the above linguistic grouping of the tribes, it is interesting to note their attitude toward each other. The Bakairi, who are Caribs, distrust and fear the Anahukua, who are of the same linguistic stock, affirming to me again and again that they are a bad people. They were relieved when we left their neighborhood. On the other hand they praised the Mehinaku, and were not even afraid to leave their goods about. The Mehinaku are Arawaks. My canoemen were also at ease with the Aura and the Yawalapiti, and seemed to expect nothing from the Trumai, whom they considered an inferior and poor people. The Auiti were watched with suspicion, but the Kamayula were actually feared, as well as the Tsuva, Kuikutl and Kalapalu, the first being Tupi and the last three Caribs; but the Paravute were praised for their honesty and peaceful disposition, and seemed to recognize in the Bakairi.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

The Trumaí made no war clubs at the time of Quain's investigation, although von den Steinen stated that the Trumaí and the Suyá were the only groups of the region to have clubs.[6] The only war club in the village was a long, fluted one of wood that the Waurá had captured from the Suyá and had subsequently given to one of the Trumaí men. It was only used ceremonially.

Firemaking

Fires were kindled by use of a simple, hand-twirled fire drill. Generation of a new fire was not often necessary as there was almost always an active fire in the village from which a flame could be taken. Gathering firewood was woman's work.

Ornaments and Body Decoration

Except for ornaments, men and women were completely nude. The women wore a cord belt that passed around the body just above the buttocks. Some of the women still had what Quain called a "fig leaf," probably a piece of leaf or bark, strung on a cord passing between the buttocks. It was known as the *tdesnit*, the Trumaí term for the *uluri*, the common upper Xingú version of which they did not use.

Except for occasional body painting, the women indulged in little ornamentation. They were plucked of all body hair, but in contrast to the shorter tonsure of the males, they let their hair grow over their shoulders.

The men wore belts of cotton thread or bark fiber, but did not tie their penes. Occasionally flat shell beads were strung around the waist, but more often they were used in necklaces. Necklaces, which were worn in ceremonies, were made by stringing flat rectangular shells on cotton thread. The shells were strung only on the front half of the necklace. Quain noted one type that had two black panels on each end of the necklace. Shell necklaces were an important commodity in intertribal trade, as has already been indicated. Cotton or bark fiber bands were tied around the ankles, just below the knees, and around the biceps.

Featherwork ornaments were worn ceremonially and included headdresses, ear pendants, and feather necklaces. Quain noted one pendant made from the whole breast of a bird. The breast had four colored bands: black, yellow, red, and again yellow, from top to bottom. Another feather pendant consisted of black, red, and yellow feathers arranged in bands and attached to a short piece of wood. A black tree resin held the feathers firmly in place. The feathers were obtained from the tips of parrot wings.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 232.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

249 Urucú is a plant bearing a pod; the
386 interior of which yields a red paint used in body painting and the decoration of artifacts.

244 Bitter manioc was by far the most important crop, while maize and
[243] sweet potatoes ranked second and third, respectively. Most of the crops were planted in the same three-to-four-week period, but the gardener usually planted manioc before the other vegetables. For this purpose, holes were dug at six to ten foot intervals wherever space between the charred logs permitted. A short trench was first dug with a hoe, and then, from the opposite side, an adjacent trench was dug. The loose earth from the second trench was piled into the first, in which the manioc was then planted. Each pair of trenches was made with about fifty hoe strokes.

244 Shoots for planting were obtained by cutting sections from the stalks
242 of old manioc plants. About ten shoots were planted in each hole by thrusting them at an angle into the loose earth. The gardener tried to plant the stems deeply so that the developing tubers would receive maximum moisture. Slipshod gardeners, however, often thrust them in lightly and heaped earth around the stems. The shoots were inserted at slightly different angles to minimize the tangle of stems and thus facilitate the harvesting, but all shoots pointed in a general westerly direction. Quain was told that if they were planted otherwise, the wind would break the growing stalks.

243 The procedure for planting maize was somewhat simpler. The gardener brought a large container of seed corn and a jug of water to the area to be planted. He soaked some of the kernels, and then put them in a small gourd which he carried with him. Small holes, three to four inches deep, were dug with a digging stick (*mica*) or knife blade in the open spaces between the manioc holes. Into each hole three or four kernels were dropped. A small pile of the loose earth that had just been dug up remained next to the depression in which the corn was planted. This served to trap the early rains. The digging stick and knife were the only implements used in maize planting, whereas only the hoe was used to plant manioc.

244 Men planted manioc; the women were said by the men to "not know
462 how." Indicative of the importance of manioc, the word for planting refers only to manioc planting. Thus, a man who told Quain that he had finished his planting went to his garden the next day to put in sweet potatoes. Similarly, Quain was told that women do not "plant." He soon
[241] learned, however, that women could plant other crops, but, with the exception of cotton, it was always done under the supervision of the men.

The most active horticultural role of the women was harvesting. The
[493] wife of the gardener went to his plot to dig up manioc and pick vegetables, which she carried back to the village in a basketry container balanced on her head. If the gardener had no wife, the female relative in his household who prepared his food brought in his crop.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

Necklaces were made by tying feathers to a cotton cord with *buriti* fibers. Headdresses included one consisting of a ring of cotton threads with colored feathers attached. The front feathers were long and formed a sort of plume. Another headdress, a feather topknot tied to a cotton headnet, was captured in warfare with the Caiabí. A third was a crown woven of bamboo splints traded from the Waurá for arrow feathers. There were probably many other kinds, as intertribal trade in headdresses was lively.

Belts and anklets were also traded between tribes. A few Brazilian type shirts and hats had found their way into the Trumaí village. They had been obtained from travelers in the region, and especially from the missionaries, Thomas Young and his wife.

The men wore their hair cut straight around the head on a line even with the tops of the ears. A small patch on the crown was plucked, but Quain noted that the Trumaí were much less careful about keeping these parts free of new growth than were the neighboring groups. The scissors which Quain gave to one of the men replaced the old method of hair cutting with an instrument made of *piranha* teeth. A composite comb (*kuwau*) was also used. The back was made of two parallel pieces of cane joined by cotton thread and the teeth of splints from the small roots of a palm-like shrub.

The Trumaí used several vegetable paints to decorate their bodies. This method of adornment was always invoked for ceremonies, and often for wrestling, or when there were guests. The paint most commonly used was the red *urucú* (*matdot*) which was grown in the gardens. The *urucú* was made into a paste by mixing it with oil from the visceral fat of a fish. The paste could be rolled into a ball and applied directly, or spread with the fingers or a spatula made from the middle rib of the *buriti* leaf.

Other body paints were *tawariri*, a black tree gum mixed with soot, and a preparation made from *piquí* fruit and fish oil. There was also a dye, *atdot*, which was not described, and one or two other paints which Quain was unable to identify. *Jany*, a non-decorative paste made from the liver of a fish, was used to ward off insects.

Designs included dots, crescents, zig-zags, circles, curves, straight lines, and combinations of these. Quain observed several standard patterns, many of which were symbolic; others were possibly symbolic representations also, but he was unable to learn their meanings.

One man painted crescents on his chest above either nipple which he said represented vaginas. A rattlesnake design consisted of a half ellipse on the flanks with dots in the center. Quain was told that a design of red spots, with two near the nipples ringed in black, was a boa constrictor. Another snake pattern, made by painting zig-zags down the sides and back, was used on one of the posts erected during the *ole* ceremony.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

but the frequent repetitions and the small number of pitches made accompaniment possible, and their voices fell consistently into the fourth interval below those of the men. The women, however, enjoyed their role thoroughly and gave far better support than the men, who made little effort to coordinate their activities. 796 243 533

The songs were arranged in a series of three verses. Each time a new house was entered, the singer started a new series. Matiwana's songs were more elaborate than Nitvary's. Occasionally the old man would make a mistake and have to start the verse over again, but these lapses merely amused him. The only musical instrument used was the tapir hoof rattle. [534]

Quain gives no detailed information on the dances involved, but apparently they were simple, and perhaps partially improvised. Nitvary was the sole person to take special pains with his toilet before leading a dance. At such a time he usually wore a feather headdress and painted his body ornately. [535] [302]

One of the more important parts of the *ole* ceremony was the complex of activities surrounding the *ole* posts. A few days after the ceremony began several poles were brought into the clearing just outside the village, and the bark was peeled from them. They were rubbed with white clay and painted in colored designs. Each man placed the pole he had decorated upon his shoulders and brought it into the village with shouts and singing. With the poles on their shoulders, they danced about the village, finally placing their burdens upright in holes that had been dug previously in the village plaza. The children helped by packing dirt around them. The women then smeared red *urucú* dye on the bases of the poles and just below the upper ends. Tufts of cotton were put on top by both men and women. An offering in the form of fish on *beijú* was placed in front of the posts. Later in the afternoon, and early every afternoon for the next two weeks, the men ate together among these poles. Their attitude in this ceremonial milieu was certainly not one of special reverence, for they draped two blankets Quain had given them over the posts for shade. 796 243 [386] [782]

Nearly every day additional food offerings were placed in front of the posts. One post was given special attention. This was Nukekerehe, which was said to be malignant. However, fear of Nukekerehe was mixed with jokes. Quain was told one night that the men would not go to bed until he did, for if he stayed up long Nukekerehe would surely eat him. Weeks later, when the posts were pulled up and brought into the houses of their owners, the man carrying this pole stamped his feet at the children and pretended anger, much to everyone's amusement. On one occasion Matiwana performed a ritual in which he was apparently acting the part of Nukekerehe. He made wrathful noises and jumped about in front of the post, before which were two bowls of manioc soup. [782] 796 243 522 [267]

/287 cont./

A W 352 532 825 chiefly in their beaks; that of the wood ibis is curved ibis-like. The largest and handsomest birds were preferably portrayed. Thus, among the Mehinakú, we found a magnificent king-vulture, Sarcoramphus papa, or red urubu. The red warts

Fig. 82. Tujujú stool. Kamayurá. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration.

which this splendid predatory bird has between its beak and its eyes were carefully carved. The Trumaí stool illustrated here (Fig. 84 /see p. 326/) is supposed to represent the white urubu; it lacks the warts. Strangely enough, it was given two necks

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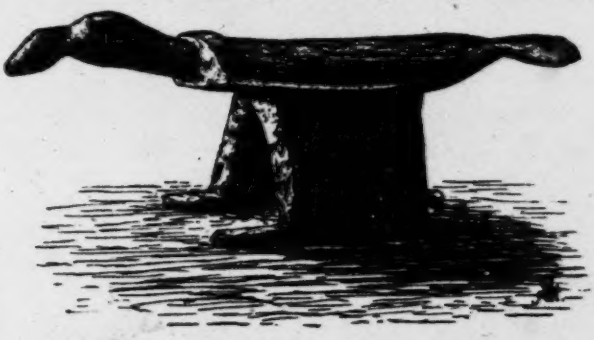

Fig. 83. Wood-ibis stool. Mehinakú. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

T 352 532 825 171 and heads, so we see here the chief's chair in the form of a double eagle; they are supposed to be male and female. By contrast,

T [386] [415] the /288/ the depression in the back-plate is somewhat prosaic; it serves as a bowl for crushing and mixing the dyeing resin. In

[Text continues on P. 327]

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

The situation was comparable to the previously mentioned communal planting of the garden of the Kamayurá, Uluku.

Canoes

The standard bark canoe of the upper Xingú was made and used by the Trumaí.[4] Construction was simple and much less time was required to complete it than the typical dugout canoe of the tropical forest. A long, rectangular piece of bark was cut from the *jatobá* tree by men standing on platforms. The bark was then heated over a fire to soften it. The sides were bent up, and the top end of the bark, which narrowed slightly, was made into the bow by bending it upwards. The center of the stern was bent inwards, allowing the whole stern to be well above the water. Leaks were mended with patches of river mud or clay. Propulsion was by paddle, although occasionally poles were used.

There was also one small dugout in the village which belonged to Aloari, Quain's cook and helper. Aloari had been a Yuruna captive, and it was undoubtedly during this experience that he had learned to make this type craft. He also had a bark canoe and was the only Trumaí to own two canoes.

Basketry

The Trumaí men manufactured baskets that were variously shaped and served several purposes. In general, the Trumaí were less skilled in this art than their upper Xingú neighbors. Among the baskets described by Quain was a deep, round tray made of *buriti* fiber and another which was used to store manioc flour and, when equipped with shoulder and forehead tumplines, to carry loads. The latter was an openwork container made of bark strips. A smaller basket of this type was made of *buriti* fibers. The manioc sieve, or *tuafi*, was made of stiff *buriti* fronds and was also used to store small articles. It was made by the women. The women also made a bark cloth bag known as the *idesnit*, a term that, in addition, designated the female pubic covering.

All of the baskets and similar containers described by Quain were made by other groups of the area, but the art of manufacturing certain varieties was known to only a few Trumaí. Some baskets were obtained in trade.

Textiles

All work in cotton was the exclusive province of the women. Hammocks of both twined and woven types were made. The loom consisted of two upright posts between which a warp of *buriti* fiber was extended.

[4] Cf. von den Steinen 1897, pp. 322-23.
[i.e. building Quain's house -- Analyst]

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

Specialization and Trade

439 Among the more distinctive features of upper Xingú culture are community craft specialization and a widespread system of trade re- [438] lationships. The Trumaí traded among themselves, but the most important exchanges took place on the intertribal level, and it is here that the products of tribal specialization become significant to the economy. [182] At the time of Quain's investigations, the Arawakans maintained a [323] monopoly on pottery, but the once active Trumaí stone axe manufacture had fallen into disuse. In its place, the Trumaí were specializing [317] in the preparation of salt, obtained by burning a species of water-lily and sifting the ashes. The Trumaí depended on the Kamayurá for a highly prized type of bow, as the proper wood was not found in their [411] territory. According to Oberg, this black, rectangular bow was eagerly sought by other tribes, also.[28]

While the Kamayurá monopoly on these bows can be explained by the local availability of the raw materials, craft specialization cannot be looked upon simply as a function of the exclusive possession of certain skills. Other arts diffused rapidly among the tribes, and it is evident that the specialties remained such for non-economic reasons. For example, the three Arawakan tribes, the Mehinaku, Kustenaú and Waurá, all made pottery, but each traded their wares only with certain tribes. The Bacairí obtained their pottery from the Kustenaú, who were, in von den Steinen's time, their neighbors on the Batoví River. On the Kuliseu, the Nahukwa traded for ceramics with the nearby Mehinaku, while the Tupian-speaking tribes and the Trumaí relied on the Waurá. Despite the fact that each Arawakan tribe dealt with its nearest neighbors, the exclusiveness of these relationships is not a physical necessity. [602] The Trumaí could have obtained Mehinaku pottery. They had many [881] kinship ties with the Mehinaku, and even conducted joint puberty rites. The distance between them was not great. Manifestly some standardized channeling of trade relationships existed.

This is further confirmed by the confinement of pottery manufacture to the Arawakans. It is probable that when the various groups first settled in the area, the Arawakans were the only ceramicists. With the development of close intertribal relationships, however, there was every opportunity for the craft to diffuse. It could have been learned by outsiders in trips to Arawakan villages and then practiced at home, as the clay is easily gotten from the river bottoms. Obvious means for its diffusion were marriage or capture of Arawakan women. But the manufacture of pottery was not observed by Quain in any non-Arawakan village of the area, despite the fact that Arawakan women were living [303] in many such communities. In the Trumaí village no pottery was made,

[28] Oberg 1953, p. 20.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

The usual procedure was for each man to clear a garden plot adjacent to the others; in this way the two large clearings of Nariatan and Waniwanitan were created. The three isolated small clearings might have been nuclei for future large clearings.

All the trees in the plot to be cleared were felled, and the underbrush was slashed away. This has been done with steel axes since the upper Xingú Indians came in contact with the outside world. Quain noted that much more work must have been involved in clearing the forest when stone axes were used. Even with improved implements, clearing land was the most arduous work done by the Trumaí. Stumps were not uprooted, nor were the fallen trees and shrubs removed. The dead vegetation was allowed to dry, and the plot was burned over just before planting in September. When planting, the Trumaí followed the simple expedient of avoiding burned tree trunks and stumps. One year old garden plots were made ready for replanting simply by pulling out or chopping down weeds.

The heavy work of clearing the land fell to the men. In one case reported by Quain, two men from the same household cleared a plot jointly, but in all other instances each garden was cleared by one man.

Permanent rights to land resided in the community as a whole, but gardens were spoken of as belonging to the man who had cleared the land. He also had proprietary rights over the crops, even when he had not planted them himself. Generally, however, such fine points of property were not an issue, as the man who cleared the land usually planted it. Land tenure was a function of use only.

Absolute, permanent ownership of property in land would have had no purpose, as the gardens were temporary and were abandoned when the soil was exhausted after two consecutive plantings.

The planting season began after the first light rains and lasted from about the middle of September to about the second week in October. The first heavy daytime rains arrive at the beginning of October and become more frequent throughout the month. Thus the sowing was done after the earth was moistened, but before the rains arrived in full force.

Quain made note of a variety of food plants growing in the Trumaí gardens. These included bitter manioc (*olé*), corn (*xotet*), squash, large beans (*kumana*), small beans (*kumana'i*), sweet potatoes (*mani*), sugar cane (*kmeniye*), a species of pineapple (*tousus ruyus*), and banana trees (*tsi tlatlat*). Among the domesticated non-food plants were tobacco, cotton (*amandya*), the castor bean (*putasy*), and *urucú* (*matdot*). Quain believed that the castor bean was used for the round hollow point of the whistling arrow, but Oberg says that the Kamayurá make theirs with hollow nuts of the tucúm palm.[1] *Urucú* is a plant bearing a pod, the

[1] Oberg 1962, p. 31.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

The woof was made of cotton threads. The men's hammocks were usually woven, while those made by the women for themselves were generally an inferior twined product. Other manufactures of cotton were arm and leg bands.

Ceramics

The knowledge of ceramic manufacture cannot be properly considered a part of Trumaí culture, despite their daily use of pottery in cooking, manioc processing, eating and storage. All pottery utensils were obtained in trade with the Arawakan Waurá, usually in return for salt. The only clay article of Trumaí manufacture was the *ja'meo*, a crude clay griddle on which the *beijú* was baked. The Trumaí did not rely completely on pottery for watertight containers, as gourds, grown in their own gardens, were extensively used.

Wood Manufactures

All woodwork was done by the men with, at the time of Quain's visit, steel tools. The most distinctive article was the zoomorphically carved wooden stool, found among all upper Xingú peoples. Quain's notes contain a sketch of one such stool which is very similar to the one depicted by von den Steinen.[6] Other wood products were canoe paddles, *beijú* paddles, manioc graters, and mortars and pestles, used by the women to pulverize the hard, dry balls of manioc flour.

Weapons

Bows and arrows were used almost to the exclusion of other weapons. The Trumaí got their bows in trade from the Kamayurá, but made the bowstrings themselves from the fiber of a tree known to them as the *patacy*. They made their own feathered arrows out of cane, at the end of which was inserted a thin wooden shaft. The points were fixed to the shaft with a tree resin (*awalitsu*) and were wrapped at the juncture with cotton thread. Monkey bone points were used for shooting fish and birds. One man who was making a bamboo point told Quain that it was used for hunting and warfare. Another was seen hammering an arrow point out of a piece of metal.

Spears were not used often, although the Trumaí made them. Quain saw a spear point being made of the shin bone of a tapir. The spear-thrower (*xopep*) was used only in the annual spear-throwing contest. It was made from the wood of a palm. Quain sketched one that had a flat handle with a finger hole and a shaft with a hook on the end, and another that lacked the hook, but had a thong on the end.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 141.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

The Trumaí made no war clubs at the time of Quain's investigation, although von den Steinen stated that the Trumaí and the Suyá were the only groups of the region to have clubs.[8] The only war club in the village was a long, fluted one of wood that the Waurá had captured from the Suyá and had subsequently given to one of the Trumaí men. It was only used ceremonially.

Firemaking

Fires were kindled by use of a simple, hand-twirled fire drill. Generation of a new fire was not often necessary as there was almost always an active fire in the village from which a flame could be taken. Gathering firewood was woman's work.

Ornaments and Body Decoration

Except for ornaments, men and women were completely nude. The women wore a cord belt that passed around the body just above the buttocks. Some of the women still had what Quain called a "fig leaf," probably a piece of leaf or bark, strung on a cord passing between the buttocks. It was known as the *tdesnit*, the Trumaí term for the *uluri*, the common upper Xingú version of which they did not use.

Except for occasional body painting, the women indulged in little ornamentation. They were plucked of all body hair, but in contrast to the shorter tonsure of the males, they let their hair grow over their shoulders.

The men wore belts of cotton thread or bark fiber, but did not tie their penes. Occasionally flat shell beads were strung around the waist, but more often they were used in necklaces. Necklaces, which were worn in ceremonies, were made by stringing flat rectangular shells on cotton thread. The shells were strung only on the front half of the necklace. Quain noted one type that had two black panels on each end of the necklace. Shell necklaces were an important commodity in intertribal trade, as has already been indicated. Cotton or bark fiber bands were tied around the ankles, just below the knees, and around the biceps.

Featherwork ornaments were worn ceremonially and included headdresses, ear pendants, and feather necklaces. Quain noted one pendant made from the whole breast of a bird. The breast had four colored bands: black, yellow, red, and again yellow, from top to bottom. Another feather pendant consisted of black, red, and yellow feathers arranged in bands and attached to a short piece of wood. A black tree resin held the feathers firmly in place. The feathers were obtained from the tips of parrot wings.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 222.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

Jakwanari then presented to the dancers as payment. In another part of the ceremony, a gourd of the *piquí* fruit drink was poured on Jakwanari in the same manner that the manioc gruel was poured on Matiwana during the *ole* festival.

The Spear-Throwing Contest

The spear-throwing contest involved intertribal participation and was completely secular. The core of the celebration, which took place at the end of the rainy season, was a duel between rival teams representing the tribes of the area. The purpose of the duel was for a member of the team on the offensive to strike a member of the defending team with a blunt-ended spear propelled by an *atlatl*, or spear-thrower. The defendant held a few sticks vertically, one end resting on the ground, and tried to deflect the oncoming spear with them. The distance between the two was about twenty paces and hits were frequently scored. After each turn, the defender went on the offensive. The games were conducted in a spirit of friendship and festivity. Bruises, some of which must have been severe, were compensated for by gift exchanges.

The participants painted their bodies elaborately for the combat. One informant erroneously stated that the masks for which the area is famous (but which were no longer made by the Trumaí) were worn during one part of the festival.[1] Intertribal wrestling matches were also held at this gathering.

The Bull Roarer

Information on the defunct bull roarer rites, as for other ceremonies, is extremely meagre. As the Trumaí express it, they have "buried the *kulà*" (bull roarer), but most of the adult men knew the ritual connected with it and remembered when it was still in use. The Trumaí formerly went to the Kamayurá village and took part in the ceremony there. One man told Quain that dancing in the Trumaí village preceded the ritual, whereupon they all went to the Kamayurá village and "did things that the women cannot see." Then, he said, there was a great deal of wrestling and copulation. Yati, Maibu, and Tun played a ceremonial role known only to them, while Yati, Oirupa, and Nitvary sang certain songs at night when everyone was asleep. The ceremonial flutes found throughout the upper Xingú are not mentioned in Quain's notes. Apparently, they were no longer used by the Trumaí.

[1] These masks are worn during a ceremony called the *jakui* by the Kamayurá, which, according to Galvão (1950, p. 355.) takes place in the same season, thus explaining the confusion.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

All other play was more spontaneous and uncoordinated. Amusement and education were derived from using small bows and arrows which all boys possessed and the older ones knew how to make. Much of their time was spent shooting at insects and other targets in the village, but three or four children might occasionally go together to the lagoon and shoot fish from the banks. Sometimes they would wander off to the clearings when planting was in progress, or travel through the woods to gather guava. Few restraints were placed on their movements.

Nor was the sex play of children greatly inhibited by their elders. Actually there was no heterosexual activity between children, for there were no girls of appropriate age in the village. Thus, pre-pubescent sexual relations occurred between boys or between boys and men, and almost always it was the boys who were the instigators. Quain felt certain that Tay was the only member of the village who might be considered a homosexual. He was an orphan, and although he was fed and housed, he was identified with no family, and no one took any special interest in him. Tay, more than any boy, remained aloof from other children. His sexual advances were directed to a large extent toward the older males, who often cooperated with him. For example, he often wrapped his legs around Jakuma's hips, going through sexual motions. The older man would giggle when he did this and show signs of being mildly stimulated. Mayuva, among others, was less receptive, but his only mode of resistance was to arch his body away from the boy.

The sexual play of a young child might even include his father. Quain observed little Tsirikoan tugging at his father's penis. The father showed some annoyance, but only because he did not want to be bothered. Although children were rarely manipulated in this way by the men, Quain saw Yanahi, a young married man, amusing himself and some boys by pulling Tsirikoan's penis until the child had an erection. The boys whispered to Yanahi that Quain was watching, but this apparently made no difference to him, for he continued his activity.

The minor homosexual engagements that took place between the boys themselves were likewise in the nature of play. Quain saw no homosexuality between adults, and, contrary to Levi-Strauss' inference from Quain's notes, there was no kinship tie that implied permissible homosexual relations.[1]

The facts of sex were certainly no secret to the children. Living in undivided houses and sleeping with or adjacent to their parents, they were aware at an early age of the sexual activities of their elders. No effort was made to keep sexual knowledge from them, and they derived considerable amusement from the sexual affairs of the adults. Tsirikoan and some other boys raised a great hue and cry when they happened

[1] Levi-Strauss 1948, p. 337.

/191 cont./

484 In perfect order, as though this were a carefully rehearsed theatri-
501 cal performance /192/ supported by very successful scenery, the
609 long, narrow craft glided silently along, a considerable distance from our praia /sandy shore; see the glossary, p. 172 /, closer to
[291] the opposite wooded shore; no command sounded. Almost all
[302] the naked occupants were painted black and bright red on faces
[287] and bodies, many simply blackened all over with soot; on their heads they wore white feather caps, the hair was cut short all
[141] around, as among the Bakaïrí; the standing ones were overtopped by the bows, almost two and a half meters long, and in the left hand held a thick bundle of colorfully feathered arrows.

609 Gradually they came to a stop and the stillness was followed
576 by a dreadful noise, a fanatical howling and bellowing. There
[101] could be no doubt but that they were Trumaí, for they shouted this word incessantly as though their lives depended on it, beat their fists against their chests, and at the same time made bows with their upper bodies all the more violently since their legs had little room for lively gesticulation. Nevertheless, if any of us had behaved half as excitedly in the canoe, we would surely have fallen hopelessly into the water at the very beginning of the imitation. But we were on firm ground, and the example is contagious. We, too, howled; we, too, bellowed; we, too, beat our chests. Everybody shouted whatever he happened to remember of an Indian language: "Katú, hekatú Trumaí, Bakaïrí, Kustenaú," interspersed with an occasional lusty "diavo," heiliges Donnerwetter /hang it all/ in German, "don't these fellows have any sense?"

[123] But far from it! No matter how invitingly we waved to them, how affably we clapped our hands, how graciously we pointed to our campsite, as though we were speaking to the Spaniard, "Sir, this house is your house," it did not help in the least. It was clear that this performance is official on the Schingú; we should be committing a breach of etiquette were we to speak of other things before we had thoroughly introduced ourselves to each other for half an hour.

/194 cont./

609 123 [437] [262] It was only then that we recovered our senses and were able to understand the reason for the incident. Apparently the Trumaí had been animated by the urgent desire to barter as soon as possible and with as little ceremony as possible for some of our treasures in exchange for their miserable beijûs, which looked gray as though made with buckwheat flour, were coarse-grained, and tasted slightly sour. With this in mind they had been active everywhere. Of Wilhelm's companions, one had been busy with the hunting knife and the other with the gun at the same time, and the latter, while my cousin was trying in the friendliest way to keep them off, had unfortunately pressed the cock. In any case the culprit was the most surprised by the effect; otherwise he would not have been kicking so frightenedly on the ground.

In spite of the miraculous speed with which they dashed to the boats, however, the Trumaí had not lost all presence of mind. The two who had just been trying on Castro's and Antonio's hats did not forget in their hasty running to put them on well down over their heads. Another old hand had still found time on his flight to snatch up quickly one of the large fish lying on the beach.

Antonio's behavior when he was so unexpectedly deprived of his precious hat was characteristic. Without further ado he shot his pistol at the thief, but in his rage fortunately missed. And when we /Illustration appears here/ /195/ asked him whether he really wanted to kill the man, he nodded with the greatest composure, "Yes, he had my hat."

126 ●411 The returning men brought back a rich ethnological collection, at least in terms of the number of objects. The bows were very fine and strong; one was shot to pieces, proof that the shots had not been fired entirely happazardly. The arrows provided with pointed pieces of bamboo were plentiful; these bamboo blades, which, as could be easily seen, had been freshly sharpened, are only loosely inserted in the shaft with a little resin; after the arrow has reached its mark, they break off and remain embedded in the body. There was a single club, crudely worked, flat, 86 301 centimeters long. One feather ornament was particularly pretty; 237 the green, orange-colored, and white feathers were mounted on

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 79]

1: Steinen--78), E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi
Trumai SP23

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Trumaí

1: Steinen--165 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Trumai SP23
Suya SP21
Yuruna SQ26

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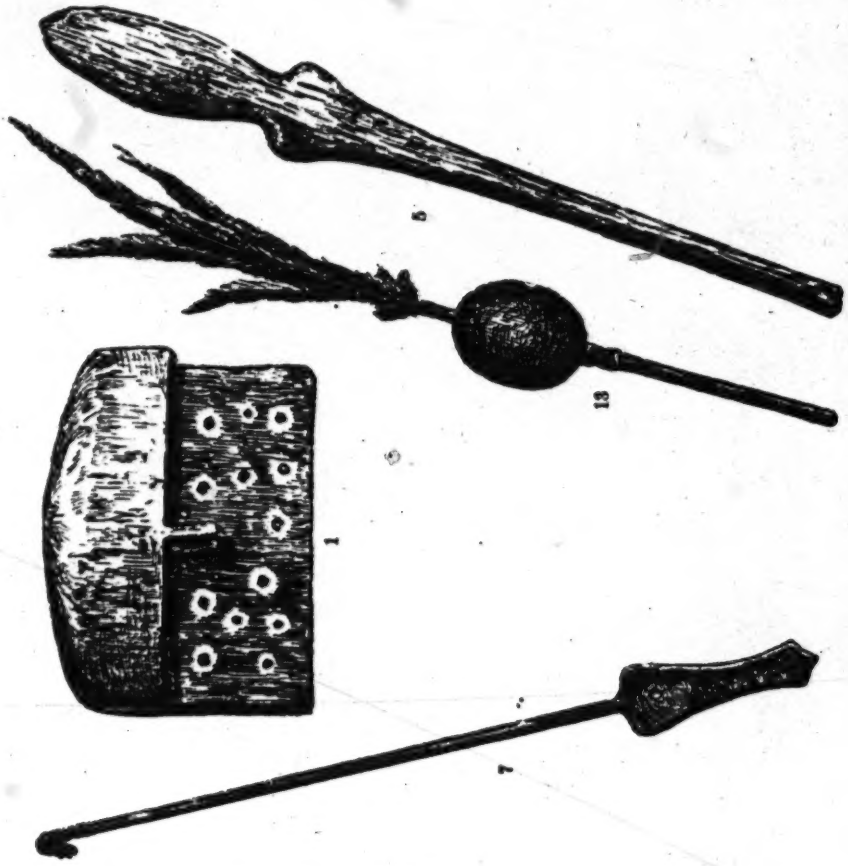

Ethnological Plate II

/reproduced on pp. 165-169/. Bakaïrí: 1. Dove mask for a dance. 2. Flute (meni). 3. Stone ax. 4. Oar. Trumaí: 5. Club. Suyá: 6. Club. 7. Arrow thrower (throwing board). 8. Stone ax. 9. Bone knife. 10. Beijú turner. Yuruna: 11. Oar. 12. Flute. 13. Gourd rattle. Karajá: 14. Club.

/122 cont./

All

123 192 doubts vanished at the end of the trail. Two women there were crossing the path, let out a dreadful scream, and disappeared with lightning speed into the bushes. A chorus of confused, shrill cries and suddenly between the trees figures running excitedly hither and thither everywhere. We were in the midst of the Trumaí!

An unpleasant situation. To go back was, of course, impossible. Therefore, straight ahead. I have never heard more insane noise. In the background women and children dashed away with ear-splitting howls; the men gathered up their [411] weapons here and there and, swinging bows, arrows, darts, they drew together into a screaming, dancing, raging knot, toward which we resolutely strode, one behind the other. I fixed my eye on a short gentleman who seemed to be the chief, stepped straight up to him, placed my hand on his shoulder, and did what is always best on such occasions, I laughed. Nor did I omit a forcefully expressed "katú katú karáiba, kúra kúra karáiba." In fact, I addressed several short sentences to him in a language which he had most probably never heard, but the sounds of which readily spring to my lips at critical moments and then always help to triumph over the gravity of the situation; it is my beloved Düsseldorf dialect, reinforced with a few carnivalistic catchwords that are appropriate for any situation. They had their effect on the Trumaí as well; the little old chief was, to be sure, too horrified to be able to laugh with me, but he nevertheless greeted me as graciously as he could.

[352 532] Two stools were hastily dragged up and the straw in which they were packed was torn off; they were bird-shaped, and one, which represented a vulture, was distinguished by two necks and heads, like a double eagle. We sat down in the forest camp, and the company, looking quite wild in their terror, surged and pressed all around us among the trees. When I declared with jovial mien that I wanted to sleep among them, twenty hands moved at once clearing away the brush and making room -- more attentive service could not be imagined. After

/123 cont./

437 knives and some sacrifices from our personal belongings, we acquired a small, not unattractive collection. The people had protected from the Suyá and carried along with them the
126 things that were most important for us. There were feather
437 ornaments, necklaces of stone beads, a stone ax, valuable as
[439] an example of local manufacture, for the other Kulisehu tribes obtain their stone axes from the Trumaí, throwing sticks, a club, ten masks, dance clubs, large flutes, and various trifles.
● 411 To our astonishment, we did not see the large arrows with long, pointed pieces of bamboo, which the Trumaí had carried in 1884, a number of which they lost in their flight, and which we noticed had been sharpened for the encounter with us. They had probably been used up in the battle with the Suyá.

126 I spent as much time as possible during the evening writing beside a candle stub, in order to obtain a vocabulary. A
[115] younger chief proved very capable, except that in his enthusiasm he shouted with a loud voice, as though I were stone deaf.
123 Inquisitively the men squatted nearby, the witches were /124/
[601] busy at the fires, the children cried atsíu for mother and papá for father, through the branches magic moonlight poured over the strange camp scene, and soon the peace of night embraced the sleeping and the awake. We could sleep undisturbed, but were well aware that a few men remained sitting beside the fire.

The next morning, 26 October, there was great confusion. A large glass of arsenic pills had been stolen from me. Under the peculiar circumstances I would gladly have overlooked any kind of theft, but I could neither be without this arsenic for my part, nor let the Indians poison themselves with it. I was forced to suspect the Yaulapiti who had accompanied us, after our experiences in their village, and demanded that they give it back. They, of course, professed their innocence, the Trumaí became terribly afraid, the women, children, and part of the men escaped into the bushes and did not return even when one of the Yaulapiti actually brought the glass with the arsenic pills. According to his humble opinion, it had dropped out of my

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/204 cont./
embedded individual crystals of olivine and quite a number of quartz granules. The blades, 11-21 centimeters long, are usually evenly cylindrical, but some are round in the center like a roller, taper toward the rear, and have a broad front end with a bow-shaped cutting edge. Without any lashing, they fit into a wooden handle 0.5 meters long on the average, which consists of a cylindrical upper piece bored crosswise and a thinner handle set off from this like a reed stalk from its spike. The stone points inserted in the darts and the ornamental stones of the neck chains are made of the same diabase. The Trumaí ground the blades to a point on their stones and bored the ornamental stones; besides them, only the neighboring Yaulapiti did this. The other tribes simply sharpened on the river sandstone the axes that became dull. Shells and stones were bored with a twirl-borer. A triangular, hard splinter of stone was clamped to a small staff, and, to be sure, at both ends so that one could alternate them, and was secured by cord lashing. The little staff was almost half a meter long and was twirled between the hands. If stone was to be bored, sand was added. This is all the Indians achieved in the working of stone; they had

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Fig. 21.
Twirl-borer.*
(1/2 nat. size/ as shown in the original illustration/.)

*The twirl-staff is represented discontinuously.

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*191 laterally hollowed end of the wooden support, lashing it, and
411 covering it with resin.
[239]

Sometimes a pierced, hollow tucum nut is shoved up on the arrow shaft to slightly above the middle; one or two holes are cut into the nut on the side. In flight a high-pitched whirring or whistling is heard. /230/ While the noise-making arrows are used only for bird hunting, the others are intended for all hunting and the shooting of fish; those with barbs are exclusively
B fish arrows. Arrows with sawlike notched wooden points do not
[101] occur on the Schingú except among the Yarumá, whom we regard as a southern group of the Mundurukú /Mundurucu/ of the Tapajoz /Tapajós/.

T The Suyá and Trumaí had arrows with long pointed bamboo
171 knives for war and for hunting jaguar. Spindle-shaped bamboo
● 411 splinters up to 35 centimeters long and up to 36 millimeters wide,
[824] knife-sharp on the edges, are mounted on the wooden stick driven deep into the reed shaft; the wooden stick is embedded in a groove
T cut below along the inner surface of the splinter. And, to be
[284] sure, the pointed spindle is only loosely fastened with a little resin and thread; when shot it remains in the body that was hit, while the shaft with the wooden stick flies off behind it.

B The most remarkable thing about the arrow is the feathering
*171 at the lower end. Two feathers, more correctly two halves of
411 feathers, for the feather is split at the shaft, are carefully fastened
239 in a spiral twist which goes around one-fourth of the circumfer-
ence; each flag stands with the plane of its upper part perpendicu-
B lar on that of its lower part, so that the flying arrow spirals
[284] through the air. The feathers are set in a row of small holes, which are made with an agutí tooth and enlarged with a pointed buriti splinter, and, one may say, are sewed onto the arrow; the cotton thread is wound around the ends and is itself protected by
B being wound with waimbé bark (Philodendron). Usually the
[825] feathers come from gallinaceous birds, jakú (Penelope) and mutung (Crax), from the falcon, and from the blue arara. Where the hand grasps the arrow shaft there is a wrapping of waimbé. At the bottom a notch is cut in parallel to the upper part of the feathers.

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411 /231 cont./ Indians practice on the village plaza and, as a target, plant a shaft which bears at the top a cylindrical or conical piece of cork wood.

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411 The throwing board, in our case, where there is no "board" often called a throwing stick,* is now a rare weapon which was

* For our case the best expression would be "arrow thrower." "Throwing stick" too easily gives rise to confusion with sticks that are thrown.

found among only the two Tupí tribes, the Kamayurá /Camayura/ and Auetö, and among the Trumaí. It was the greatest ethnological surprise of our journey. Ehrenreich then also came across it among the Karayá on the Araguay. Replaced by the bow, it has remained in active use only among the wood-poor Eskimo. The North American Indians, as far as is known, were not familiar with it; among the ancient Mexicans and among the Maya, as well as among the inhabitants of Colombia, it appears in limited use, though a wider distribution in early times may be inferred; it is regarded as the weapon of the Inca warriors; and finally we see individual examples of it among South American primitive peoples, especially Tupís, on the high Amazon as well as in eastern Brazil. Among our tribes, too, the throwing stick had lost its real importance, or at least was on the point of losing it. Nevertheless, in every house there were more throwing boards than bows; the Indians said that they never used the weapon any more for hunting, to be sure, but certainly in war. In 1884, when the Trumaí appeared before our camp, they had no throwing boards with them; the stone balls with which the darts are equipped for serious use were not present in any number among the Auetö and Kamayurá; they, too, had to get them from the Trumaí, and thus, for the Tupí tribes at any rate, if only because of their geographical location, the days of the throwing board are numbered. As a

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535 sporting weapon, however, it still enjoys great esteem and assiduous use; in connection with the dance, I shall also have to mention the throwing-board dance, which portrays being wounded in battle.

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in battle. The purpose of the throwing board is /232/ to throw a stone-weighted arrow, or, if one wishes, a more graceful spear, with great force. The type present on the Schingú is a thin, smooth stick of hard palm wood about 70 centimeters long, which widens at the front end into a holding plate provided with a hole and bears a small hook at the other, rear end. In other words, no board and no sign of a groove. Cf. Figures 28 /see p. 241/ and 6, p. 91.

The arrow is set in on the barb at the back, the index finger is stuck through the hole of the holding plate, while the other fingers grasp the plate and the arrow; thus, the rear part of the arrow lies securely against the throwing board, is lifted with a powerful swing, the throwing stick describes an arc forward and upward and with this lever motion sends out the arrow so "that it positively whizzes." The throwing boards are made of light or dark palm wood, /Fig. 28 appears here/ they are nicely smoothed, and some of them give an impression of elegance, especially if a small bunch of colored feathers hangs down from the barb cord. The plate has a width of about five centimeters in front, six centimeters in the rear, and a length of 15 centimeters; it is cut biconcave, so that the hand grasps it securely. The shaft is about four times as long. The barb on which the dart is set, a bone among the Karayá, is here a little stick, two and a half centimeters long, lashed on diagonally with cotton thread. There were throwing boards in small sizes for children.

The reed thrown by our Indians is not a spear, but a real ubá arrow and is also called an arrow by them /in this work it is called arrow (Pfeil) or dart (Wurfpfeil). Only the feathering is usually more carelessly worked and not arranged spirally. Bone points and sharp wooden points do not occur. The characteristic thing about the dart is the opposite -- a possibility not provided for in the German language, it seems -- a "blunt point." /233/ In this respect, too, the characteristic of the "spear" is lacking. The dart does not spear and stab, but shatters with a heavy blow. Inserted into the shaft, lashed with string, and smeared with wax were heavy stone or wood points. The stones either conical, like

/238 cont./

[191] No. 2 in the accompanying figure or pear-shaped, like No. 3. Only a
[411] small part of the stone peeked out of the wax covering; cf. No. 9. The wooden points had different forms, spherical or, corresponding to the stone pear, with a long stem to be shoved into the shaft: No. 1, or (the common form) Nos. 4 and 10, a cylindrical piece that tapered at the bottom for insertion -- in No. 11 also one with a pointed projection, furthermore a knob, No. 12, and a fork, No. 8. In Figure 6 on
[531] page 91, the center arrow bears a long, narrow wooden cone which is decorated with a long black linear or dot design on a white background.

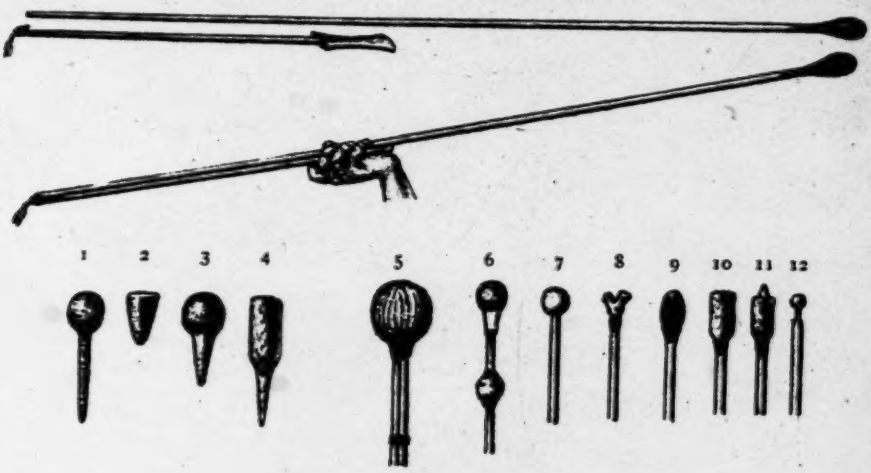

Fig. 28. Throwing board (1/13 nat. size/ as shown in the original illustration/) and the tips of the darts.

already the purely decorative weapon for the dance. Many darts bore
[824] only wax knobs. Finally, we see in Nos. 6 and 7 one or two tucum nuts (Astrocaryum) set on in the manner of the noise-making arrows, and in No. 5 a fist-size tucum nut on two reed shafts lashed together.

[192] The throwing board gets its name from the tucum palm: yauarí. It is not unusual for the plant that furnishes the material to provide the name for the implement as well; the Kamayurá added a more specific identification, yauarí amomoáp, which means (amo, far; mo, causative; ap, to break apart, to wound) "tucum shattering far away." Apollo amomoáp, the one hitting far away. In a legend

/233 cont./

191 which Ehrenreich recorded among the Karayá, there are monkeys
411 who, sitting in a tree, kill people with darts. This agrees to a certain extent with what the Indians told me, the throwing board is good to use in the forest. Thus, in rapid pursuit between the trees, one can ready the throwing board to hurl the stone arrow, but cannot hold the bow, requiring two hands for pulling, ready for shooting and seize one of the brief moments during which the fleeing target loses the cover of trunks and underbrush. The force with which the dart whizzes off and hits is far greater than one expects. The weapon has one tremendous disadvantage compared to the bow, in that it cannot be used upward; one cannot bring down a bird with it from the treetop. Moreover, it distinguishes itself very much to its disfavor by its uselessness for killing fish. In short, it is not a hunting weapon and, even if the darts were provided with points that would penetrate the skin, would be one only to a limited extent for larger animals; it is decidedly a weapon of war and is designated only as such. It had its value, along with the bow, when there was war, suitable stones, and forest. If it is called a preliminary stage of the bow, one should remember that it does not in any way help us to solve the mystery of its origin, for the essential thing about the bow is its resilient force, both that of the wood and that of the bowstring.

/234/ Clubs were used only by the Suyá and the Trumaí. The one of the Suyá, cf. Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, illustration page 326 /see 1:Steinen, this file, p. 166/, was flat, one and a third to almost one and a half meters long, with an oval upper piece that was decorated with shell eyes, an elegant weapon of brownish black seriba palm wood that shone as though polished. The Trumaí club is of similar shape, smaller, clumsier, and not of artistic workmanship. We /Fig. 29 appears here/ also acquired only one of these on the second expedition. On the other hand, the Trumaí, and like the Kamayurá, had no dance clubs, of which I shall speak later. Thus here, too, as in the case of the throwing board, the phenomenon of the old weapon deteriorating into a plaything. Among the Kamayurá we found, besides a Suyá club, one attributed to the Yarumá, which

2: Steinen--243 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Trumai SP23

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corresponded exactly to the Karayá club found among the Yuruna in 1884, a dark brown staff chamfered vertically all around, sharply grooved, lopped off bluntly at top and bottom, with a smooth intermediate piece for the hand. The Yuruna in that case, and the Kamayurá here, had transformed the murder weapon into a peaceful walking stick. One must admit that the defense weapons of the men on the Kulisehu do not point to warlike habits.

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Fig. 29. Bakaïrí oar. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

The canoes are commonly made from the bark of the jatobá, as I described it in the case of our vessels. See Plates 10 and 11 /see pages 109 and 121/. A Bakaïrí canoe measured in 1884 had the following measurements: length eight meters, width in the center 64 centimeters on top, 56 centimeters below, depth 24 centimeters, width of stern 63 centimeters, thickness of bark 11 to 21 millimeters. On our second journey we saw longer specimens, and the ark which we acquired among the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ was considerably wider, was, in fact, unique in its corpulence. The Bakaïrí canoes that had to travel in the shallower river-bed strewn with stones were somewhat shallower than those farther downstream. Among the Yaulapiti the rim was turned over slightly.

The oar, somewhat over a meter long, consisted of a slightly hollowed-out blade 60 centimeters long and ten centimeters wide,

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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smaller food stock than did the Kamayurá. Quain found the Trumaí diet nourishing and tasty, and although the methods of cooking were not always appetizing from a European point of view, he notes that "the delightful rounds of foods are endless," and that there were many recipes for their preparation.

Manioc processing, from harvest to finished product, was the work of the women. The tubers were dug up when reserves of *beijú*, or manioc cake, ran low, for the supply of manioc flour on hand was always enough for several days, but no more. The first step in the process was to scrape the skin from the tubers. This was done with a clam shell, the rough edges of which had been abraded so as to give a smooth scraping surface. The manioc was then reduced to a wet pulp by rubbing it on a grater made of wood studded with sharp bones. In order to extract the prussic acid from the bitter manioc, the pulp was placed on an open-work sieve, or *tuafi*, which was set on top of a wide-mouthed Waurá pot, and water was washed through it. The mass was then wrung out and rewashed. After several washings, the manioc was squeezed into a lump and dried on a rack in the sun. The flour (*karima*), thus prepared, was used to make the flat manioc cake or was mixed in water to make a gruel. For *beijú*, the sun-dried lumps of flour were pulverized in a large wooden mortar set in the floor and moistened, sometimes with fish juice. It was then placed on a flat clay plate (*ja'meo*) and beaten with a special wooden paddle until flat, after which it was baked. Two kinds of *beijú* were made: a thin and a coarse, thick type. *Beijú* was sometimes eaten plain, but other foods were usually heaped on top.

Manioc was also regularly consumed in the form of a thick gruel prepared by boiling the flour in water. A fibrous fruit known as *iriwa* was often boiled with the manioc gruel and imparted a prune-like taste to the dish. When drinking it, the fruit was chewed, the shells and fiber spat out. The manioc gruel (*ats aek*) was kept in the house in gourds.

Fish were roasted or boiled. Roasting was done by holding the fish directly over the flame, or by wrapping it in a broad palm leaf and placing it on a babricot over the fire. A common dish was a thick stew of boiled fish which was heaped on *beijú*. Fish was also added to stews which contained vegetables in season. Men did all the roasting in the Trumaí village, although it was permissible for a woman to help. However, most foods were prepared by boiling, and the burden of cooking thus fell on the women.

The *piquí* fruit (*tsinon*) was the most versatile food in the village during Quain's period of residence. The most important dish was boiled *piquí* pulp (*kv'jau*), which was placed in containers and stored in the waters of a pool in sufficient quantity to last until the end of the rainy season. *Piquí*, like most fruits, ripens and falls uniformly, making it necessary to gather the harvest all at once, and to prepare and store

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The woof was made of cotton threads. The men's hammocks were usually woven, while those made by the women for themselves were generally an inferior twined product. Other manufactures of cotton were arm and leg bands.

Ceramics

The knowledge of ceramic manufacture cannot be properly considered a part of Trumaí culture, despite their daily use of pottery in cooking, manioc processing, eating and storage. All pottery utensils were obtained in trade with the Arawakan Wauré, usually in return for salt. The only clay article of Trumaí manufacture was the *ja'meo*, a crude clay griddle on which the *beijú* was baked. The Trumaí did not rely completely on pottery for watertight containers, as gourds, grown in their own gardens, were extensively used.

Wood Manufactures

All woodwork was done by the men with, at the time of Quain's visit, steel tools. The most distinctive article was the zoomorphically carved wooden stool, found among all upper Xingú peoples. Quain's notes contain a sketch of one such stool which is very similar to the one depicted by von den Steinen.[6] Other wood products were canoe paddles, *beijú* paddles, manioc graters, and mortars and pestles, used by the women to pulverize the hard, dry balls of manioc flour.

Weapons

Bows and arrows were used almost to the exclusion of other weapons. The Trumaí got their bows in trade from the Kamayurá, but made the bowstrings themselves from the fiber of a tree known to them as the *patacy*. They made their own feathered arrows out of cane, at the end of which was inserted a thin wooden shaft. The points were fixed to the shaft with a tree resin (*awalitsu*) and were wrapped at the juncture with cotton thread. Monkey bone points were used for shooting fish and birds. One man who was making a bamboo point told Quain that it was used for hunting and warfare. Another was seen hammering an arrow point out of a piece of metal.

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[6] *Ibid.*, p. 141.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Necklaces were made by tying feathers to a cotton cord with *buriti* fibers. Headdresses included one consisting of a ring of cotton threads with colored feathers attached. The front feathers were long and formed a sort of plume. Another headdress, a feather topknot tied to a cotton headnet, was captured in warfare with the Caiabí. A third was a crown woven of bamboo splints traded from the Waurá for arrow feathers. There were probably many other kinds, as intertribal trade in headdresses was lively.

Belts and anklets were also traded between tribes. A few Brazilian type shirts and hats had found their way into the Trumaí village. They had been obtained from travelers in the region, and especially from the missionaries, Thomas Young and his wife.

The men wore their hair cut straight around the head on a line even with the tops of the ears. A small patch on the crown was plucked, but Quain noted that the Trumaí were much less careful about keeping these parts free of new growth than were the neighboring groups. The scissors which Quain gave to one of the men replaced the old method of hair cutting with an instrument made of *piranha* teeth. A composite comb (*kuwau*) was also used. The back was made of two parallel pieces of cane joined by cotton thread and the teeth of splints from the small roots of a palm-like shrub.

The Trumaí used several vegetable paints to decorate their bodies. This method of adornment was always invoked for ceremonies, and often for wrestling, or when there were guests. The paint most commonly used was the red *urucú* (*matdot*) which was grown in the gardens. The *urucú* was made into a paste by mixing it with oil from the visceral fat of a fish. The paste could be rolled into a ball and applied directly, or spread with the fingers or a spatula made from the middle rib of the *buriti* leaf.

Other body paints were *tawariri*, a black tree gum mixed with soot, and a preparation made from *piquí* fruit and fish oil. There was also a dye, *atdot*, which was not described, and one or two other paints which Quain was unable to identify. *Jany*, a non-decorative paste made from the liver of a fish, was used to ward off insects.

Designs included dots, crescents, zig-zags, circles, curves, straight lines, and combinations of these. Quain observed several standard patterns, many of which were symbolic; others were possibly symbolic representations also, but he was unable to learn their meanings.

One man painted crescents on his chest above either nipple which he said represented vaginas. A rattlesnake design consisted of a half ellipse on the flanks with dots in the center. Quain was told that a design of red spots, with two near the nipples ringed in black, was a boa constrictor. Another snake pattern, made by painting zig-zags down the sides and back, was used on one of the posts erected during the *ole* ceremony.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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upon his parents cohabiting; and they immediately told everyone in the village.

Puberty Rites

Male puberty rites were divided into two periods. The first, which was preparatory, covered about three or four years and consisted of the administration of certain medicines (*okeis*) and body-scraping. The second covered a much shorter period and constituted the actual initiation of the boy into the men's group. The observances, starting when a boy was between ten and twelve years of age, increased in frequency and intensity until his final initiation. The purposes, as expressed by the Trumaí, were to make him grow big and strong, give him courage and fortitude, and mark certain achievements on the road to manhood.

Body-scraping was one of the most important means used to accomplish these ends. Two different types of scarification instruments were in use. One was a sort of comb made of fish teeth imbedded in wood; the other was a polished armadillo claw. The former was used during the early phases of scarification, the latter, during the late phases when the whole body was scraped.

The first scraping was limited to the arms or legs. Kamkuti received his initial scarification on the biceps as an aftermath of shooting his first fish. The scraping, painful though it was, was a reward and a recognition of manly achievement. It was also a test of endurance and resistance to pain, and the boy was admonished against flinching or weeping. Such occasions were the first on which the child was exhorted to be manly and courageous.

When the boy reached biological puberty, the scraping became more severe. Arms, legs, flanks, chest, back, and stomach were all scraped, and the operation must have been most painful. Each boy could expect to have this happen to him a few times during the course of his initiation. Jawaku, Maibu's foster-son, had his first overall scarification while Quain was in residence. This was a prelude to the full initiation rites, through which he was soon to pass. Jawaku was a very timid boy, and significantly lacked the assertiveness that was so much a part of Trumaí personality. Katauka, who was officiating, scraped his legs first, then his back, flanks and arms, ending with a light treatment on his chest and stomach. Jawaku looked extremely unhappy, but he did not cry until Katauka began scraping his back. Maibu held him firmly and told him not to cry, while others scolded him for being a baby.

Before the scarification started Jawaku's body was moistened with water from a nearby pot. After it was finished, Katauka rubbed him completely with the bark of the *aruparukatem* tree. This or the bark of the *ñi'a* tree (the source of the fish poison previously referred to) were always used to treat the wounds made by scraping.

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especially the "Egyptian woman" of the first village, with her narrow face and her long, slightly aquiline nose, showed great resemblance to the women of the ancient kingdom of the Nile, as these have come down to us.

B T 142 Bulging foreheads were found here and there among all tribes, but they were typical of the Trumaí and doubly conspicuous among these little people. They also had the greatest prognathism and the most receding chins; they had a narrow nasal root and little space between the eyes, while the Mehinakú were striking because of their slight prognathism, protruding chin, wide, low faces, and eyes far apart. The faces of the Nahuquá differed from those of the Bakaïrí in their coarser character; in contrast to the oval shape of the latter, they had a somewhat square and thick-set one, with very prominent jaw angles. The most finely chiseled faces were to be found among the Kamayurá.

The iris was dark brown and only as an exception light brown; the Trumaí had relatively light eyes. We found one blue-eyed Nahuquá. He had nothing special in the way of hair and skin color; his hair was black and quite straight. He was the father of a young man with dark brown eyes, but his own eyes had a definitely blue iris. The position of the eyes was horizontal or slightly oblique, the form was almond-shaped; the eyeslit among the Bakaïrí was commonly wide open, among the rest, especially among the Nahuquá and Kamayurá, rather small and low. We did not see Mongolian eyes; only one Kamayurá could be regarded as Mongoloid.

Beautiful teeth were extremely rare. They were more often opaque, rather than translucent, the color was yellowish and only as an exception white, the position largely irregular; they were rather bulky, but among the Mehinakú frequently small and fine.

B T [515] Almost everywhere they appeared greatly chewed down. One never sees the Indians brushing their teeth or rinsing their mouths, which would be very advisable in view of their starchy diet.

B T [412] They use their teeth very incautiously if they do not have any fish teeth or shells at hand; moreover, they bite a hole into the oyster-like, hard shells of river mussels, in order to smooth wood

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with these sharp edges, and they crush with their teeth the shells from which they make their beads, a type of mistreatment that is bound to be disastrous to better teeth, the mere sight of which pained me deeply.

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Chapter IX.

I. Dress: Hair and Skin.

Preliminary remarks concerning clothing and ornamentation. The hair. Head hair, body hair, lashes. The skin. Piercing. Binding. Chains. Daubing and painting. Scratch-scars. Tattooing.

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Since in this and the following chapter I shall try to go back as much as possible to the origin of the dress observed among our natives, I should like to begin with two fundamental remarks.

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First, I consider it erroneous that clothing, arising out of a feeling of modesty, is required for man's humanity. We became acquainted with representatives for various tribal groups of the Indians on the upper Schingú, and they do not need clothing in this sense, as I deduce from the fact that they have no such clothing. Their devices, which from our custom we would be inclined to call pubic coverings, are by no means coverings, and the feeling of modesty that is supposed to have produced the coverings is not present. As early as 1584 the Jesuit Father Cardim wrote about the Brazilian natives: "All go naked, men as well as women, and have no clothing of any kind and in no case verecundant /feel shame/, but rather it seems that in this part they are in a state of innocence."

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Secondly, I must explain my position somewhat with respect to the origin of ornamentation. It is established that nowadays among primitive peoples there are many types of ornament for which no real or imaginary use is apparent and which, at present, are solely articles of adornment. Nevertheless, it is probably impossible that the finer feelings were stirred before

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proper, we started first with the primitive peoples, we should not fail to recognize that there is Paleolithic as well as Neolithic work among them even today, depending on the kind of stone available, the material provided from another quarter, and the technical purposes present. We should see that the negative term "metal-less" is, of course, appropriate, but that the positive name "Stone Age" can be very unfortunate. We should also consider the case where man has no stones at all or unsuitable ones and still makes excellent tools and weapons. As an unprejudiced observer, it would scarcely have occurred to me to maintain that the Schingú Indians are living in the "Stone Age."

It is certainly true that their most difficult accomplishments -- clearing the forest, building houses, building canoes, making stools, and the like -- go back to the stone ax. But the various tribes were entirely dependent on one source, which was in the possession of the Trumaí. Neither the Bakaïrí nor the Nahuquá nor the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ and their relatives, nor the Auetö nor Kamayurá /Camayura/ had stone axes of their own manufacture. Their sandstone was not suitable for axes. I have asserted exactly the same thing about the former times of the docile Bakaïrí of the Paranatinga: in this region the Kayabi /Cayabi/ had a monopoly on the stone axes; the neighboring Bakaïrí were obliged to get them from them, later their deadly enemies. The tribes of the Batovy, Kulisehu, and Kuluëne obtained their stone axes from the Trumaí (the Suyá living on the main river had some of their own). Thus, the stone ax is presented to us here as an import article.

Fig. 20.
Stone ax.
(1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.

In answer to my inquiries, I was told that the stones were found "along a brook in the sand." The material has been identified by Herr Professor Arzruni /204/ of Aachen as diabase, a rock consisting of augite, plagioclase, mica, chlorite, and magnetite, in which are

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embedded individual crystals of olivine and quite a number of quartz granules. The blades, 11-21 centimeters long, are usually evenly cylindrical, but some are round in the center like a roller, taper toward the rear, and have a broad front end with a bow-shaped cutting edge. Without any lashing, they fit into a wooden handle 0.5 meters long on the average, which consists of a cylindrical upper piece bored crosswise and a thinner handle set off from this like a reed stalk from its spike. The stone points inserted in the darts and the ornamental stones of the neck chains are made of the same diabase. The Trumaí ground the blades to a point on their stones and bored the ornamental stones; besides them, only the neighboring Yaulapiti did this. The other tribes simply sharpened on the river sandstone the axes that became dull. Shells and stones were bored with a twirl-borer. A triangular, hard splinter of stone was clamped to a small staff, and, to be sure, at both ends so that one could alternate them, and was secured by cord lashing. The little staff was almost half a meter long and was twirled between the hands. If stone was to be bored, sand was added. This is all the Indians achieved in the working of stone; they had

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Fig. 21.
Twirl-borer.*
(1/2 nat. size/ as shown in the original illustration/.)

*The twirl-staff is represented discontinuously.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The plaza was the center of Trumaí social life. Here guests were entertained, ceremonials and wrestling matches were held, and the men gathered daily. Although the women might sit in front of their houses and watch these activities, they were not allowed to come near the log bench, even when the men were not there. The plaza of the Trumaí village was also used as the burying ground.

A short distance north of the circle of houses, on the path to the two main garden clearings of the Trumaí, was another smaller clearing used during the *ole*, or manioc, ceremonies. Other paths radiated outward from the village to the other gardens and to nearby groves of *piquí* trees. Quain noticed that the paths leading to the Kamayurá village were much broader and cleaner. The Kamayurá were proud of their paths and kept them in good condition. Their plaza was also clearer of weeds and trash than that of the Trumaí.

Of the four completed houses in the village, two were as large as those of the Kamayurá, but the other two, which were much smaller, were considered by Quain's informants to be genuinely Trumaí in type. Insofar as is known, the details of the construction and shape of all four were substantially the same. They had an elliptical floor plan and were haystack-shaped. Although the side walls were only four feet high, the roof attained a height of fifteen feet. The silhouette of the house was an almost smooth curve from ridge pole to ground. The frame was covered with a grass thatch. There were no windows, and a single entry opened on the plaza.

Each family occupied its own section of the house and had its own fireplace. Personal belongings hung from the walls and ceilings or were placed on small shelves. Hammocks were hung between the side wall posts and the two center posts, the woman's hammock beneath that of her husband. Except for two nuclear families that screened off their sections with blankets and cloth given them by Quain, there was no internal division of the house.

The two largest garden clearings were situated respectively about one mile northeast and one mile northwest of the village. Three small ones were located southeast of the settlement. In order of size, the gardens were named Nariatan, Waniwanitan, Anariatan, Tan Toreake, and Tandatake. Nariatan, the largest, contained, by Quain's rough calculation, approximately seven acres divided into ten plots, representing the gardens of seven men. One plot contained two acres, but the average garden varied between one-fourth and one acre in size. One of the men had erected a temporary thatch shelter in his plot, providing protection from the sun, but not from the rain. Inside there was only a basket of manioc flour, a rack for cooking fish, and a large shallow pot into which manioc was grated. This was the sole garden shelter Quain saw, and, significantly, it belonged to the most industrious horticulturist in the village.

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smaller food stock than did the Kamayurá. Quain found the Trumaí diet nourishing and tasty, and although the methods of cooking were not always appetizing from a European point of view, he notes that "the delightful rounds of foods are endless," and that there were many recipes for their preparation.

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[5] *Ibid.*, p. 141.

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CHAPTER THREE

Trumaí Social Organization

Property Ownership

105 Trumaí society was relatively simple. There was no social stratifica-
556 tion based on wealth, nor were the mechanisms of social control and
626 cohesion highly developed. This was in accord with the individualization
433 of productive effort and the low level of economic surplus. The political
621 unit was a single community, the sole bearer of Trumaí culture.

All land and productive resources were considered the property of the
421 community, and the right to their exploitation resided with any indivi-
423 dual willing to expend the labor. Gardens were individual property, but only in the sense that the man who reclaimed the land from the jungle was entitled to its product. There was no concept of alienable property in land, entailing the right of disposition. The *piquí* trees were said to be owned individually, but the owner exercised exclusive rights only over the first fruits. Other wild food plants were community property
423 and their fruits belonged to the gatherer.

The fishing rights to lagoons and backwaters of the rivers belonged
226 to the tribes in whose territory they were located. There was no indivi-
dual ownership of fishing sites.

422 There was property in foods, but as soon as they were cooked they
262 were freely distributed. *Beijú* belonged to the women, but the manioc out of which it was prepared was said to be the property of the man
462 who grew it. Such distinctions were largely academic. Actually, the men grew the vegetable and the women harvested it, prepared it, and cooked it, after which it was distributed and eaten. The same situation prevailed in regard to the products of fishing, hunting, and gathering. Salt was
263 the only exception, as it was prepared and owned by individual men
439 and women. The difference undoubtedly lies in the fact that salt was an important trade item, while the other commodities were not.

Very little property can be said to have belonged to the family.
285 Baskets and gourd containers were made by the men for themselves
415 and for the women, but they were often used by both a man and his wife. Nearly all material objects outside of natural resources were owned by the person who made them or the person to whom an object was
423 given. House ownership was vague, since houses were built and occupied by more than one man, and abandoned when the village moved. The house, however, was often considered the property of the man who put

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the greatest time and effort into its building. Quain was reprimanded for speaking of the house in which Maibu lived as "Maibu's," for his brother-in-law, Mata'wai, had built it. This point of property was confirmed by others, despite the fact that Maibu was the head of the household and acted as host when guests entered.

To the Trumaí, the only important property was in the personal possession of transportable, material artifacts. These ranged from tools and weapons to ceremonial objects and trinkets obtained from Quain. The second class of property was probably cherished more than the first, which was viewed as consisting of everyday necessities. The combs, feathers, beads, European novelties, papers, and other such items that all men and women possessed were carefully kept in baskets and gourds near their hammocks. A man and wife would often keep some of their personal belongings in the same containers, but beyond this there was a special category of personal possessions called *wacta*. This highly valued personal property was kept by each individual in separate gourds, where it was safe from the gift claims of kinsmen and reasonably free from the danger of theft.

The privacy of this property was especially observed by opposite sexes, although not as strictly by mates. Quain was told by one man that it was "bad" for a man to look at a woman's *wacta*, although he rummaged at will through the personal belongings of the men. The taboo on male contact with women's *wacta* was due in part to inclusion within it of articles used during menstruation.

Accompanying the stress on personal and private ownership of certain material objects was a strong sense of acquisitiveness. Quain expressed this as follows: "There can be no doubt that property ownership is a paramount drive in this culture. Children are not content to see, as they are in Fiji, but things must be theirs. The possessive pronoun has an importance here which is striking. Once articles are received, they seem to disappear. They are probably carefully guarded among personal belongings." Significantly, the word for "gift-giving," literally translated, also means "to yield to a demand."

The Trumaí were tremendously interested in Quain's belongings and made continual attempts to acquire them. Adults as well as children whined in order to obtain objects from him. This attitude was manifested towards useful objects such as knives and axes, but they also pleaded and begged for articles having only curiosity value to them. As Quain said, to be curious about an object was to want it. Possession was desired for its own sake, for only slight prestige was gained by accumulating material objects, and utilitarian articles, such as knives, axes, and pots, were easily borrowed.

Despite the possessiveness described by Quain, the Trumaí were restricted by strong gift-giving ties. A true brother or a son had a claim

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301 a head-net, above which they pointed upwards, sticking out on
237 all sides, and into which they could be bent back to protect them
● 415 after use. There was also a dainty little pot with a notched edge,
283 and red cotton strings which several Trumaí wore around the waist
296 or around the lower leg. There was some tobacco wrapped in
415 green leaves; on the beach there were also a few gourd vessels
272 containing insipid, pasty mingau[1] which was just as poor as the mandioca bread.

142 There was no indication that the Trumaí are on a higher level than the Bakaïrí; as far as their body structure is concerned, I did not notice anything peculiar during the brief encounter; in size they did not differ from the Bakaïrí and Kustenaú. The fact that they appeared so ugly in the face may have been due to the
291 disfigurement. They protect themselves against penetrating in-
825 sects in the strangest and most primitive manner -- præputium filo gossypii rubro ante glandem farciminis instar constringunt /the foreskin is bound with red cotton thread in front of the glans in such a manner as to look like farcy/. This arrangement may also be useful in the water against the prying candiru fish.

123 What now? A closer study of the Trumaí is, of course, inconceivable. War has been declared; we have no choice but to disappear from the scene of action as quickly as possible. We are forced to forego all further soundings and measurements and bid the Kulisëu farewell. We can still draw one advantage from the awkward situation, however. Since we have departed this far from the path of virtue, we need not have any scruples about transgressing still more. After all, we did not get back our fine ax (two canoes capsized and sank when the Trumaí fled to land). Why should we hesitate to exchange the most warped and defective canoes for those abandoned there, which are well built and excellently dried out?

501 /196/ Several men are sent out and return with three canoes
171 and a few oars, which do not differ from those of the Bakaïrí; one of them is for Valentin and me, a second will be pulled
000 along as a reserve, the third goes to the sergeant. Meanwhile Castro's craft has also been brought home.

[1] [i.e. a drink mixed with manioc flour--Analyst]

Trumai SP23
Waujra SP18
Mehinacu
Aueto SP 6
Camayurá

/287 cont./

A W 352 532 825 chiefly in their beaks; that of the wood ibis is curved ibis-like. The largest and handsomest birds were preferably portrayed. Thus, among the Mehinakú, we found a magnificent king-vulture, Sarcoramphus papa, or red urubu. The red warts

Fig. 82. Tujujú stool. Kamayurá. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration.

which this splendid predatory bird has between its beak and its eyes were carefully carved. The Trumaí stool illustrated here (Fig. 84 /see p. 326/) is supposed to represent the white urubu; it lacks the warts. Strangely enough, it was given two necks

T 352 532 825 171

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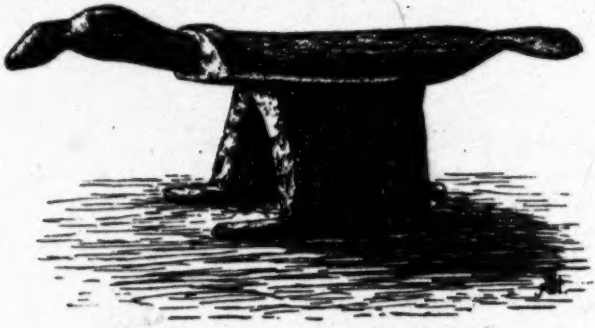

Fig. 83. Wood-ibis stool. Mehinakú. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

T 352 532 825 171 and heads, so we see here the chief's chair in the form of a double eagle; they are supposed to be male and female. By contrast, T [386] 415 the /288/ the depression in the back-plate is somewhat prosaic; it serves as a bowl for crushing and mixing the dyeing resin. In

[Text continues on P. 327]

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CHAPTER THREE

Trumaí Social Organization

Property Ownership

105 Trumaí society was relatively simple. There was no social stratification
[556] based on wealth, nor were the mechanisms of social control and
[626] cohesion highly developed. This was in accord with the individualization
[433] of productive effort and the low level of economic surplus. The political
[621] unit was a single community, the sole bearer of Trumaí culture.

All land and productive resources were considered the property of the
421 community, and the right to their exploitation resided with any indivi-
423 dual willing to expend the labor. Gardens were individual property, but only in the sense that the man who reclaimed the land from the jungle was entitled to its product. There was no concept of alienable property in land, entailing the right of disposition. The *piquí* trees were said to be owned individually, but the owner exercised exclusive rights only over the first fruits. Other wild food plants were community property
423 and their fruits belonged to the gatherer.

The fishing rights to lagoons and backwaters of the rivers belonged
[226] to the tribes in whose territory they were located. There was no individual ownership of fishing sites.

422 There was property in foods, but as soon as they were cooked they
[262] were freely distributed. *Beijú* belonged to the women, but the manioc out of which it was prepared was said to be the property of the man
[462] who grew it. Such distinctions were largely academic. Actually, the men grew the vegetable and the women harvested it, prepared it, and cooked it, after which it was distributed and eaten. The same situation prevailed in regard to the products of fishing, hunting, and gathering. Salt was
[343] the only exception, as it was prepared and owned by individual men
[339] and women. The difference undoubtedly lies in the fact that salt was an important trade item, while the other commodities were not.

Very little property can be said to have belonged to the family.
[285] Baskets and gourd containers were made by the men for themselves
[415] and for the women, but they were often used by both a man and his wife. Nearly all material objects outside of natural resources were owned by the person who made them or the person to whom an object was
423 given. House ownership was vague, since houses were built and occupied by more than one man, and abandoned when the village moved. The house, however, was often considered the property of the man who put

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These were noisy affairs. The seller threw his merchandise on the ground and loosed an exultant shout. All the participants cried out in response. Occasionally the goods were offered in the hope of acquiring a desired article from a certain person, but usually they were put up for barter with the general public. In this case, whoever wanted the item went back to his house and brought an article to exchange. He placed this on the floor and picked up his purchase. Often the seller refused the proffered exchange and waited for a better offer. If the trade was consummated, another loud shout was given by the audience. These exchanges went on until the participants lost interest, or until no more goods were offered.

All exchanges were considered to be gift-giving. This was especially true of trade between fellow-Trumaí. When members of other groups were involved, trade was at least formally so considered, although the behavior and attitudes in gift-giving, proper, were quite different. When Quain made exchanges he was always admonished to tell his wife who the donor of the "gift" was.

Within the Trumaí village gift-giving and not trade was the usual form of property distribution, especially between kinsmen. A man might trade with a person whom he called mother's brother, or father's brother, or some other relationship term, but this was almost always a kin bond reckoned by extension, and not a close blood tie.

Women participated little in the men's trade games. In part this was due to the sexual dichotomy that operated in social participation generally, in part to the nature of the goods involved. A woman did not want to buy a man's fish hooks any more than he wanted her cotton. Occasionally a woman might break into the male trade game to buy a particular object, but once this was accomplished she would withdraw. A few women might sit around the house where the trade game was being held, especially if their husbands were participating. Occasionally the women held their own trade games in which cotton and household utensils were commonly bartered. Conventional shouts accompanied their activities, but they were less boisterous than those of the men.

The women were especially eager to trade with Quain, to get his cloth and colored thread in exchange for food, which normally was given away. The chief was also a main instigator of trade games with Quain. At times Quain refused to participate to the great annoyance of the would-be second party.

The trade game reflected the Trumaí attitude towards property, in that it provided more enjoyment and excitement than any other form of social participation, except intertribal festivities. Each exchange was watched with bated breath, and the outcome greeted with happy cries and laughter. There was some indication that the most dominant and forward personalities were also the most energetic traders. It was

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421 437 524 [525] [527] It was

significant that Aloari, probably the most aggressive person in the village, was often an organizer and always a main participant in the games. On the other hand, he never cooperated in group work.

This conventionalized form of exchange, which Quain called the trade game, had a strong functional role in Trumaí culture, but there are indications that it was of outside origin. One informant said that it was [177] a Bakairí custom, and Quain thought that the "game" might have been introduced by Bakairí traders bringing goods from the Indian post on the Paranatinga River.[1]

The Household

171 516 622

Among both the Waurá and the Kamayurá the extended family occupied its own house, and the head of the lineage was considered a sub-chief of the village.[2] Such unilocal, co-resident and extended family groupings, which were typical among tribes of the upper Xingú, were absent in the Trumaí village.

592 613 [591] [165]

Consanguineally close male relatives usually formed co-resident units, but these nuclei of kinsmen were very small and did not constitute an entire household. Furthermore, they were related to each other through male or female lines. Due to village patrilocality, there was a tendency for patrilineally related males to live together, but this did not result in the establishment of a patrilineal lineage for several reasons. Among them the high death rate was very important.

592 594

Maibu's house illustrates the eclectic nature of the Trumaí household. Four nuclear families, totaling fourteen people, lived in it. Hanging their hammocks from one of the two center posts were Katauka, his son Kamkuti, his brother's son Autsuki, and another brother's son and his wife. At the opposite end of the house were Maibu and his wife, the wife's son by Maibu's deceased brother, Maibu's sister Ayenuke, Makurawa, a classificatory sister's son, and Makurawa's wife and their three children. Although everyone in the household was related, bonds were closer between those people who hung their hammocks from the same post.

589 592 182

Despite the fact that the household, as a unit, had no specific functions, it established the framework within which certain interpersonal dependencies were worked out. Bride-capture, intertribal warfare, divorce, and early death caused a significant proportion of the Trumaí to be temporarily or permanently without mates. This disadvantage was

[177] [1] The trade game was possibly borrowed from the Bakairí, as its existence among this group has been reported by Oberg (1953, p. 72). However, craft specialization and trade on the upper Xingú predates the Indian post. Cf. von den Steinen 1897, pp. 196, 207.

[2] De Lima (1950, p. 9.) reports this arrangement among the Waurá, and Oberg (1953, p. 48.) adds that the position of house chief tends to pass in the male line in the Kamayurá village.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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with prestige. Aloari, who later became chief, was classified as a *camara* at the time of Quain's visit.

At the top of the Trumaí prestige scale was the chief. His authority was limited, but he was more respected than any other man. The two sub-chiefs enjoyed some, but not much, prestige. Matiwana was an old man, and old age decreases status among the Trumaí. He took the lead in group curing ceremonies, however, and was the repository of much Trumaí lore and learning. Nor was Katauka, the other sub-chief, very influential. And neither official had the privilege of "talking" to the people as Maibu did. That Katauka was a shaman and Matiwana the chief curer of the village contributed more to their prestige than did their position as sub-chiefs or their membership in the *aek* class. Tun, the shaman, and Oirupa, the sorcerer, ranked just below the chief in importance. The former enjoyed some standing as his prognostications of enemy movements were relied upon and respected by everybody. Oirupa had added power only because he was feared.

The only other criteria of status were youth and aggressiveness. Property was not a point of prestige, but those whose assertive attitudes gave them some status and influence were also those who manifested an accumulative attitude toward property. Youth and sexual prowess were highly regarded. Boasting about sexual exploits was usually done privately, but great pride was taken in them. This was related to the general esteem in which youth, size and vigor were held. To be a successful wrestler, therefore, enhanced a man's position. The Trumaí were also impressed by Quain's height and wanted to know what kind of medicines white men used to make them so tall. There was no warrior class and no special status for success in combat, except insofar as it was an indication of strength and courage.

As noted above, the status of old men was very low, except when they had special knowledge or office. Yet these attributes did not protect Matiwana from being contemptuously referred to as an old man. Moreover, Quain was severely criticized for giving presents to old Yahu, most of whose property had already been claimed by others, since the Trumaí did not think it proper that one so old should have any possessions beyond fishing and hunting equipment and other necessities. A favorite insult among the Trumaí was to tell someone he was old, and by implication that he no longer bathed or was able to fornicate.

Prestige variations, on the whole, were not great in the Trumaí village. The community had no clearly defined social groupings based on status, nor were there social mechanisms for human exploitation. Variations in wealth were slight, and their only significance was that one man might have more tools and trinkets than another. It is possible, however, that before the Trumaí had declined to their present low estate, prestige and authority were more clearly patterned, as they still were in the Kamayurá village.

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Changes in status and expected behavior were connected with the transition to manhood, and new modes of participation in the culture were open to the young man. It is necessary, however, to differentiate between the transition consequent upon increased age and that which resulted specifically from passage through the life crisis rites. Ideally, such a distinction should not have existed, as the achievement of physical maturity should have been heralded by the socio — religious observances. But there were two young married men, Yanahi and Aloari, who had not completed the ritual — the former because of disinclination, the latter due to the delay caused by his captivity among the Yuruna. Aloari, although both vocal and aggressive, and having the men's haircut, was definitely not one of the men's group yet. His smoking was only of the "lying" kind. He still needed the ritual admittance to the smoking group. Yanahi, on the other hand, still had the youthful haircut, but, for unknown reasons, was already a full-fledged member of the men's group. He was frequently seen with the adolescent boys, however, and his activities were characterized by a youthful lack of gravity. His history shows that there was no sudden break with boyhood among the Trumaí. The puberty rites were spread over a long enough time to allow a slow incorporation into the adult world.

Upon reaching man's estate, the young man became an integral part of the household and village economies. To be sure, property attitudes had been developed early, but he now had a greater opportunity to express them, inasmuch as he was able to participate in the upper Xingú trade system and thus accumulate more personal possessions. His entrance into the men's circle gave him a larger voice in community affairs, but at the same time it involved him in many village squabbles, which were intensified by his search for sexual partners or a wife. Also, among his added responsibilities was the defense of the village.

In short, the status of the newly arrived man brought greater economic independence and a fuller participation in the social and ceremonial life of the community. In return for his heightened importance he was expected to act with sobriety and self-reliance, to show courage and fortitude, and to be more aggressive in asserting his new rights and prerogatives. This last was largely a matter of degree, for Quain had been impressed at the extent to which children asserted themselves and shared the mannerisms and attitudes of adults.

Female Puberty

The only data available on female puberty observances concern the first menses (*wasipanes*), when the girl is confined for a period during which she wears her hair over her face. Rodrigues Ferreira, in commenting on a Trumaí girl in seclusion, states that she must remain in her

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"Tremendous interest in property, together with a simple and declining culture, results in my being a seriously disturbing element in their lives. Casual conversation always degenerates into a squabble about gift-giving .... There is intense pleasure in possession. Children get no sympathy when they are hurt, but objects are usually given to them. Every child has the right at least 'to see' anything he desires. In this respect children are pampered. Adults whine for things; withholding a desired object makes them intensely unhappy. Aggressive possession is admired.. Trade games make the exchange of property very fluid. Yet values in trade are well defined, and there is no prestige in giving more than one gets. Within the kinship circle, however, the old lavish property on the young. A father's garden is spoken of as that of his five year old son. There is a deliberate attempt to instill aggressive ownership attitudes in the young. A three year old girl is taught to claim objects in a loud voice. This is done by shouting the possessive pronoun....

"These are a settled people who live within the strict limits of their village. Their small number has advantage in the study of individuals. They have no knowledge of the world beyond the Kuluene-Kuliseu. It has no more real existence than the various inhabited regions of the heavens. The half dozen expeditions which have passed down the river have communicated with the natives only with signs. The one important result of such contact was division from peripheral tribes and the rise of metal tools. The disappearance of the stone industry, on which a defunct Trumaí moiety had a monopoly, has occurred within the last generation.[1] The increased leisure which probably resulted is not utilized economically.

"The complete lack of self-consciousness among these people makes behavior observation remarkably easy. Before I knew any of the language, I could sit by the hour in various households and time the actions of people while they paid no attention to me. For instance, one man during twenty minutes of leisure lay down to rest in his hammock fifteen different times, but each time disturbed himself with the remembrance of some petty chore undone....

"The only restriction of behavior that I have seen in casual intra-village personal relations is that the children are told not to litter the floor. The only positive rule is that the head of a household must sit with a guest and converse while the guest is inside his house .... Furthermore, extra-marital sexual intercourse has occurred in a shadowy corner of my house.. This lack of self-consciousness contrasts strongly with the Karajá, who are more prudish than the Fijians....

"Shortage of women, because of theft of young women, polygamy, lack of sexual interest in old wives (of which there are several), and

[1] Quain refers here to the moiety-like division of the Trumaí which has been discussed in Chapter Three. This appears to be rather a result of the merger of the northern and southern Trumaí villages. The latter specialized in axe-making.

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226 although not everyone owned one. Quain also described Trumaí fish nets, but netting must have been a minor technique, as he did not see it practiced during his stay.

[170] Throughout the upper Xingú area it was common practice to construct fish dams across the mouths of lagoons. There were two such fish weirs in the Trumaí lagoon, one near its mouth, the other across a small inlet near the village. Their purpose was to block the fish from escape to the main stream when drugs were placed in the water. They were built by driving upright stakes into the floor of the lagoon, after which a wall of rubbish and branches was built against the fence. One dam was constructed by the village cooperatively, while the other was said to have been built by a single man.

226 423 The Trumaí lagoon was considered the property of the community, and the Trumaí maintained exclusive fishing rights in it. The water in the lagoon is clear in comparison to the muddy Kuluene, and the fishing excellent. A good proportion of the fishing was done there, especially when traps and poisons were used, but they also had fishing rights in other lagoons within the territory of abandoned Trumaí villages. In addition, they fished in the Kuluene and Kulisseu and ranged as far afield as the Batoví River.

[576] [201] While most fishing trips were carried out within a day, some lasted two or three days. When the fishermen returned, they were greeted with a conventional shout by all the villagers. The shout was meant to welcome the food rather than the fishermen, and similar cries were heard when well laden gathering parties returned from a short jaunt into the forest.

501 422 226 About one-half of the men owned canoes, and according to Quain's informants, only six did not know how to build them. The bark canoes of the upper Xingú are not difficult to make, and it can be assumed that the community did not need more, inasmuch as fishing parties always consisted of two men. Larger groups went out of the village in a body when many fish were needed for a ceremony or to feed guests, but they usually split into pairs. Cooperative fishing groups of more than two men were needed only for drugging and perhaps for netting. On one *kuwasi* fishing expedition over half the males of the village went to the lagoon with bundles of shredded bark. Quain noted that this was one of the few examples of group labor transcending the immediate family.

226 571 Two-man fishing expeditions were composed of the owner or borrower of the canoe and his helper (*tau*). The *tau* generally paddled while the owner fished. Only while serving as a helper was he referred to as the *tau* of that man. Thus, if a person went as the helper of Makurawa, he was referred to as "Makurawatau." He shared in the catch, but whether he received less than the canoe owner is not indicated by the field notes. There seemed to be no fixed standard for the selection of the *tau*, nor

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CHAPTER THREE

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There was property in foods, but as soon as they were cooked they were freely distributed. *Beijú* belonged to the women, but the manioc out of which it was prepared was said to be the property of the man who grew it. Such distinctions were largely academic. Actually, the men grew the vegetable and the women harvested it, prepared it, and cooked it, after which it was distributed and eaten. The same situation prevailed in regard to the products of fishing, hunting, and gathering. Salt was the only exception, as it was prepared and owned by individual men and women. The difference undoubtedly lies in the fact that salt was an important trade item, while the other commodities were not.

Very little property can be said to have belonged to the family. Baskets and gourd containers were made by the men for themselves and for the women, but they were often used by both a man and his wife. Nearly all material objects outside of natural resources were owned by the person who made them or the person to whom an object was given. House ownership was vague, since houses were built and occupied by more than one man, and abandoned when the village moved. The house, however, was often considered the property of the man who put

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the greatest time and effort into its building. Quain was reprimanded for speaking of the house in which Maibu lived as "Maibu's," for his brother-in-law, Mata'wai, had built it. This point of property was confirmed by others, despite the fact that Maibu was the head of the household and acted as host when guests entered.

To the Trumaí, the only important property was in the personal possession of transportable, material artifacts. These ranged from tools and weapons to ceremonial objects and trinkets obtained from Quain. The second class of property was probably cherished more than the first, which was viewed as consisting of everyday necessities. The combs, feathers, beads, European novelties, papers, and other such items that all men and women possessed were carefully kept in baskets and gourds near their hammocks. A man and wife would often keep some of their personal belongings in the same containers, but beyond this there was a special category of personal possessions called *wacta*. This highly valued personal property was kept by each individual in separate gourds, where it was safe from the gift claims of kinsmen and reasonably free from the danger of theft.

The privacy of this property was especially observed by opposite sexes, although not as strictly by mates. Quain was told by one man that it was "bad" for a man to look at a woman's *wacta*, although he rummaged at will through the personal belongings of the men. The taboo on male contact with women's *wacta* was due in part to inclusion within it of articles used during menstruation.

Accompanying the stress on personal and private ownership of certain material objects was a strong sense of acquisitiveness. Quain expressed this as follows: "There can be no doubt that property ownership is a paramount drive in this culture. Children are not content to see, as they are in Fiji, but things must be theirs. The possessive pronoun has an importance here which is striking. Once articles are received, they seem to disappear. They are probably carefully guarded among personal belongings." Significantly, the word for "gift-giving," literally translated, also means "to yield to a demand."

The Trumaí were tremendously interested in Quain's belongings and made continual attempts to acquire them. Adults as well as children whined in order to obtain objects from him. This attitude was manifested towards useful objects such as knives and axes, but they also pleaded and begged for articles having only curiosity value to them. As Quain said, to be curious about an object was to want it. Possession was desired for its own sake, for only slight prestige was gained by accumulating material objects, and utilitarian articles, such as knives, axes, and pots, were easily borrowed.

Despite the possessiveness described by Quain, the Trumaí were restricted by strong gift-giving ties. A true brother or a son had a claim

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outright rebellion. Despite a great deal of grumbling and non-compliance, they still tacitly recognized Maibu as chief.

One of Maibu's main prerogatives was his talking function. He alone had the role of exhorter of the people. Other men would be "ashamed," he said, to speak so. Most of Maibu's speeches were delivered at night in the men's circle or before work started in the morning. The attitude of his audience ranged from interest to bored indifference and outright ridicule. One morning Maibu lay in his hammock and shouted for everyone to go out to gather fruit. The initial response to this was a shout from some of the houses, telling him to be quiet. Later some people drifted out of the village carrying baskets, and still later others followed, grumbling that they were being driven from the village. This was a common complaint. Because of the tone in which it was said, Quain thought at first that they were actually being exiled.

The chief had no symbols of office outside of the above prerogatives; yet a deference of sorts was shown him. When Maibu entered the men's circle or Quain's house, someone always got up to give him a seat. Tobacco was usually supplied him, and the donor would roll the cigarette and light it before making the presentation. Even the men who told Quain that Maibu was not a "real chief" made these gifts. Maibu himself did not hesitate to send someone across the village through the rain to fetch something. These favors were usually performed by his kinsmen and co-residents, although occasionally more distant persons obliged. On the other hand, Maibu was expected to be generous towards all the other Trumaí. Nearly everything that Quain gave him passed to other hands. Maibu did not even have a bow of his own.

Maibu's poverty was attributable in part to his heavy gift obligations and in part to the fact that he had no garden. He said to Quain that he did not plant because he was a chief. However, he was not completely a non-producer. He went fishing, joined in collective labor, and helped his wife in gathering. At none of these tasks did he occupy himself strenuously. The only articles that he manufactured were arrows and spears. He thus made no trade commodities, relying on others, principally his co-residents, for all his artifacts and food. On most days he did little except talk, sleep, and philander with the unmarried women.

Inheritance of the chieftaincy was nominally patrilineal. Maibu, however, was the son of the daughter of the Trumaí chief whom von den Steinen had met, indicating that the office can pass matrilineally if there are no male heirs available. (Maibu's brother's son, Jawaku, adopted by Maibu through the levirate, was to have been the next Trumaí chief.) But the Trumaí chief reported by Galvão nine years later was Aloari, who was only a distant relative of Maibu.[8] What happened in the years between 1938 and 1947 is not known, but it is apparent that

[8] This information was received verbally from Dr. Eduardo Galvão.

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occasionally someone, who was occupied or in bad temper, would chase the child away or slap him lightly. The only time that Quain ever saw a child given physical punishment was after some petty pilfering. In this case the father whipped him angrily across the legs. Usually, however, only a verbal reprimand followed misconduct.

Children were in a somewhat privileged category. With respect to gift-giving, the claims of the young were particularly strong, although, as noted above, they were not unlimited. When a child wanted something, it would either be given it or a good excuse would be offered. Parents backed up such demands, and were hurt and aggrieved if the request was refused.

Children had almost as strong control over their property as did the older Trumaí. Quain dealt directly with the children to secure specimens of children's playthings. The children manifested the same possessiveness as their parents in these dealings and in their general concepts of property. Even little Katsits cried when her father wanted to put up her necklace in the trade game. Her father let her keep the necklace and sought other objects to exchange.

Children cried frequently, and their tears rarely went unheeded. Teasing by adults was common, but when a child broke into full and lusty howls, he was soothed and comforted. There were no admonitions against crying itself. The only time a child was reprimanded for crying was when it was absolutely unwarranted and annoying to the adults. In such cases, a stern voice was all that was required. By the time a boy reached the age of ten he rarely wept, for he was then going through the initial phases of the puberty rites, and courage and fortitude were expected.

Little work was demanded of children. The boys often accompanied the women on gathering expeditions, but this was the only help they gave them. On the other hand, they were frequently called on to perform errands for the men or lend them some small aid. These tasks were done willingly.

The older boys occasionally accompanied the men on hunting and fishing trips, thus learning the necessary subsistence techniques. They participated actively in fish poisoning, helped in the preparation and application of the *tsuasi* bark, and in the gathering of the drugged fish. Of all the subsistence techniques, horticulture was the last to be learned. The youngest Trumaí to have a garden was Autsuki, who was going through the final stages of the puberty ceremonies. Maibu's foster son, Jawaku, was still considered too young to cultivate his own plot, although he was no more than two years younger than Autsuki. Most of the boys were well acquainted with the work, however, through trailing the men to the gardens and watching them.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The rapid exhaustion of the soil forces them into a life which, although not nomadic, involves frequent moves. As the soil in old plots is exhausted, new ones have to be opened up. The area of exploitable land around the village is limited by the need to transport the produce and protect the villagers from their enemies. Thus, after the land available to the village has been used, the group moves.

The main subsistence of the nine village groups now living in the upper Xingú area is derived from this typically Amazonian shifting horticulture coupled with fishing in the extensive streams, lagoons, and estuaries. Apparently, the population of the region was never great enough to cause any pressure on land or other resources. Each village maintained exclusive rights of exploitation over certain waterways and areas of land within which the village always moved. There evidently were not, and still are not, any clearly defined territorial boundaries; but village rights are implicitly recognized.

The Neighbors of the Trumaí

Although there is considerable uniformity in the cultures of the upper Xingú tribes, their linguistic affiliations are diverse. The main language stocks of aboriginal Brazil are represented. On the Kuluene River are the linguistically independent Trumaí and the Cariban Kuikuru, Kalapalo, Tsuva, and Naravute. Near the waters of the Kuliseu River live the Tupian Kamayurá and Auetí, the Arawakan Mehinaku and Yaulapití, and the Cariban Nahukwa. The Batoví River is inhabited by the Arawakan Waurá and Kustenaú.[1] All these villages maintain a rather distrustful peace among themselves, but live in fear of their hostile Gê- and Tupian-speaking neighbors on the perimeters of the upper Xingú drainage area.

The upper Xingú "tribes" consist of one village each. It seems evident from the linguistic heterogeneity of the region that it is a *cul de sac* — one of the aboriginal refuge areas which characterize the cultural landscape of the headwaters of the Amazon and its tributaries.

The cultural uniformity of the above peoples has impressed all observers, as has the extensive contact that they maintain with each other. Descriptions of this homogeneity are to be found in von den Steinen[2] and, latterly, in Galvão[3] and Oberg.[4] Among the principal material traits which distinguish the area as opposed to neighboring, but outside, groups are: haystack-shaped houses arranged in a circle around a central plaza; bark canoes; dependence upon fish for protein;

[1] Oberg (1953, p. 4) states that the Yaulapití, Kustenaú, Tsuva, and Naravute no longer live in independent villages, but reside among other groups, usually of the same linguistic family.

[2] Von den Steinen 1888. [3] Galvão 1949. [4] Oberg 1953.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The fishing grounds and the still productive fruit trees of the old villages were considered to be the domain of the Trumaí, and these rights were apparently respected by others. When the village moved in search of new land, it was usually to one of the old sites, whose name the new village would take.

The Trumaí were once feared by the other tribes of the upper Xingú and were evidently a relatively numerous and vigorous people. However, when Quain visited them in 1938, they numbered only 43, and only ten years later, in 1948, the population had shrunken to a meagre 25.[11] Their small numbers had forced them to abandon village life once since Quain's visit, but they subsequently reunited in a new community.[11a]

Warfare

The topography of the flat upper Xingú Basin encourages considerable contact between tribes. The waterways are extensive and have importance beyond subsistence, as they are the chief avenues of trade and warfare. Communication through the river and flood plain system is the main reason for the high degree of cultural homogeneity that has been achieved by these tribes of diverse origins and languages. Intertribal relations are not confined to trade and warfare, but enter the spheres of social organization, ceremonialism and mythology.

Intertribal bonds within the upper Xingú Basin were based on peaceful relations between the tribes. These tribes formed part of a bounded social system in which groups outside the area did not take part. The Bakairí Indians of the Paranatinga River were on a friendly basis with the headwaters groups only because they had once lived on the Batoví River. Other tribes were uniformly enemies, regardless of cultural or linguistic affinities. Despite this peaceful interaction among the upper Xingú villages, there was considerable mutual fear and hostility between them which was expressed in witchcraft, petty thievery and intimidation. The practice of sorcery upon other villages is especially significant, in that sorcery is used in nearly all cultures only between people who share close interpersonal ties. This illustrates better than anything else the high degree of intervillage integration in the upper Xingú River Basin. The component groups constitute far more than a culture area — they form a society.

Despite the nominal peace within the upper Xingú area, the Trumaí lived in dread of their neighbors, and with good reason.[12] Situated

[11] Oberg 1953, p. 4.

[11a] Latest reports state that a measles epidemic has wrought great havoc, and that the few survivors have all joined other groups.

[12] Although fear of neighboring groups is general in the upper Xingú, de Lima (1949, p. 28) noted it to be especially strong among the numerically weak Trumaí.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The plaza was the center of Trumaí social life. Here guests were entertained, ceremonials and wrestling matches were held, and the men gathered daily. Although the women might sit in front of their houses and watch these activities, they were not allowed to come near the log bench, even when the men were not there. The plaza of the Trumaí village was also used as the burying ground.

A short distance north of the circle of houses, on the path to the two main garden clearings of the Trumaí, was another smaller clearing used during the *ole*, or manioc, ceremonies. Other paths radiated outward from the village to the other gardens and to nearby groves of *piquí* trees. Quain noticed that the paths leading to the Kamayurá village were much broader and cleaner. The Kamayurá were proud of their paths and kept them in good condition. Their plaza was also clearer of weeds and trash than that of the Trumaí.

Of the four completed houses in the village, two were as large as those of the Kamayurá, but the other two, which were much smaller, were considered by Quain's informants to be genuinely Trumaí in type. Insofar as is known, the details of the construction and shape of all four were substantially the same. They had an elliptical floor plan and were haystack-shaped. Although the side walls were only four feet high, the roof attained a height of fifteen feet. The silhouette of the house was an almost smooth curve from ridge pole to ground. The frame was covered with a grass thatch. There were no windows, and a single entry opened on the plaza.

Each family occupied its own section of the house and had its own fireplace. Personal belongings hung from the walls and ceilings or were placed on small shelves. Hammocks were hung between the side wall posts and the two center posts, the woman's hammock beneath that of her husband. Except for two nuclear families that screened off their sections with blankets and cloth given them by Quain, there was no internal division of the house.

The two largest garden clearings were situated respectively about one mile northeast and one mile northwest of the village. Three small ones were located southeast of the settlement. In order of size, the gardens were named Nariatan, Waniwanitan, Anariatan, Tan Toreake, and Tandatake. Nariatan, the largest, contained, by Quain's rough calculation, approximately seven acres divided into ten plots, representing the gardens of seven men. One plot contained two acres, but the average garden varied between one-fourth and one acre in size. One of the men had erected a temporary thatch shelter in his plot, providing protection from the sun, but not from the rain. Inside there was only a basket of manioc flour, a rack for cooking fish, and a large shallow pot into which manioc was grated. This was the sole garden shelter Quain saw, and, significantly, it belonged to the most industrious horticulturist in the village.

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The path which led from the village to Naristan, the northwestern garden clearing, passed through the previously mentioned ceremonial clearing north of the village. A short distance beyond this point, a branch took off to the east and led to Waniwanitan, the northeastern and second largest clearing, which contained nine garden plots totaling approximately five acres. Each garden was tilled by a different man, but two men had plots in both Naristan and Waniwanitan. The size of the average garden was one-half acre. There was no newly cleared land, and, in contrast to Naristan which was still yielding, nearly all of the crop (mostly manioc) had either died or been harvested. Quain noticed that the soil in Naristan had a gray tone, whereas that of Waniwanitan was reddish in hue. This difference in color was due to the ashes deposited by the more recent burning over of the former site.

Naristan was a newer garden than Waniwanitan, and the former was planted to a variety of crops while the latter was nearly all in manioc. This is indicative of the common tropical forest slash and burn system whereby second year gardens are used only for manioc growing, and new areas in which the soil is still comparatively rich are used for other vegetables in addition to manioc. The Trumaí are unique, however, in that the garden clearing was divided into individually owned plots. Smaller individual gardens or large gardens cleared and cultivated collectively are the general rule in the rain forests of South America.

The three other clearings were small, and each contained one garden plot. One was one-quarter acre in size, while the other two each comprised one-half acre. These small gardens were connected with the village by separate paths and were closer to it than the two larger clearings. Anaristan, Naristan and Waniwanitan were named after old village sites, but Quain knew of no abandoned locations from which the names Tan Toreake and Tandatake could have been derived.

Horticultural Techniques

It is difficult to assess the relative importance of horticulture, fishing and gathering in the subsistence economy of the Trumaí. At different times of the year each made the major contribution to the diet. Most garden products became available at about the middle of the rainy season, but manioc was dug up when needed throughout the year. Fish and manioc were staples the year-round, although fishing was poorer during the rains. Each was more important in the total diet than were the products of gathering. However, the subsistence of the Trumaí at certain times of the year, especially in the early part of the rainy season, would have been seriously threatened without the wild foods.

The agricultural cycle started in the early part of the dry season when the clearings needed for the next rainy season's gardens were made.

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The usual procedure was for each man to clear a garden plot adjacent to the others; in this way the two large clearings of Naristan and Waniwanitan were created. The three isolated small clearings might have been nuclei for future large clearings.

All the trees in the plot to be cleared were felled, and the underbrush was slashed away. This has been done with steel axes since the upper Xingú Indians came in contact with the outside world. Quain noted that much more work must have been involved in clearing the forest when stone axes were used. Even with improved implements, clearing land was the most arduous work done by the Trumaí. Stumps were not uprooted, nor were the fallen trees and shrubs removed. The dead vegetation was allowed to dry, and the plot was burned over just before planting in September. When planting, the Trumaí followed the simple expedient of avoiding burned tree trunks and stumps. One year old garden plots were made ready for replanting simply by pulling out or chopping down weeds.

The heavy work of clearing the land fell to the men. In one case reported by Quain, two men from the same household cleared a plot jointly, but in all other instances each garden was cleared by one man.

Permanent rights to land resided in the community as a whole, but gardens were spoken of as belonging to the man who had cleared the land. He also had proprietary rights over the crops, even when he had not planted them himself. Generally, however, such fine points of property were not an issue, as the man who cleared the land usually planted it. Land tenure was a function of use only.

Absolute, permanent ownership of property in land would have had no purpose, as the gardens were temporary and were abandoned when the soil was exhausted after two consecutive plantings.

The planting season began after the first light rains and lasted from about the middle of September to about the second week in October. The first heavy daytime rains arrive at the beginning of October and become more frequent throughout the month. Thus the sowing was done after the earth was moistened, but before the rains arrived in full force.

Quain made note of a variety of food plants growing in the Trumaí gardens. These included bitter manioc (*ole*), corn (*xotet*), squash, large beans (*kumaa*), small beans (*kumaa'i*), sweet potatoes (*mani*), sugar cane (*kuweiya*), a species of pineapple (*wasus ruyus*), and banana trees (*tsi tlatlat*). Among the domesticated non-food plants were tobacco, cotton (*awandyu*), the castor bean (*patasy*), and *urucú* (*matdot*). Quain believed that the castor bean was used for the round hollow point of the whistling arrow, but Oberg says that the Kamayurá make theirs with hollow nuts of the tucúm palm.[1] *Urucú* is a plant bearing a pod, the

[1] Oberg 1953, p. 21.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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although not everyone owned one. Quain also described Trumaí fish nets, but netting must have been a minor technique, as he did not see it practiced during his stay.

Throughout the upper Xingú area it was common practice to construct fish dams across the mouths of lagoons. There were two such fish weirs in the Trumaí lagoon, one near its mouth, the other across a small inlet near the village. Their purpose was to block the fish from escape to the main stream when drugs were placed in the water. They were built by driving upright stakes into the floor of the lagoon, after which a wall of rubbish and branches was built against the fence. One dam was constructed by the village cooperatively, while the other was said to have been built by a single man.

The Trumaí lagoon was considered the property of the community, and the Trumaí maintained exclusive fishing rights in it. The water in the lagoon is clear in comparison to the muddy Kuluene, and the fishing excellent. A good proportion of the fishing was done there, especially when traps and poisons were used, but they also had fishing rights in other lagoons within the territory of abandoned Trumaí villages. In addition, they fished in the Kuluene and Kuliseu and ranged as far afield as the Batovi River.

While most fishing trips were carried out within a day, some lasted two or three days. When the fishermen returned, they were greeted with a conventional shout by all the villagers. The shout was meant to welcome the food rather than the fishermen, and similar cries were heard when well laden gathering parties returned from a short jaunt into the forest.

About one-half of the men owned canoes, and according to Quain's informants, only six did not know how to build them. The bark canoes of the upper Xingú are not difficult to make, and it can be assumed that the community did not need more, inasmuch as fishing parties always consisted of two men. Larger groups went out of the village in a body when many fish were needed for a ceremony or to feed guests, but they usually split into pairs. Cooperative fishing groups of more than two men were needed only for drugging and perhaps for netting. On one *tawasi* fishing expedition over half the males of the village went to the lagoon with bundles of shredded bark. Quain noted that this was one of the few examples of group labor transcending the immediate family.

Two-man fishing expeditions were composed of the owner or borrower of the canoe and his helper (*tau*). The *tau* generally paddled while the owner fished. Only while serving as a helper was he referred to as the *tau* of that man. Thus, if a person went as the helper of Makurawa, he was referred to as "Makurawatau." He shared in the catch, but whether he received less than the canoe owner is not indicated by the field notes. There seemed to be no fixed standard for the selection of the *tau*, nor

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were the teams always the same. Old Matiwana and his son Yati fished together most of the time, as did Aloari and his true brother Tun. Other true brothers often fished together, but, with the exception of the two above-mentioned steadfast teams, men chose their fishing companions according to their mutual needs or plans for the day. Since such agreements occurred most often between members of the same household, co-residents often cooperated. One man, Jakuma, spent much of his time fishing as the *tau* of different canoe owners or borrowers. He had no wife, and his garden, which he did not till very diligently, was very small. His fishing partners included men from every household, who were related to him in various degrees.

Although the position of *tau* was a temporarily subordinate one, it caused no loss of status. Even the Trumaí chief, since he owned no canoe, went fishing as a *tau*. Occasionally men took their wives along, but fishing was a man's specialty, and the woman's function was restricted to paddling.

Gathering

The two most important food products that the Trumaí gathered were turtle eggs and the fruit of the *piquí* tree, or *tsinon*. Throughout the dry season, turtle eggs were gathered in great quantity on the banks and sandbars of the rivers. By September they were no longer available and, in the following month, *piquí* became the main objective of the gathering parties. The harvest of this fruit was stored and lasted nearly to the end of the rainy season. *Piquí* was an important staple, especially in the period before crops ripened. Most of the *piquí* trees grow wild, but there is a suggestion in Quain's notes that they might also have been transplanted when young. All of the *piquí* trees were individually owned, and proprietary rights of individuals to groups of trees were clearly understood by all. In order to make the fruit ripen fast, the owner of the trees built a slow-burning fire of grass underneath them at night. The early rainy season was a rather lean period, so that there was great joy when the *piquí* was heard falling in the forest. Everyone broke into shouts of "*kaha kaha kaha-a-a*," which was the conventional cry for greeting the first *piquí*. These shouts were slightly different from those welcoming fish brought into the village.

The first fruit was usually gathered by the owner of the trees and his family. However, when the fruit began to fall in great quantity there was a general harvest which was shared without regard for tree ownership.

Piquí gathering started in the middle of October, when the planting season had ended and the men were free to help in the gathering. However, men still fished frequently, and the burden of the gathering fell on the women and older boys. Women from the same household

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CHAPTER THREE

Trumaí Social Organization

Property Ownership

Trumaí society was relatively simple. There was no social stratification based on wealth, nor were the mechanisms of social control and cohesion highly developed. This was in accord with the individualization of productive effort and the low level of economic surplus. The political unit was a single community, the sole bearer of Trumaí culture.

All land and productive resources were considered the property of the community, and the right to their exploitation resided with any individual willing to expend the labor. Gardens were individual property, but only in the sense that the man who reclaimed the land from the jungle was entitled to its product. There was no concept of alienable property in land, entailing the right of disposition. The *piquí* trees were said to be owned individually, but the owner exercised exclusive rights only over the first fruits. Other wild food plants were community property and their fruits belonged to the gatherer.

The fishing rights to lagoons and backwaters of the rivers belonged to the tribes in whose territory they were located. There was no individual ownership of fishing sites.

There was property in foods, but as soon as they were cooked they were freely distributed. *Beijú* belonged to the women, but the manioc out of which it was prepared was said to be the property of the man who grew it. Such distinctions were largely academic. Actually, the men grew the vegetable and the women harvested it, prepared it, and cooked it, after which it was distributed and eaten. The same situation prevailed in regard to the products of fishing, hunting, and gathering. Salt was the only exception, as it was prepared and owned by individual men and women. The difference undoubtedly lies in the fact that salt was an important trade item, while the other commodities were not.

Very little property can be said to have belonged to the family. Baskets and gourd containers were made by the men for themselves and for the women, but they were often used by both a man and his wife. Nearly all material objects outside of natural resources were owned by the person who made them or the person to whom an object was given. House ownership was vague, since houses were built and occupied by more than one man, and abandoned when the village moved. The house, however, was often considered the property of the man who put

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the greatest time and effort into its building. Quain was reprimanded for speaking of the house in which Maibu lived as "Maibu's," for his brother-in-law, Mata'wai, had built it. This point of property was confirmed by others, despite the fact that Maibu was the head of the household and acted as host when guests entered. 423

To the Trumaí, the only important property was in the personal possession of transportable, material artifacts. These ranged from tools and weapons to ceremonial objects and trinkets obtained from Quain. The second class of property was probably cherished more than the first, which was viewed as consisting of everyday necessities. The combs, feathers, beads, European novelties, papers, and other such items that all men and women possessed were carefully kept in baskets and gourds near their hammocks. A man and wife would often keep some of their personal belongings in the same containers, but beyond this there was a special category of personal possessions called *wacta*. This highly valued personal property was kept by each individual in separate gourds, where it was safe from the gift claims of kinsmen and reasonably free from the danger of theft. 422 [415]

The privacy of this property was especially observed by opposite sexes, although not as strictly by mates. Quain was told by one man that it was "bad" for a man to look at a woman's *wacta*, although he rummaged at will through the personal belongings of the men. The taboo on male contact with women's *wacta* was due in part to inclusion within it of articles used during menstruation. [841]

Accompanying the stress on personal and private ownership of certain material objects was a strong sense of acquisitiveness. Quain expressed this as follows: "There can be no doubt that property ownership is a paramount drive in this culture. Children are not content to see, as they are in Fiji, but things must be theirs. The possessive pronoun has an importance here which is striking. Once articles are received, they seem to disappear. They are probably carefully guarded among personal belongings." Significantly, the word for "gift-giving," literally translated, also means "to yield to a demand." 181 425 [193]

The Trumaí were tremendously interested in Quain's belongings and made continual attempts to acquire them. Adults as well as children whined in order to obtain objects from him. This attitude was manifested towards useful objects such as knives and axes, but they also pleaded and begged for articles having only curiosity value to them. As Quain said, to be curious about an object was to want it. Possession was desired for its own sake, for only slight prestige was gained by accumulating material objects, and utilitarian articles, such as knives, axes, and pots, were easily borrowed. 123 181 425 [454] [556]

Despite the possessiveness described by Quain, the Trumaí were restricted by strong gift-giving ties. A true brother or a son had a claim 431 602

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on a man's property, as did also, in the following order, his sister's son and his brother's son. Within the household, food was freely shared, and correspondingly, a co-resident could ask for a material object. These requests, however, were not always granted. A common excuse was to say that the object was promised to someone having a stronger claim. Despite these evasions, the patterns of gift-giving created a constant circulation of food and objects throughout the village.

Inheritance

Transmission of property was accomplished chiefly through trade and gift. There is no information on the disposal of the material possessions of the deceased. The only available data on inheritance concern the office of chief and the possession of certain songs sung at the *ole* (manioc) ceremony. The former was inherited patrilineally and will be discussed later. The ceremonial songs were inherited either through the mother's brother or the mother's father. Thus, old Matiwana would some day teach his *ole* songs to Amanatsin, his daughter's eldest son. Nitvary, another of the three men who knew *ole* songs, learned them from Jawaku's father, who was his mother's brother. Since cross-cousin marriage was practiced, Jawaku might marry Nitvary's sister, and their child would inherit the songs from Nitvary. In this way the *ole* songs returned to the direct patrilineal line every other generation.

In response to careful questioning, Quain was assured that these songs could be obtained only from the mother's brother and mother's father, and not from the father or the father's brother. The combination of this matrilineal trait and patrilineal elements is characteristic of the bilaterality in upper Xingú culture.

The Trade Game

The trade game was a mechanism of inter- and intra-community distribution. Even more importantly it provided a framework for social participation, leisure time relaxation, and general enjoyment. As such it was one of the few integrating factors in Trumaí society.

Afternoons, especially rainy afternoons, were dull times in the Trumaí village. In Quain's words, "These people are bored but don't realize it! Wrestling provides some diversion, but nothing quickens spirits more than a brisk trade game (*kawirxo*). All that is needed is for one of the men to stride through the village with a bundle of goods to trade and suggest a *kawirxo*. Shouts go up on all sides, everybody crowds into one of the houses, and the game is on. Enthusiasm is even greater when there are visitors in the village."

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but continued at the same pace for about three weeks, and then slowly died down. It would be impossible to say on what day the *ole* ceremony ended.

When the *ole* cycle began it consisted of little except songs and dances. These were usually held shortly before daybreak and at night. About a week afterwards decorated posts were erected in the village center. These "*ole* posts" served as "shrines" to which food offerings were made. In the meantime, dancing and singing went on almost every day. On some days two or three *ole* songs and dances were performed; on others there was little activity.

The intensity of the ritual varied with the number of people in the village and according to whim. The participants changed from day to day, and some took part more often than others. Only certain men knew the songs and dances, and they served as leaders. Other men occasionally joined in and performed an accompanying role, while the women followed the dancers and served as a chorus. The usual procedure was for the men to sing and dance their way from the nearby forest into the plaza, where they were joined by the female chorus. They then made the rounds of all the houses, pausing to sing at each.

Only Matiwana and Nitvary served as leaders of the dance processions, as they had inherited the necessary songs. Makurawa also knew *ole* songs, but his role was always secondary. Nitvary, due to his youth and vigor, was the principal dance leader. Most of the other adult men did not participate in the dances and seemed bored by the activity at times. There was no rule governing female participation in the dance. One of the men initiated the performance without consulting the other men, and the women flocked from their houses of their own will to join the procession, falling in behind the older boys. Quain thought this reflected well the respective roles of the men and women in Trumaí culture. Children always followed in the rear and cried out at the beginning and end of each major sequence in the performance.

There were also *ole* songs for solo performance without choral accompaniment, which were not considered to be the special property of any one man. The soloist made the rounds of all the houses, stopping at each to perform a song and a simple dance. Even the women sang certain *ole* songs, and on one occasion Quain observed two women making the customary rounds together without male accompaniment.

Quain mentioned one song as being quite melodious, and stated that there was greater variation of pitch in songs which were distributed throughout the upper Xingú area. The Trumaí had borrowed songs heavily from their neighbors, and, in fact, had probably borrowed the whole ceremony. Kamayurá verses were most frequently heard, but there was also a significant sprinkling of Cariban words.

The chorus that followed Matiwana and Nitvary gave only the sketchiest accompaniment. The women did not seem to know the songs,

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Inheritance

424 428 533 [768] Transmission of property was accomplished chiefly through trade and gift. There is no information on the disposal of the material possessions of the deceased. The only available data on inheritance concern the office of chief and the possession of certain songs sung at the *ole* (manioc) ceremony. The former was inherited patrilineally and will be discussed later. The ceremonial songs were inherited either through the mother's brother or the mother's father. Thus, old Matiwana would some day teach his *ole* songs to Amanatsin, his daughter's eldest son. Nitvary, another of the three men who knew *ole* songs, learned them from Jawaku's father, who was his mother's brother. Since cross-cousin marriage was practiced, [584] Jawaku might marry Nitvary's sister, and their child would inherit the songs from Nitvary. In this way the *ole* songs returned to the direct patrilineal line every other generation.

613 In response to careful questioning, Quain was assured that these songs could be obtained only from the mother's brother and mother's father, and not from the father or the father's brother. The combination of this matrilineal trait and patrilineal elements is characteristic of the bilaterality in upper Xingú culture.

The Trade Game

437 517 524 The trade game was a mechanism of inter- and intra-community distribution. Even more importantly it provided a framework for social participation, leisure time relaxation, and general enjoyment. As such it was one of the few integrating factors in Trumaí society.

Afternoons, especially rainy afternoons, were dull times in the Trumaí village. In Quain's words, "These people are bored but don't realize it! Wrestling provides some diversion, but nothing quickens spirits more than a brisk trade game (*kwirzo*). All that is needed is for one of the men to stride through the village with a bundle of goods to trade and suggest a *kwirzo*. Shouts go up on all sides, everybody crowds into one [574] of the houses, and the game is on. Enthusiasm is even greater when there are visitors in the village."

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although a Mehinaku woman and a Suyá woman who had dwelled among the Waurá were living there. 439

The origin of specialization apparently lies in the diversity of the original cultures of the upper Xingú tribes. While a great degree of cultural homogeneity was subsequently attained through interaction and diffusion, certain culturally specialized items became integral to the trade relationships that were a functional part of intertribal social life. Trade became standardized, and monopolies were thereby perpetuated. The Kamayurá-type bow and the Waurá pot were not only essential to the Trumaí economy, but trade in these items with these tribes was expected and served to reinforce the structure of the supra-village society. 182 439

In addition to trade in specialized products, there was active exchange of other items of Western and native manufacture, such as feathers, fishhooks, line, cotton yarn, cloth, paper, beads, and trinkets. This, however, did not require organized trading trips, as did the exchange of the specialized products. The Trumaí traveled for the specific purpose of trading salt or securing pots and bows, although such transactions were also carried out during ordinary visits and at intertribal ceremonials. The non-specialized items were taken along on all visits in anticipation of a lively afternoon of trading, but they were incidental to such expeditions. 439 484 [177]

Despite the economic foundation of upper Xingú trade, all exchanges were considered gifts. No aspect of trade was recognized as divorced from personal relations. Food was shared freely in the community and did not enter into trade. Quain was the only person in the Trumaí village who traded to obtain food. 439 437 431 [123]

Quain believed that there was a scale of values and a concept of equivalence in trade, as certain proffered articles were rejected by sellers as inadequate. The individual exchanges indicated some equivalence, and there was a tendency for particular categories of goods to be exchanged. Men traded arrows for fishhooks and gourds for small pots. Trinkets also formed a class. However, when dealing in specialized products, payment in another specialty was not required. Western goods were especially desired. Knives and axes were in great demand, and, once given to an Indian by a white man, they entered into active trade circulation. There was sufficient cross-cutting between the classes of articles to suggest the operation of a more comprehensive scale of values, but, unfortunately, Quain had to leave the Trumaí before this could be verified. 439 435 [177]

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the greatest time and effort into its building. Quain was reprimanded for speaking of the house in which Maibu lived as "Maibu's," for his brother-in-law, Mata'wai, had built it. This point of property was confirmed by others, despite the fact that Maibu was the head of the household and acted as host when guests entered. 423

To the Trumaí, the only important property was in the personal possession of transportable, material artifacts. These ranged from tools and weapons to ceremonial objects and trinkets obtained from Quain. The second class of property was probably cherished more than the first, which was viewed as consisting of everyday necessities. The combs, feathers, beads, European novelties, papers, and other such items that all men and women possessed were carefully kept in baskets and gourds near their hammocks. A man and wife would often keep some of their personal belongings in the same containers, but beyond this there was a special category of personal possessions called *wacta*. This highly valued personal property was kept by each individual in separate gourds, where it was safe from the gift claims of kinsmen and reasonably free from the danger of theft. 422 [415]

The privacy of this property was especially observed by opposite sexes, although not as strictly by mates. Quain was told by one man that it was "bad" for a man to look at a woman's *wacta*, although he rummaged at will through the personal belongings of the men. The taboo on male contact with women's *wacta* was due in part to inclusion within it of articles used during menstruation. [84]

Accompanying the stress on personal and private ownership of certain material objects was a strong sense of acquisitiveness. Quain expressed this as follows: "There can be no doubt that property ownership is a paramount drive in this culture. Children are not content to see, as they are in Fiji, but things must be theirs. The possessive pronoun has an importance here which is striking. Once articles are received, they seem to disappear. They are probably carefully guarded among personal belongings." Significantly, the word for "gift-giving," literally translated, also means "to yield to a demand." 181 425 [193]

The Trumaí were tremendously interested in Quain's belongings and made continual attempts to acquire them. Adults as well as children whined in order to obtain objects from him. This attitude was manifested towards useful objects such as knives and axes, but they also pleaded and begged for articles having only curiosity value to them. As Quain said, to be curious about an object was to want it. Possession was desired for its own sake, for only slight prestige was gained by accumulating material objects, and utilitarian articles, such as knives, axes, and pots, were easily borrowed. 123 181 425 [454] [556]

Despite the possessiveness described by Quain, the Trumaí were restricted by strong gift-giving ties. A true brother or a son had a claim 431 602

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551 605 607 Only when he was also the brother-in-law was respect given to a cross-cousin or his name avoided. Female cross-cousins, despite affinal connections, were never so treated by the men.

Avunculate

604 522 [861] [431] The maternal uncle in Trumaí society was in no sense a disciplinarian. Only the father and the father's brother were allowed to strike a child. On the other hand, the gift-giving claims of the sister's son (*deta*) upon the mother's brother (*wawe*) were strong, and particularly so when they were reinforced by co-residence. A man was expected to be benevolent and tolerant toward his *deta*. This frequently took the form of teasing and jollying the boy, and contrasted with the more serious attitude of the father and his brothers. For instance, Yati told his *deta* that he and Quain were going to eat him, and, as if to carry out the threat, he began to drag him toward the fire. The child cried lustily, and Yati immediately stopped and cajoled him. Also, Katauka said to his *deta*, "When you die, I will not cry." Katauka was greatly amused when this caused tears.

Such teasing ceased by the time a boy reached the age of puberty. Moreover, the *wawe* became a defender of the *deta's* interests in the absence of the boy's father or father's brother, and, in some cases, he supervised his initiation ceremonies. Common to both the Trumaí and [437] Kamayurá was the traveling partnership of a man and his sister's son. [171] It was quite usual for a *wawe* to take his *deta* along when he visited another village. Quain noted that on such trips the wife of the older man was rarely included. This is consistent with the sexual taboo [835] between the nephew and the maternal uncle's wife.

The Chieftaincy

622 624 [988] The Trumaí had one chieftain (*aek*), Maibu, and two sub-chiefs, Katauka and Matiwana. At the outset it should be understood that Katauka and Matiwana at no time during Quain's stay exerted any chiefly prerogative or function. They were not men of especially high status — indeed, Matiwana was looked down upon as an old man. Their main function, Quain was told, was to take over the office of chief when Maibu was away from the village. Due to Matiwana's advanced age, this duty ordinarily fell to Katauka. Otherwise, neither man was particularly influential; nor did they talk more in the men's circle than others.

622 537 The chief's main function was to urge his fellow Trumaí to carry out those projects or tasks which were the responsibility of the community as a whole or in its interest, but he frequently exhorted the villagers to

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outright rebellion. Despite a great deal of grumbling and non-compliance, they still tacitly recognized Maibu as chief.

One of Maibu's main prerogatives was his talking function. He alone had the role of exhorter of the people. Other men would be "ashamed," he said, to speak so. Most of Maibu's speeches were delivered at night in the men's circle or before work started in the morning. The attitude of his audience ranged from interest to bored indifference and outright ridicule. One morning Maibu lay in his hammock and shouted for everyone to go out to gather fruit. The initial response to this was a shout from some of the houses, telling him to be quiet. Later some people drifted out of the village carrying baskets, and still later others followed, grumbling that they were being driven from the village. This was a common complaint. Because of the tone in which it was said, Quain thought at first that they were actually being exiled.

The chief had no symbols of office outside of the above prerogatives; yet a deference of sorts was shown him. When Maibu entered the men's circle or Quain's house, someone always got up to give him a seat. Tobacco was usually supplied him, and the donor would roll the cigarette and light it before making the presentation. Even the men who told Quain that Maibu was not a "real chief" made these gifts. Maibu himself did not hesitate to send someone across the village through the rain to fetch something. These favors were usually performed by his kinsmen and co-residents, although occasionally more distant persons obliged. On the other hand, Maibu was expected to be generous towards all the other Trumaí. Nearly everything that Quain gave him passed to other hands. Maibu did not even have a bow of his own.

Maibu's poverty was attributable in part to his heavy gift obligations and in part to the fact that he had no garden. He said to Quain that he did not plant because he was a chief. However, he was not completely a non-producer. He went fishing, joined in collective labor, and helped his wife in gathering. At none of these tasks did he occupy himself strenuously. The only articles that he manufactured were arrows and spears. He thus made no trade commodities, relying on others, principally his co-residents, for all his artifacts and food. On most days he did little except talk, sleep, and philander with the unmarried women.

Inheritance of the chieftaincy was nominally patrilineal. Maibu, however, was the son of the daughter of the Trumaí chief whom von den Steinen had met, indicating that the office can pass matrilineally if there are no male heirs available. (Maibu's brother's son, Jawaku, adopted by Maibu through the levirate, was to have been the next Trumaí chief.) But the Trumaí chief reported by Galvão nine years later was Alo-ari, who was only a distant relative of Maibu.[8] What happened in the years between 1938 and 1947 is not known, but it is apparent that

[8] This information was received verbally from Dr. Eduardo Galvão.

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Jakwanari then presented to the dancers as payment. In another part of the ceremony, a gourd of the *piquí* fruit drink was poured on Jakwanari in the same manner that the manioc gruel was poured on Matiwana during the *ole* festival.

The Spear-Throwing Contest

The spear-throwing contest involved intertribal participation and was completely secular. The core of the celebration, which took place at the end of the rainy season, was a duel between rival teams representing the tribes of the area. The purpose of the duel was for a member of the team on the offensive to strike a member of the defending team with a blunt-ended spear propelled by an *atlatl*, or spear-thrower. The defendant held a few sticks vertically, one end resting on the ground, and tried to deflect the oncoming spear with them. The distance between the two was about twenty paces and hits were frequently scored. After each turn, the defender went on the offensive. The games were conducted in a spirit of friendship and festivity. Bruises, some of which must have been severe, were compensated for by gift exchanges.

The participants painted their bodies elaborately for the combat. One informant erroneously stated that the masks for which the area is famous (but which were no longer made by the Trumaí) were worn during one part of the festival.[1] Intertribal wrestling matches were also held at this gathering.

The Bull Roarer

Information on the defunct bull roarer rites, as for other ceremonies, is extremely meagre. As the Trumaí express it, they have "buried the *kuih*" (bull roarer), but most of the adult men knew the ritual connected with it and remembered when it was still in use. The Trumaí formerly went to the Kamayurá village and took part in the ceremony there. One man told Quain that dancing in the Trumaí village preceded the ritual, whereupon they all went to the Kamayurá village and "did things that the women cannot see." Then, he said, there was a great deal of wrestling and copulation. Yati, Maibu, and Tun played a ceremonial role known only to them, while Yati, Oirupa, and Nitvary sang certain songs at night when everyone was asleep. The ceremonial flutes found throughout the upper Xingú are not mentioned in Quain's notes. Apparently, they were no longer used by the Trumaí.

[1] These masks are worn during a ceremony called the *jakui* by the Kamayurá, which, according to Galvão (1950, p. 385.) takes place in the same season, thus explaining the confusion.

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CHAPTER FIVE

THE LIFE CYCLE

Birth

843 [841] The Trumaí were well aware of the facts of conception, paternity, and pregnancy. That menstruation ceased after conception was, of course, perfectly obvious to them, but it is uncertain whether this was considered a diagnostic of pregnancy. Maibu related some female gossip to Quain to the effect that Aloari's wife, Yumunuwa, was pregnant. When Quain objected on the grounds that she had only recently menstruated, Maibu pointed out as indisputable evidence that her navel was protruding.

847 [732] [848] One of the Trumaí women, the clubfooted, childless, and unmarried Yawala, was pregnant during Quain's stay. She spent most of her time in her hammock and received little attention, except from other women who kept insisting that they perform an abortion upon her. Abortion was usually induced by manipulating the abdomen, but also, it seems, by drinking certain "waters" of which the women had knowledge. Yawala resisted all urgings and maintained that she wanted a child "to hold in my arms."

Abortion was undoubtedly frequent, and infanticide too, and at times without the agreement of the husband. It is not known what, 843 if any, observances and precautions were taken during pregnancy 833 except that sexual intercourse ceased when a woman became very large because "it hurts her."

844 Parturition was accompanied by observances led by old Matiwana, 846 during which the men sat and smoked. The women held the laboring woman in a sitting position, in which she gave birth. The role of the husband before and after delivery was not recorded. After Aloari's son was born, however, his wife bled for three moons. During this time he had to drink a certain medicine. Quain's notes suggest that a form of couvade was observed.

[431] After birth, the only economic exchange that took place was a gift which the husband gave to the wife in payment for the child.

Early Childhood

162 The youngest child in the Trumaí village was a girl between one and two years of age. The other girl was about six. Of the boys, one was about

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occasionally someone, who was occupied or in bad temper, would chase the child away or slap him lightly. The only time that Quain ever saw a child given physical punishment was after some petty pilfering. In this case the father whipped him angrily across the legs. Usually, however, only a verbal reprimand followed misconduct. 867 [861]

Children were in a somewhat privileged category. With respect to gift-giving, the claims of the young were particularly strong, although, as noted above, they were not unlimited. When a child wanted something, it would either be given it or a good excuse would be offered. Parents backed up such demands, and were hurt and aggrieved if the request was refused. 858 431

Children had almost as strong control over their property as did the older Trumaí. Quain dealt directly with the children to secure specimens of children's playthings. The children manifested the same possessiveness as their parents in these dealings and in their general concepts of property. Even little Katsits cried when her father wanted to put up her necklace in the trade game. Her father let her keep the necklace and sought other objects to exchange. 858 422

Children cried frequently, and their tears rarely went unheeded. Teasing by adults was common, but when a child broke into full and lusty howls, he was soothed and comforted. There were no admonitions against crying itself. The only time a child was reprimanded for crying was when it was absolutely unwarranted and annoying to the adults. In such cases, a stern voice was all that was required. By the time a boy reached the age of ten he rarely wept, for he was then going through the initial phases of the puberty rites, and courage and fortitude were expected. 861 152 [881]

Little work was demanded of children. The boys often accompanied the women on gathering expeditions, but this was the only help they gave them. On the other hand, they were frequently called on to perform errands for the men or lend them some small aid. These tasks were done willingly. 857

The older boys occasionally accompanied the men on hunting and fishing trips, thus learning the necessary subsistence techniques. They participated actively in fish poisoning, helped in the preparation and application of the *tawasi* bark, and in the gathering of the drugged fish. Of all the subsistence techniques, horticulture was the last to be learned. The youngest Trumaí to have a garden was Autsuki, who was going through the final stages of the puberty ceremonies. Maibu's foster son, Jawaku, was still considered too young to cultivate his own plot, although he was no more than two years younger than Autsuki. Most of the boys were well acquainted with the work, however, through trailing the men to the gardens and watching them. 868 857

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tention of marriage. But an intention of marriage did not insure exclusive sexual rights. The man usually continued to get gratification wherever he could find it. The knowledge of his other liaisons did not particularly disturb his bride-to-be, as she herself may well have been receiving attentions from other lovers. After marriage, such transgressions were not so readily tolerated.

The chief obstacles in the way of the marriage-bent Trumaí swain were the necessity to shout down his rivals and gain the approval and consent of the girl's kinsmen. The woman's consent was not necessary in making the marriage, and she usually remained aloof, waiting to see who won. If, however, she was not pleased with the mate to whom she was awarded, she was free to leave him. And this she often did. While Quain was in the village, there were marriages that lasted only a day or two due to the bride's dissatisfaction.

In addition to the arguments that precede most marriages, the man was expected to go through certain formalities. He went to the girl's mother and stated his intentions. If the girl had no mother, he approached the nearest male relative. In order to gain the favor of her kinsmen, he distributed gifts, the most important to the girl's mother, others to her father, siblings, and her mother's brother. The gift to the latter was especially important, as he was the one who formally gave the woman, or as the Trumaí phrase it, "spreads her legs." Gifts were also given the girl, culminating with a present of fish. In the meantime the girl made an especially fine hammock which she gave to the groom.

If everything was accepted, the man was free to take the girl to his house. The wedding was preceded by a fishing expedition in which nearly all the men participated, and by a wrestling match for which the groom was beautifully painted. The women held a trade game. The actual ceremony consisted of nothing more than the woman's moving into the house of her mate. A male relative carried her hammock to his home.

This was the way weddings should have been conducted in the Trumaí village. Actually, they were even less formal, especially in the case of second wives in polygamous unions. Marriage and sex preoccupied the Trumaí, for there were not enough women to go around; but even the few formal acts involved interested the Trumaí little. If the marriage was durable, the couple settled down and had children. After marriage and the birth of children no great change occurred in their positions in the community until they reached old age.

Old Age

Everyone in the village was classified as "younger" or "older." The men were either *axosek* (younger) or *tdakek* (older), while the terms for the women were, respectively, *axosektsa* and *tdakits*. These were not age

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"Tremendous interest in property, together with a simple and declining culture, results in my being a seriously disturbing element in their lives. Casual conversation always degenerates into a squabble about gift-giving .... There is intense pleasure in possession. Children get no sympathy when they are hurt, but objects are usually given to them. Every child has the right at least 'to see' anything he desires. In this respect children are pampered. Adults whine for things; withholding a desired object makes them intensely unhappy. Aggressive possession is admired.. Trade games make the exchange of property very fluid. Yet values in trade are well defined, and there is no prestige in giving more than one gets. Within the kinship circle, however, the old lavish property on the young. A father's garden is spoken of as that of his five year old son. There is a deliberate attempt to instill aggressive ownership attitudes in the young. A three year old girl is taught to claim objects in a loud voice. This is done by shouting the possessive pronoun....

"These are a settled people who live within the strict limits of their village. Their small number has advantage in the study of individuals. They have no knowledge of the world beyond the Kuluene-Kuliseu. It has no more real existence than the various inhabited regions of the heavens. The half dozen expeditions which have passed down the river have communicated with the natives only with signs. The one important result of such contact was division from peripheral tribes and the rise of metal tools. The disappearance of the stone industry, on which a defunct Trumaí moiety had a monopoly, has occurred within the last generation.[1] The increased leisure which probably resulted is not utilized economically.

"The complete lack of self-consciousness among these people makes behavior observation remarkably easy. Before I knew any of the language, I could sit by the hour in various households and time the actions of people while they paid no attention to me. For instance, one man during twenty minutes of leisure lay down to rest in his hammock fifteen different times, but each time disturbed himself with the remembrance of some petty chore undone....

"The only restriction of behavior that I have seen in casual intra-village personal relations is that the children are told not to litter the floor. The only positive rule is that the head of a household must sit with a guest and converse while the guest is inside his house .... Furthermore, extra-marital sexual intercourse has occurred in a shadowy corner of my house.. This lack of self-consciousness contrasts strongly with the Karajá, who are more prudish than the Fijians....

"Shortage of women, because of theft of young women, polygamy, lack of sexual interest in old wives (of which there are several), and

[1] Quain refers here to the moiety-like division of the Trumaí which has been discussed in Chapter Three. This appears to be rather a result of the merger of the northern and southern Trumaí villages. The latter specialised in axe-making.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Agendas were ordinarily based on the immediate needs of the household or the desire for some variety in their diet. Food, however, was shared widely, and this probably robbed most work of any sense of urgency. Apparently, each man's plans for the day were determined in part by the season, in part by the household needs, and in part by what he felt like doing.

Some men stayed in the village all day, sleeping and working intermittently at small tasks. The women spent more time in the village than the men. Their work was done in the house or, if outside, in the shade of the house. Since male work was done largely in the morning, most of the men had ample time in the afternoon for trade, wrestling, and other diversions. The trade game was an especially popular indoor activity on rainy days.

Much less work was probably done during the rainy season, for planting would be finished, the *piquí* would be harvested, and the heavy rains would confine people to the village. However, there was much less seasonal variation for the women, as they had to continue to make *beijú*, weave, cook, and care for their households — the ordinary female chores, whatever the month.

Trumaí economic life was loosely organized. Few types of labor transcended the nuclear family, which was the basic unit of economic cooperation and interdependence. The inventory of material culture was sparse, and workmanship was not highly developed. What the Trumaí did not make, they could obtain by trade. From the standpoint of technology, the Trumaí were more backward than other tribes in the upper Xingú area, perhaps a reflection of their more recent settlement in the region.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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CHAPTER THREE

Trumaí Social Organization

Property Ownership

105 Trumaí society was relatively simple. There was no social stratification based on wealth, nor were the mechanisms of social control and cohesion highly developed. This was in accord with the individualization of productive effort and the low level of economic surplus. The political unit was a single community, the sole bearer of Trumaí culture.

All land and productive resources were considered the property of the community, and the right to their exploitation resided with any individual willing to expend the labor. Gardens were individual property, but only in the sense that the man who reclaimed the land from the jungle was entitled to its product. There was no concept of alienable property in land, entailing the right of disposition. The *piquí* trees were said to be owned individually, but the owner exercised exclusive rights only over the first fruits. Other wild food plants were community property and their fruits belonged to the gatherer.

The fishing rights to lagoons and backwaters of the rivers belonged to the tribes in whose territory they were located. There was no individual ownership of fishing sites.

There was property in foods, but as soon as they were cooked they were freely distributed. *Beijú* belonged to the women, but the manioc out of which it was prepared was said to be the property of the man who grew it. Such distinctions were largely academic. Actually, the men grew the vegetable and the women harvested it, prepared it, and cooked it, after which it was distributed and eaten. The same situation prevailed in regard to the products of fishing, hunting, and gathering. Salt was the only exception, as it was prepared and owned by individual men and women. The difference undoubtedly lies in the fact that salt was an important trade item, while the other commodities were not.

Very little property can be said to have belonged to the family. Baskets and gourd containers were made by the men for themselves and for the women, but they were often used by both a man and his wife. Nearly all material objects outside of natural resources were owned by the person who made them or the person to whom an object was given. House ownership was vague, since houses were built and occupied by more than one man, and abandoned when the village moved. The house, however, was often considered the property of the man who put

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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105 182 648 in the Trumaí community, for, as Oberg notes, no adult male would choose to live with a people of such low status.[1]

105 162 It might be expected that the Trumaí could have compensated for this drain by raising their birth rate. However, in this population of 43 persons, there were only ten children, an extremely small number when the low average life span is considered. Furthermore, only two of the children were females. Of the approximately twelve women who 105 were capable of bearing children, only one was pregnant, and the others 163 were urging her to abort her child. Thus, infanticide and abortion were 161 taking a heavy toll in the Trumaí village.

847 845 The custom of killing twins and of spacing births three or four years apart are reported by Oberg for the Kamayurá,[2] and these factors may well have been present in the Trumaí situation. The [171] taboo on sexual intercourse had the same effect. Wagley, who studied the dying but equally unacculturated Tapirapé, found that traditional practices were contributing to the complete depopulation of that group also.[3]

105 161 178 154 But among the Trumaí there is still another and less tangible dimension. Abortion may have been urged on a pregnant woman because she had no husband, but how is one to explain the killing of two of Aloari's children without his consent, or the fact that there were eight male and only two female children in the community? The limited information available suggests that the Trumaí were purposely restricting their number and committing suicide, perhaps unintentionally, in the process. Two reasons for this extreme behavior may be hypothesized: first, the impasse in which the Trumaí found themselves because of the steady depopulation made them so personally insecure and apathetic regarding both the present and the future that they were no longer willing to rear sizable families, despite their evident devotion to children; and second, they may not have thought it possible to produce the surplus necessary to support such families. Actually, however, even with their diminished numbers the Trumaí could have increased their food supply.

105 511 433 226 Their lowered standard of living was due to more than attitudes. Loss of population no doubt also decreased the yield of Trumaí fishing and therefore limited their chief source of protein. To be sure, bow and arrow fishing was little affected, but fish poisoning, the only communal subsistence technique practiced by them, was much less effective when employed by a small group, for a few people can adequately poison only smaller watercourses and branches of lagoons, while a greater number can cover larger streams and whole lagoons. In the latter circumstance, both the take would be larger and larger species would be available. Moreover, when the waters are heavily poisoned and enough people are present to reap the "harvest," there is less chance of fish escaping. Thus, up to

[1] Oberg 1953, p. 15. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 62. [3] Wagley 1940.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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a certain point at least, the take increases geometrically with the number of persons participating.

In gardening, also, which was not practiced collectively, their small number decreased Trumaí security. It was common for nearly all the village men to plant their gardens in clearings adjacent to those of their neighbors. Obviously, if one part of such a single, extended clearing was improperly fired, or if the crops were destroyed by armadillos or wild pigs, the whole village might be without food. Crop failure for a variety of causes is common in the tropical forests, but most aboriginal communities in South America have several separated garden clearings, each owned by an individual or extended family. If one garden fails, the family can, in a period of emergency, reap from others. Oberg relates that the Trumaí once had to turn for food to the Kamayura,[4] perhaps because of the failure of the village clearing.

It is, of course, possible that in the past the Trumaí organized their gardens along the more rational lines of the Kamayurá;[5] and it is also possible that they never made a proper ecological adaptation subsequent to their arrival in the upper Xingú region. But lacking information on their economy prior to their decimation, we cannot make any firm statement on these points. However, it is certain that, despite their small numbers, the individual Trumaí could have cleared and planted much more land. The average size of the gardens observed by Quain was one-half acre, and this area had to feed up to four people. Many men also had old gardens which were planted only to manioc. According to Quain's calculations, the total acreage of Trumaí gardens was only a little over thirteen. Since yields from forest soils are not high, it is evident that this very small area must have barely met the needs of a population of 43 persons. Manifestly, the Trumaí did not work hard enough; and it seems evident that their lack of application did more to impoverish them than any other single factor.

If the other upper Xingú tribes are used as criteria to establish what Trumaí society was like before its decline, some very serious dysfunctions within Trumaí social structure soon become apparent. To be sure, such a comparison is an arbitrary procedure; and it is only invoked here for its heuristic value. Since village and house patrilocality is the usual mode of residence among the Trumaí, a household similar to that of the Kamayurá, and with like functions, might be expected and might indeed have existed in the past. However, the Trumaí death rate in 1938 was so high that these units disintegrated before they had gone beyond the embryonic stage. House membership was shifting, the number of persons involved small, and leadership nebulous. And since kinship was the principal mechanism for structuring interpersonal relationships in Trumaí society, this lack of a stable, kin-structured unit probably did

[4] Oberg 1953, p. 42. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 45.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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although a Mehinaku woman and a Suyá woman who had dwelled among the Waurá were living there. 439

The origin of specialization apparently lies in the diversity of the original cultures of the upper Xingú tribes. While a great degree of cultural homogeneity was subsequently attained through interaction and diffusion, certain culturally specialized items became integral to the trade relationships that were a functional part of intertribal social life. Trade became standardized, and monopolies were thereby perpetuated. The Kamayurá-type bow and the Waurá pot were not only essential to the Trumaí economy, but trade in these items with these tribes was expected and served to reinforce the structure of the supra-village society. 182 439

In addition to trade in specialized products, there was active exchange of other items of Western and native manufacture, such as feathers, fishhooks, line, cotton yarn, cloth, paper, beads, and trinkets. This, however, did not require organized trading trips, as did the exchange of the specialized products. The Trumaí traveled for the specific purpose of trading salt or securing pots and bows, although such transactions were also carried out during ordinary visits and at intertribal ceremonials. The non-specialized items were taken along on all visits in anticipation of a lively afternoon of trading, but they were incidental to such expeditions. 439 484 [177]

Despite the economic foundation of upper Xingú trade, all exchanges were considered gifts. No aspect of trade was recognized as divorced from personal relations. Food was shared freely in the community and did not enter into trade. Quain was the only person in the Trumaí village who traded to obtain food. 439 437 431 [123]

Quain believed that there was a scale of values and a concept of equivalence in trade, as certain proffered articles were rejected by sellers as inadequate. The individual exchanges indicated some equivalence, and there was a tendency for particular categories of goods to be exchanged. Men traded arrows for fishhooks and gourds for small pots. Trinkets also formed a class. However, when dealing in specialized products, payment in another specialty was not required. Western goods were especially desired. Knives and axes were in great demand, and, once given to an Indian by a white man, they entered into active trade circulation. There was sufficient cross-cutting between the classes of articles to suggest the operation of a more comprehensive scale of values, but, unfortunately, Quain had to leave the Trumaí before this could be verified. 439 435 [177]

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on a man's property, as did also, in the following order, his sister's son and his brother's son. Within the household, food was freely shared, and correspondingly, a co-resident could ask for a material object. These requests, however, were not always granted. A common excuse was to say that the object was promised to someone having a stronger claim. Despite these evasions, the patterns of gift-giving created a constant circulation of food and objects throughout the village.

Inheritance

Transmission of property was accomplished chiefly through trade and gift. There is no information on the disposal of the material possessions of the deceased. The only available data on inheritance concern the office of chief and the possession of certain songs sung at the *ole* (manioc) ceremony. The former was inherited patrilineally and will be discussed later. The ceremonial songs were inherited either through the mother's brother or the mother's father. Thus, old Matiwana would some day teach his *ole* songs to Amanatsin, his daughter's eldest son. Nitvary, another of the three men who knew *ole* songs, learned them from Jawaku's father, who was his mother's brother. Since cross-cousin marriage was practiced, Jawaku might marry Nitvary's sister, and their child would inherit the songs from Nitvary. In this way the *ole* songs returned to the direct patrilineal line every other generation.

In response to careful questioning, Quain was assured that these songs could be obtained only from the mother's brother and mother's father, and not from the father or the father's brother. The combination of this matrilineal trait and patrilineal elements is characteristic of the bilaterality in upper Xingú culture.

The Trade Game

The trade game was a mechanism of inter- and intra-community distribution. Even more importantly it provided a framework for social participation, leisure time relaxation, and general enjoyment. As such it was one of the few integrating factors in Trumaí society.

Afternoons, especially rainy afternoons, were dull times in the Trumaí village. In Quain's words, "These people are bored but don't realize it! Wrestling provides some diversion, but nothing quickens spirits more than a brisk trade game (*kwirxo*). All that is needed is for one of the men to stride through the village with a bundle of goods to trade and suggest a *kwirxo*. Shouts go up on all sides, everybody crowds into one of the houses, and the game is on. Enthusiasm is even greater when there are visitors in the village."

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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These were noisy affairs. The seller threw his merchandise on the ground and loosed an exultant shout. All the participants cried out in response. Occasionally the goods were offered in the hope of acquiring a desired article from a certain person, but usually they were put up for barter with the general public. In this case, whoever wanted the item went back to his house and brought an article to exchange. He placed this on the floor and picked up his purchase. Often the seller refused the proffered exchange and waited for a better offer. If the trade was consummated, another loud shout was given by the audience. These exchanges went on until the participants lost interest, or until no more goods were offered.

All exchanges were considered to be gift-giving. This was especially true of trade between fellow-Trumaí. When members of other groups were involved, trade was at least formally so considered, although the behavior and attitudes in gift-giving, proper, were quite different. When Quain made exchanges he was always admonished to tell his wife who the donor of the "gift" was.

Within the Trumaí village gift-giving and not trade was the usual form of property distribution, especially between kinsmen. A man might trade with a person whom he called mother's brother, or father's brother, or some other relationship term, but this was almost always a kin bond reckoned by extension, and not a close blood tie.

Women participated little in the men's trade games. In part this was due to the sexual dichotomy that operated in social participation generally, in part to the nature of the goods involved. A woman did not want to buy a man's fish hooks any more than he wanted her cotton. Occasionally a woman might break into the male trade game to buy a particular object, but once this was accomplished she would withdraw. A few women might sit around the house where the trade game was being held, especially if their husbands were participating. Occasionally the women held their own trade games in which cotton and household utensils were commonly bartered. Conventional shouts accompanied their activities, but they were less boisterous than those of the men.

The women were especially eager to trade with Quain, to get his cloth and colored thread in exchange for food, which normally was given away. The chief was also a main instigator of trade games with Quain. At times Quain refused to participate to the great annoyance of the would-be second party.

The trade game reflected the Trumaí attitude towards property, in that it provided more enjoyment and excitement than any other form of social participation, except intertribal festivities. Each exchange was watched with bated breath, and the outcome greeted with happy cries and laughter. There was some indication that the most dominant and forward personalities were also the most energetic traders. It was

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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421 437 524 [154] [525] It was significant that Aloari, probably the most aggressive person in the village, was often an organizer and always a main participant in the games. On the other hand, he never cooperated in group work.

This conventionalized form of exchange, which Quain called the trade game, had a strong functional role in Trumaí culture, but there are indications that it was of outside origin. One informant said that it was [177] a Bakairí custom, and Quain thought that the "game" might have been introduced by Bakairí traders bringing goods from the Indian post on the Paranatinga River.[1]

The Household

171 516 622 Among both the Waurá and the Kamayurá the extended family occupied its own house, and the head of the lineage was considered a sub-chief of the village.[2] Such unilocal, co-resident and extended family groupings, which were typical among tribes of the upper Xingú, were absent in the Trumaí village.

592 613 Consanguineally close male relatives usually formed co-resident units, but these nuclei of kinsmen were very small and did not constitute an entire household. Furthermore, they were related to each other through [591] male or female lines. Due to village patrilocality, there was a tendency for patrilineally related males to live together, but this did not result in [165] the establishment of a patrilineal lineage for several reasons. Among them the high death rate was very important.

592 594 Maibu's house illustrates the eclectic nature of the Trumaí household. Four nuclear families, totaling fourteen people, lived in it. Hanging their hammocks from one of the two center posts were Katauka, his son Kamkuti, his brother's son Autsuki, and another brother's son and his wife. At the opposite end of the house were Maibu and his wife, the wife's son by Maibu's deceased brother, Maibu's sister Ayenuke, Makurawa, a classificatory sister's son, and Makurawa's wife and their three children. Although everyone in the household was related, bonds were closer between those people who hung their hammocks from the same post.

589 592 182 Despite the fact that the household, as a unit, had no specific functions, it established the framework within which certain interpersonal dependencies were worked out. Bride-capture, intertribal warfare, divorce, and early death caused a significant proportion of the Trumaí to be temporarily or permanently without mates. This disadvantage was

[1] The trade game was possibly borrowed from the Bakairí, as its existence among this group has been reported by Oberg (1953, p. 72). However, craft specialization and trade on the upper Xingú predates the Indian post. Cf. von den Steinen 1897, pp. 196, 207. [177]

[2] De Lima (1950, p. 9.) reports this arrangement among the Waurá, and Oberg (1953, p. 45.) adds that the position of house chief tends to pass in the male line in the Kamayurá village.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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551 605 607 Only when he was also the brother-in-law was respect given to a cross-cousin or his name avoided. Female cross-cousins, despite affinal connections, were never so treated by the men.

Avunculate

604 522 [861] [431] The maternal uncle in Trumaí society was in no sense a disciplinarian. Only the father and the father's brother were allowed to strike a child. On the other hand, the gift-giving claims of the sister's son (*deta*) upon the mother's brother (*wawe*) were strong, and particularly so when they were reinforced by co-residence. A man was expected to be benevolent and tolerant toward his *deta*. This frequently took the form of teasing and jollying the boy, and contrasted with the more serious attitude of the father and his brothers. For instance, Yati told his *deta* that he and Quain were going to eat him, and, as if to carry out the threat, he began to drag him toward the fire. The child cried lustily, and Yati immediately stopped and cajoled him. Also, Katauka said to his *deta*, "When you die, I will not cry." Katauka was greatly amused when this caused tears.

Such teasing ceased by the time a boy reached the age of puberty. Moreover, the *wawe* became a defender of the *deta's* interests in the absence of the boy's father or father's brother, and, in some cases, he supervised his initiation ceremonies. Common to both the Trumaí and [437] Kamayurá was the traveling partnership of a man and his sister's son. [171] It was quite usual for a *wawe* to take his *deta* along when he visited another village. Quain noted that on such trips the wife of the older man was rarely included. This is consistent with the sexual taboo [835] between the nephew and the maternal uncle's wife.

The Chieftaincy

622 624 [988] The Trumaí had one chieftain (*aek*), Maibu, and two sub-chiefs, Katauka and Matiwana. At the outset it should be understood that Katauka and Matiwana at no time during Quain's stay exerted any chiefly prerogative or function. They were not men of especially high status — indeed, Matiwana was looked down upon as an old man. Their main function, Quain was told, was to take over the office of chief when Maibu was away from the village. Due to Matiwana's advanced age, this duty ordinarily fell to Katauka. Otherwise, neither man was particularly influential; nor did they talk more in the men's circle than others.

622 537 The chief's main function was to urge his fellow Trumaí to carry out those projects or tasks which were the responsibility of the community as a whole or in its interest, but he frequently exhorted the villagers to

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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cumbent upon the males was a prohibition against wearing body paint for several months after the death. This ban extended to women, also. In addition, the female mourner could not sing in any of the ceremonies, and she cut her hair immediately after the death. Marriage was also forbidden her during the mourning period. (Autu came under censure as she had married her dead husband's sister's son — which at any time was reprehensible — even though her hair, cut when he died, had not yet grown back.) The woman was also required to wail occasionally for the dead person during the time of mourning, and she made flat mud discs, about one inch high, in the village center. Quain never found out the reason for this, although Kayaru made several of these markers for her dead brother. No special reverence or respect was given to the markers as they were usually demolished during the wrestling matches.

Recreation and Amusement

Trading sessions have been referred to as "games" because they are a form of amusement, but this appellation is in a way misleading, as the economic aspect of the "trade game" is very important. Actually, except for the intertribal spear-throwing contest, the only organized recreation is wrestling, and this is immensely popular throughout the whole upper Xingú area.[4] Wrestling matches were especially frequent during intertribal visits and ceremonials. These occasions aroused keen interest, and competitive spirits ran high, but the onlookers made it a point of etiquette to show no partisanship, and the contestants made every effort to conceal latent intertribal hostility. They were always friendly to each other, and at the end of the match they exchanged a friendly embrace. This was not necessary between fellow Trumaí or close kinsmen of different villages. The most effusive behavior was always shown toward those who were most disliked and mistrusted.

Wrestling matches always took place in the afternoon. All that was needed to start a match was a quorum of four or five men. These small bouts were usually informal and more in the nature of practice than competitive contests. When most of the men were in the village the contests attracted more attention and required more preparation. Bodies were painted and arm and leg bands were worn. The hair was usually combed and plastered down.

The men lined up on the log in the men's circle or brought stools. The women and young boys watched from the periphery. Uninitiated boys were not allowed to take part in the men's wrestling, but the older ones were generally permitted to sit with the men.

Each wrestler tried for a grip by grabbing at the body of the other. A variant of the half-Nelson was frequently attempted. The match

[4] Cf. Galvão 1949, p. 44.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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105 181 421 [578] 431 [855] "Tremendous interest in property, together with a simple and declining culture, results in my being a seriously disturbing element in their lives. Casual conversation always degenerates into a squabble about gift-giving .... There is intense pleasure in possession. Children get no sympathy when they are hurt, but objects are usually given to them. Every child has the right at least 'to see' anything he desires. In this respect children are pampered. Adults whine for things; withholding a desired object makes them intensely unhappy. Aggressive possession is admired.. Trade games make the exchange of property very fluid. [437] [524] Yet values in trade are well defined, and there is no prestige in giving more than one gets. Within the kinship circle, however, the old lavish [858] property on the young. A father's garden is spoken of as that of his five [431] year old son. There is a deliberate attempt to instill aggressive ownership [865] attitudes in the young. A three year old girl is taught to claim objects in a loud voice. This is done by shouting the possessive pronoun....

105 [36] "These are a settled people who live within the strict limits of their village. Their small number has advantage in the study of individuals. They have no knowledge of the world beyond the Kuluene-Kuliseu. It has no more real existence than the various inhabited regions of the heavens. The half dozen expeditions which have passed down the river have communicated with the natives only with signs. The one important result of such contact was division from peripheral tribes and the rise of [324] metal tools. The disappearance of the stone industry, on which a defunct [182] Trumaí moiety had a monopoly, has occurred within the last generation.[1] The increased leisure which probably resulted is not utilized economically.

105 123 156 "The complete lack of self-consciousness among these people makes behavior observation remarkably easy. Before I knew any of the language, I could sit by the hour in various households and time the actions of people while they paid no attention to me. For instance, one man during twenty minutes of leisure lay down to rest in his hammock fifteen different times, but each time disturbed himself with the remembrance of some petty chore undone....

[849] "The only restriction of behavior that I have seen in casual intra-105 village personal relations is that the children are told not to litter the floor. The only positive rule is that the head of a household must sit [507] with a guest and converse while the guest is inside his house .... [833] Furthermore, extra-marital sexual intercourse has occurred in a shadowy corner of my house.. This lack of self-consciousness contrasts strongly with the Karajá, who are more prudish than the Fijians....

105 [67] 831 "Shortage of women, because of theft of young women, polygamy, lack of sexual interest in old wives (of which there are several), and

[616] [1] Quain refers here to the moiety-like division of the Trumaí which has been discussed in Chapter Three. This appears to be rather a result of the merger of the northern and southern Trumaí villages. The latter specialized in axe-making.

/194 cont./

609 123 [437] [262] It was only then that we recovered our senses and were able to understand the reason for the incident. Apparently the Trumaí had been animated by the urgent desire to barter as soon as possible and with as little ceremony as possible for some of our treasures in exchange for their miserable beijús, which looked gray as though made with buckwheat flour, were coarse-grained, and tasted slightly sour. With this in mind they had been active everywhere. Of Wilhelm's companions, one had been busy with the hunting knife and the other with the gun at the same time, and the latter, while my cousin was trying in the friendliest way to keep them off, had unfortunately pressed the cock. In any case the culprit was the most surprised by the effect; otherwise he would not have been kicking so frightenedly on the ground.

In spite of the miraculous speed with which they dashed to the boats, however, the Trumaí had not lost all presence of mind. The two who had just been trying on Castro's and Antonio's hats did not forget in their hasty running to put them on well down over their heads. Another old hand had still found time on his flight to snatch up quickly one of the large fish lying on the beach.

Antonio's behavior when he was so unexpectedly deprived of his precious hat was characteristic. Without further ado he shot his pistol at the thief, but in his rage fortunately missed. And when we /Illustration appears here/ /195/ asked him whether he really wanted to kill the man, he nodded with the greatest composure, "Yes, he had my hat."

126 411 The returning men brought back a rich ethnological collection, at least in terms of the number of objects. The bows were very fine and strong, one was shot to pieces, proof that the shots had not been fired entirely happazardly. The arrows provided with pointed pieces of bamboo were plentiful; these bamboo blades, which, as could be easily seen, had been freshly sharpened, are only loosely inserted in the shaft with a little resin; after the arrow has reached its mark, they break off and remain embedded in the body. There was a single club, crudely worked, flat, 86 301 centimeters long. One feather ornament was particularly pretty; 237 the green, orange-colored, and white feathers were mounted on

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 79]

/122 cont./

123 half an hour renewed howling and women's screams announced
152 the arrival of Wilhelm and Carlos, who were led up and likewise gave expression to their friendly intentions with words and gestures.

142 /123/ There were mostly small, frail figures with small heads, receding chins, and ugly faces; among the old women there were truly magnificent specimens of witch-models. The
291 women in part wore the triangular uluri, in part a wardrobe garment new to us, a grayish-white bast loop that was drawn over
194 the hips and thickened into a small roll. The language in its cadence reminded us not a little of that of the Suyá, with which it had in common the nagging, squeezed habitus and could be immediately distinguished from all the Kulisehu languages by the frequent terminal sound of ts and by the f.

727 It was strange that the Trumaí had let themselves be taken by surprise in this way. Probably they had fled from the Suyá who had plundered their villages and from us at the same time. Their scouts, who were roving about among the Auetö, Yaulapiti, and Kamayurá, probably believed that we would not return directly to the Auetö from the Kamayurá, but would go to Schingú-Koblenz in order to join Perrot and Vogel, whose trip was already known to them, and reach the Auetö harbor on the river. The camp of the fugitives presented a spectacle of
[162] disorder and confusion. There were about 50 persons in all;
[352] numerous small fires were burning beside the brown hammocks, bundles of all kinds lay about and hung from the trees; the shelter-huts of the Auetö plantation remained unused. The
[501] Indians had come in part by way of the canals: a small flotilla of canoes had drawn up in the swampy water nearby, many of them in bad shape and where necessary pasted up merely with lumps of loam.

437 The beijús, the filled gourd bowls, and the cigars were necessarily lacking at this reception. They brought small balls of cotton and asked for beads. Unfortunately, we had given away almost everything to the Kamayurá and could therefore not offer much. With the remains, however, a few

/123 cont./

437 knives and some sacrifices from our personal belongings, we acquired a small, not unattractive collection. The people had protected from the Suyá and carried along with them the 126 things that were most important for us. There were feather 437 ornaments, necklaces of stone beads, a stone ax, valuable as [439] an example of local manufacture, for the other Kulisehu tribes obtain their stone axes from the Trumaí, throwing sticks, a club, ten masks, dance clubs, large flutes, and various trifles. 411 To our astonishment, we did not see the large arrows with long, pointed pieces of bamboo, which the Trumaí had carried in 1884, a number of which they lost in their flight, and which we noticed had been sharpened for the encounter with us. They had probably been used up in the battle with the Suyá.

126 I spent as much time as possible during the evening writing beside a candle stub, in order to obtain a vocabulary. A [115] younger chief proved very capable, except that in his enthusiasm he shouted with a loud voice, as though I were stone deaf. 123 Inquisitively the men squatted nearby, the witches were /124/ [601] busy at the fires, the children cried atsíu for mother and papá for father, through the branches magic moonlight poured over the strange camp scene, and soon the peace of night embraced the sleeping and the awake. We could sleep undisturbed, but were well aware that a few men remained sitting beside the fire.

The next morning, 26 October, there was great confusion. A large glass of arsenic pills had been stolen from me. Under the peculiar circumstances I would gladly have overlooked any kind of theft, but I could neither be without this arsenic for my part, nor let the Indians poison themselves with it. I was forced to suspect the Yaulapiti who had accompanied us, after our experiences in their village, and demanded that they give it back. They, of course, professed their innocence, the Trumaí became terribly afraid, the women, children, and part of the men escaped into the bushes and did not return even when one of the Yaulapiti actually brought the glass with the arsenic pills. According to his humble opinion, it had dropped out of my

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Specialization and Trade

439 Among the more distinctive features of upper Xingú culture are community craft specialization and a widespread system of trade re- [438] lationships. The Trumaí traded among themselves, but the most important exchanges took place on the intertribal level, and it is here that the products of tribal specialization become significant to the economy. [182] At the time of Quain's investigations, the Arawakans maintained a [323] monopoly on pottery, but the once active Trumaí stone axe manufacture had fallen into disuse. In its place, the Trumaí were specializing [317] in the preparation of salt, obtained by burning a species of water-lily and sifting the ashes. The Trumaí depended on the Kamayurá for a highly prized type of bow, as the proper wood was not found in their [911] territory. According to Oberg, this black, rectangular bow was eagerly sought by other tribes, also.[29]

While the Kamayurá monopoly on these bows can be explained by the local availability of the raw materials, craft specialization cannot be looked upon simply as a function of the exclusive possession of certain skills. Other arts diffused rapidly among the tribes, and it is evident that the specialties remained such for non-economic reasons. For example, the three Arawakan tribes, the Mehinaku, Kustenaú and Waurá, all made pottery, but each traded their wares only with certain tribes. The Bacairí obtained their pottery from the Kustenaú, who were, in von den Steinen's time, their neighbors on the Batoví River. On the Kuliseu, the Nahukwa traded for ceramics with the nearby Mehinaku, while the Tupian-speaking tribes and the Trumaí relied on the Waurá. Despite the fact that each Arawakan tribe dealt with its nearest neighbors, the exclusiveness of these relationships is not a physical necessity. [602] The Trumaí could have obtained Mehinaku pottery. They had many [881] kinship ties with the Mehinaku, and even conducted joint puberty rites. The distance between them was not great. Manifestly some standardized channeling of trade relationships existed.

This is further confirmed by the confinement of pottery manufacture to the Arawakans. It is probable that when the various groups first settled in the area, the Arawakans were the only ceramicists. With the development of close intertribal relationships, however, there was every opportunity for the craft to diffuse. It could have been learned by outsiders in trips to Arawakan villages and then practiced at home, as the clay is easily gotten from the river bottoms. Obvious means for its diffusion were marriage or capture of Arawakan women. But the manufacture of pottery was not observed by Quain in any non-Arawakan village of the area, despite the fact that Arawakan women were living [303] in many such communities. In the Trumaí village no pottery was made,

[29] Oberg 1953, p. 30.

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although a Mehinaku woman and a Suyá woman who had dwelled among the Waurá were living there. 439

The origin of specialization apparently lies in the diversity of the original cultures of the upper Xingú tribes. While a great degree of cultural homogeneity was subsequently attained through interaction and diffusion, certain culturally specialized items became integral to the trade relationships that were a functional part of intertribal social life. Trade became standardized, and monopolies were thereby perpetuated. The Kamayurá-type bow and the Waurá pot were not only essential to the Trumaí economy, but trade in these items with these tribes was expected and served to reinforce the structure of the supra-village society. 182 439

In addition to trade in specialized products, there was active exchange of other items of Western and native manufacture, such as feathers, fishhooks, line, cotton yarn, cloth, paper, beads, and trinkets. This, however, did not require organized trading trips, as did the exchange of the specialized products. The Trumaí traveled for the specific purpose of trading salt or securing pots and bows, although such transactions were also carried out during ordinary visits and at intertribal ceremonials. The non-specialized items were taken along on all visits in anticipation of a lively afternoon of trading, but they were incidental to such expeditions. 439 484 [177]

Despite the economic foundation of upper Xingú trade, all exchanges were considered gifts. No aspect of trade was recognized as divorced from personal relations. Food was shared freely in the community and did not enter into trade. Quain was the only person in the Trumaí village who traded to obtain food. 439 437 431 [123]

Quain believed that there was a scale of values and a concept of equivalence in trade, as certain proffered articles were rejected by sellers as inadequate. The individual exchanges indicated some equivalence, and there was a tendency for particular categories of goods to be exchanged. Men traded arrows for fishhooks and gourds for small pots. Trinkets also formed a class. However, when dealing in specialized products, payment in another specialty was not required. Western goods were especially desired. Knives and axes were in great demand, and, once given to an Indian by a white man, they entered into active trade circulation. There was sufficient cross-cutting between the classes of articles to suggest the operation of a more comprehensive scale of values, but, unfortunately, Quain had to leave the Trumaí before this could be verified. 439 435 [177]

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The woof was made of cotton threads. The men's hammocks were usually woven, while those made by the women for themselves were generally an inferior twined product. Other manufactures of cotton were arm and leg bands.

Ceramics

The knowledge of ceramic manufacture cannot be properly considered a part of Trumaí culture, despite their daily use of pottery in cooking, manioc processing, eating and storage. All pottery utensils were obtained in trade with the Arawakan Waurá, usually in return for salt. The only clay article of Trumaí manufacture was the *ja'meo*, a crude clay griddle on which the *beijú* was baked. The Trumaí did not rely completely on pottery for watertight containers, as gourds, grown in their own gardens, were extensively used.

Wood Manufactures

All woodwork was done by the men with, at the time of Quain's visit, steel tools. The most distinctive article was the zoomorphically carved wooden stool, found among all upper Xingú peoples. Quain's notes contain a sketch of one such stool which is very similar to the one depicted by von den Steinen.[1] Other wood products were canoe paddles, *beijú* paddles, manioc graters, and mortars and pestles, used by the women to pulverize the hard, dry balls of manioc flour.

Weapons

Bows and arrows were used almost to the exclusion of other weapons. The Trumaí got their bows in trade from the Kamayurá, but made the bowstrings themselves from the fiber of a tree known to them as the *patacy*. They made their own feathered arrows out of cane, at the end of which was inserted a thin wooden shaft. The points were fixed to the shaft with a tree resin (*awalitsu*) and were wrapped at the juncture with cotton thread. Monkey bone points were used for shooting fish and birds. One man who was making a bamboo point told Quain that it was used for hunting and warfare. Another was seen hammering an arrow point out of a piece of metal.

Spears were not used often, although the Trumaí made them. Quain saw a spear point being made of the shin bone of a tapir. The spear-thrower (*zopep*) was used only in the annual spear-throwing contest. It was made from the wood of a palm. Quain sketched one that had a flat handle with a finger hole and a shaft with a hook on the end, and another that lacked the hook, but had a thong on the end.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 141.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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411 The Trumaí made no war clubs at the time of Quain's investigation, although von den Steinen stated that the Trumaí and the Suyá were the only groups of the region to have clubs.[6] The only war club in the village was a long, fluted one of wood that the Waurá had captured from the Suyá and had subsequently given to one of the Trumaí men. It was only used ceremonially.

Firemaking

372 Fires were kindled by use of a simple, hand-twirled fire drill. Generation of a new fire was not often necessary as there was almost always an active fire in the village from which a flame could be taken. Gathering [313] [467] firewood was woman's work.

Ornaments and Body Decoration

29 [30] Except for ornaments, men and women were completely nude. The women wore a cord belt that passed around the body just above the buttocks. Some of the women still had what Quain called a "fig leaf," probably a piece of leaf or bark, strung on a cord passing between the buttocks. It was known as the *idesnit*, the Trumaí term for the *uluri*, the common upper Xingú version of which they did not use.

302 Except for occasional body painting, the women indulged in little ornamentation. They were plucked of all body hair, but in contrast to the shorter tonsure of the males, they let their hair grow over their shoulders.

29 30 The men wore belts of cotton thread or bark fiber, but did not tie their penes. Occasionally flat shell beads were strung around the waist, but more often they were used in necklaces. Necklaces, which were worn in ceremonies, were made by stringing flat rectangular shells on cotton thread. The shells were strung only on the front half of the necklace. Quain noted one type that had two black panels on each end of the [439] necklace. Shell necklaces were an important commodity in intertribal trade, as has already been indicated. Cotton or bark fiber bands were tied around the ankles, just below the knees, and around the biceps.

301 237 287 Featherwork ornaments were worn ceremonially and included headdresses, ear pendants, and feather necklaces. Quain noted one pendant made from the whole breast of a bird. The breast had four colored bands: black, yellow, red, and again yellow, from top to bottom. Another feather pendant consisted of black, red, and yellow feathers arranged [314] in bands and attached to a short piece of wood. A black tree resin held the feathers firmly in place. The feathers were obtained from the tips of parrot wings.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 222.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Necklaces were made by tying feathers to a cotton cord with *buriti* fibers. Headdresses included one consisting of a ring of cotton threads with colored feathers attached. The front feathers were long and formed a sort of plume. Another headdress, a feather topknot tied to a cotton headnet, was captured in warfare with the Caiabí. A third was a crown woven of bamboo splints traded from the Waurá for arrow feathers. There were probably many other kinds, as intertribal trade in headdresses was lively.

Belts and anklets were also traded between tribes. A few Brazilian type shirts and hats had found their way into the Trumaí village. They had been obtained from travelers in the region, and especially from the missionaries, Thomas Young and his wife.

The men wore their hair cut straight around the head on a line even with the tops of the ears. A small patch on the crown was plucked, but Quain noted that the Trumaí were much less careful about keeping these parts free of new growth than were the neighboring groups. The scissors which Quain gave to one of the men replaced the old method of hair cutting with an instrument made of *piranha* teeth. A composite comb (*kuwau*) was also used. The back was made of two parallel pieces of cane joined by cotton thread and the teeth of splints from the small roots of a palm-like shrub.

The Trumaí used several vegetable paints to decorate their bodies. This method of adornment was always invoked for ceremonies, and often for wrestling, or when there were guests. The paint most commonly used was the red *urucú* (*matdot*) which was grown in the gardens. The *urucú* was made into a paste by mixing it with oil from the visceral fat of a fish. The paste could be rolled into a ball and applied directly, or spread with the fingers or a spatula made from the middle rib of the *buriti* leaf.

Other body paints were *tawariri*, a black tree gum mixed with soot, and a preparation made from *piquí* fruit and fish oil. There was also a dye, *atdot*, which was not described, and one or two other paints which Quain was unable to identify. *Jany*, a non-decorative paste made from the liver of a fish, was used to ward off insects.

Designs included dots, crescents, zig-zags, circles, curves, straight lines, and combinations of these. Quain observed several standard patterns, many of which were symbolic; others were possibly symbolic representations also, but he was unable to learn their meanings.

One man painted crescents on his chest above either nipple which he said represented vaginas. A rattlesnake design consisted of a half ellipse on the flanks with dots in the center. Quain was told that a design of red spots, with two near the nipples ringed in black, was a boa constrictor. Another snake pattern, made by painting zig-zags down the sides and back, was used on one of the posts erected during the *ole* ceremony.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Agendas were ordinarily based on the immediate needs of the household or the desire for some variety in their diet. Food, however, was shared widely, and this probably robbed most work of any sense of urgency. Apparently, each man's plans for the day were determined in part by the season, in part by the household needs, and in part by what he felt like doing.

Some men stayed in the village all day, sleeping and working intermittently at small tasks. The women spent more time in the village than the men. Their work was done in the house or, if outside, in the shade of the house. Since male work was done largely in the morning, most of the men had ample time in the afternoon for trade, wrestling, and other diversions. The trade game was an especially popular indoor activity on rainy days.

Much less work was probably done during the rainy season, for planting would be finished, the *piqui* would be harvested, and the heavy rains would confine people to the village. However, there was much less seasonal variation for the women, as they had to continue to make *beijú*, weave, cook, and care for their households — the ordinary female chores, whatever the month.

Trumaí economic life was loosely organized. Few types of labor transcended the nuclear family, which was the basic unit of economic cooperation and interdependence. The inventory of material culture was sparse, and workmanship was not highly developed. What the Trumaí did not make, they could obtain by trade. From the standpoint of technology, the Trumaí were more backward than other tribes in the upper Xingú area, perhaps a reflection of their more recent settlement in the region.

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CHAPTER THREE

Trumaí Social Organization

Property Ownership

105 Trumaí society was relatively simple. There was no social stratification
[556] based on wealth, nor were the mechanisms of social control and
[626] cohesion highly developed. This was in accord with the individualization
[433] of productive effort and the low level of economic surplus. The political
[621] unit was a single community, the sole bearer of Trumaí culture.

All land and productive resources were considered the property of the
421 community, and the right to their exploitation resided with any indivi-
423 dual willing to expend the labor. Gardens were individual property, but
only in the sense that the man who reclaimed the land from the jungle
was entitled to its product. There was no concept of alienable property
in land, entailing the right of disposition. The *piquí* trees were said to
be owned individually, but the owner exercised exclusive rights only
over the first fruits. Other wild food plants were community property
423 and their fruits belonged to the gatherer.

The fishing rights to lagoons and backwaters of the rivers belonged
[226] to the tribes in whose territory they were located. There was no indivi-
dual ownership of fishing sites.

422 There was property in foods, but as soon as they were cooked they
[267] were freely distributed. *Beijú* belonged to the women, but the manioc
out of which it was prepared was said to be the property of the man
[462] who grew it. Such distinctions were largely academic. Actually, the men
grew the vegetable and the women harvested it, prepared it, and cooked
it, after which it was distributed and eaten. The same situation prevailed
in regard to the products of fishing, hunting, and gathering. Salt was
[263] the only exception, as it was prepared and owned by individual men
[439] and women. The difference undoubtedly lies in the fact that salt was
an important trade item, while the other commodities were not.

Very little property can be said to have belonged to the family.
[285] Baskets and gourd containers were made by the men for themselves
[415] and for the women, but they were often used by both a man and his
wife. Nearly all material objects outside of natural resources were owned
by the person who made them or the person to whom an object was
423 given. House ownership was vague, since houses were built and occupied
by more than one man, and abandoned when the village moved. The
house, however, was often considered the property of the man who put

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These were noisy affairs. The seller threw his merchandise on the ground and loosed an exultant shout. All the participants cried out in response. Occasionally the goods were offered in the hope of acquiring a desired article from a certain person, but usually they were put up for barter with the general public. In this case, whoever wanted the item went back to his house and brought an article to exchange. He placed this on the floor and picked up his purchase. Often the seller refused the proffered exchange and waited for a better offer. If the trade was consummated, another loud shout was given by the audience. These exchanges went on until the participants lost interest, or until no more goods were offered.

All exchanges were considered to be gift-giving. This was especially true of trade between fellow-Trumaí. When members of other groups were involved, trade was at least formally so considered, although the behavior and attitudes in gift-giving, proper, were quite different. When Quain made exchanges he was always admonished to tell his wife who the donor of the "gift" was.

Within the Trumaí village gift-giving and not trade was the usual form of property distribution, especially between kinsmen. A man might trade with a person whom he called mother's brother, or father's brother, or some other relationship term, but this was almost always a kin bond reckoned by extension, and not a close blood tie.

Women participated little in the men's trade games. In part this was due to the sexual dichotomy that operated in social participation generally, in part to the nature of the goods involved. A woman did not want to buy a man's fish hooks any more than he wanted her cotton. Occasionally a woman might break into the male trade game to buy a particular object, but once this was accomplished she would withdraw. A few women might sit around the house where the trade game was being held, especially if their husbands were participating. Occasionally the women held their own trade games in which cotton and household utensils were commonly bartered. Conventional shouts accompanied their activities, but they were less boisterous than those of the men.

The women were especially eager to trade with Quain, to get his cloth and colored thread in exchange for food, which normally was given away. The chief was also a main instigator of trade games with Quain. At times Quain refused to participate to the great annoyance of the would-be second party.

The trade game reflected the Trumaí attitude towards property, in that it provided more enjoyment and excitement than any other form of social participation, except intertribal festivities. Each exchange was watched with bated breath, and the outcome greeted with happy cries and laughter. There was some indication that the most dominant and forward personalities were also the most energetic traders. It was

/123 cont./

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/203 cont./

proper, we started first with the primitive peoples, we should not fail to recognize that there is Paleolithic as well as Neolithic work among them even today, depending on the kind of stone available, the material provided from another quarter, and the technical purposes present. We should see that the negative term "metal-less" is, of course, appropriate, but that the positive name "Stone Age" can be very unfortunate. We should also consider the case where man has no stones at all or unsuitable ones and still makes excellent tools and weapons. As an unprejudiced observer, it would scarcely have occurred to me to maintain that the Schingú Indians are living in the "Stone Age."

It is certainly true that their most difficult accomplishments -- clearing the forest, building houses, building canoes, making stools, and the like -- go back to the stone ax. But the various tribes were entirely dependent on one source, which was in the possession of the Trumaí. Neither the Bakaïrí nor the Nahuquá nor the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ and their relatives, nor the Auetö nor Kamayurá /Camayura/ had stone axes of their own manufacture. Their sandstone was not suitable for axes. I have asserted exactly the same thing about the former times of the docile Bakaïrí of the Paranatinga: in this region the Kayabi /Cayabi/ had a monopoly on the stone axes; the neighboring Bakaïrí were obliged to get them from them, later their deadly enemies. The tribes of the Batovy, Kulisehu, and Kuluëne obtained their stone axes from the Trumaí (the Suyá living on the main river had some of their own). Thus, the stone ax is presented to us here as an import article.

Fig. 20.
Stone ax.
(1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.

In answer to my inquiries, I was told that the stones were found "along a brook in the sand." The material has been identified by Herr Professor Arzruni /204/ of Aachen as diabase, a rock consisting of augite, plagioclase, mica, chlorite, and magnetite, in which are

B /333 cont./

*171 439 How important good relations with neighboring tribes must be becomes clear from the, one might almost say, necessity of barter. One tribe is zőto, master of one article, the other of another. I have given the most important information about this in detail on pages 199, 209, 216. The Bakaïrí had as their specialty the neck chains with white rectangular pieces of shell, shell beads, urucú, cotton thread, and hammocks; the Nahuquá, gourds, as well as chains with red pieces of shell and tucum beads; the Mehinakú and their relatives, pots and fine cotton thread; the Trumaí and Suyá, stone axes and tobacco; the Trumai and possibly also the Yaulapiti, chains with pierced stones. The Trumaí salt prepared from bamboo ashes was also popular among other tribes. These were all articles of trade. Some of them traveled the great distance from the Bakaïrí to the Suyá, going from tribe to tribe. The Suyá traded with the Kamayurá, the latter with the potter tribes, among whom the Mehinakú had the closest association with the Nahuquá, and the Kustenaú with the Bakaïrí of the Batovy. The uppermost Bakaïrí of the Kulisehu obtained their Suyá stone axes and Kustenaú pots from their Batovy relatives, and the Bakaïrí of the third Kulisehu village from the Nahuquá, with whom they maintained close relations. In 1884, when we had given the Bakaïrí on the Batovy some of our Karaiben things, the chief of the first village took advantage of the favorable trade outlook and set out on a business trip to the lower region of the Kulisehu; in this way tribes who were not neighbors occasionally also had trade relations. The articles traded by the Suyá for stone axes are hammocks, shell chains, arara feathers, and pots.

B [439]

B *171 439 Although there was an old and necessary barter-trade, nevertheless the concept of value was lacking, at least to a certain extent. The person arriving brought along this or that and delivered it when he was served at the reception. He was given the desired return gift in smaller quantities at the reception, in larger amounts when he took his leave. In Maigéri we experienced a typical example upon our departure, cf. page 125; we were made to sit down and then received a basket of flour. Thus, the docile

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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the greatest time and effort into its building. Quain was reprimanded for speaking of the house in which Maibu lived as "Maibu's," for his brother-in-law, Mata'wai, had built it. This point of property was confirmed by others, despite the fact that Maibu was the head of the household and acted as host when guests entered. 423

To the Trumaí, the only important property was in the personal possession of transportable, material artifacts. These ranged from tools and weapons to ceremonial objects and trinkets obtained from Quain. The second class of property was probably cherished more than the first, which was viewed as consisting of everyday necessities. The combs, feathers, beads, European novelties, papers, and other such items that all men and women possessed were carefully kept in baskets and gourds near their hammocks. A man and wife would often keep some of their personal belongings in the same containers, but beyond this there was a special category of personal possessions called *wacta*. This highly valued personal property was kept by each individual in separate gourds, where it was safe from the gift claims of kinsmen and reasonably free from the danger of theft. 422 [415]

The privacy of this property was especially observed by opposite sexes, although not as strictly by mates. Quain was told by one man that it was "bad" for a man to look at a woman's *wacta*, although he rummaged at will through the personal belongings of the men. The taboo on male contact with women's *wacta* was due in part to inclusion within it of articles used during menstruation. [84]

Accompanying the stress on personal and private ownership of certain material objects was a strong sense of acquisitiveness. Quain expressed this as follows: "There can be no doubt that property ownership is a paramount drive in this culture. Children are not content to see, as they are in Fiji, but things must be theirs. The possessive pronoun has an importance here which is striking. Once articles are received, they seem to disappear. They are probably carefully guarded among personal belongings." Significantly, the word for "gift-giving," literally translated, also means "to yield to a demand." 181 425 [193]

The Trumaí were tremendously interested in Quain's belongings and made continual attempts to acquire them. Adults as well as children whined in order to obtain objects from him. This attitude was manifested towards useful objects such as knives and axes, but they also pleaded and begged for articles having only curiosity value to them. As Quain said, to be curious about an object was to want it. Possession was desired for its own sake, for only slight prestige was gained by accumulating material objects, and utilitarian articles, such as knives, axes, and pots, were easily borrowed. 123 181 425 [454] [556]

Despite the possessiveness described by Quain, the Trumaí were restricted by strong gift-giving ties. A true brother or a son had a claim 431 602

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was working on the roof, the other thatched the wall facing the forest, and the house was subsequently occupied while work was still proceeding on that wall. The wall toward the village was temporarily hung with cloth drapes for privacy, although for purposes of protection from enemies the opposite side was thatched first. 342

Additional thatch was placed on the house at the beginning of the rainy season. At that time light poles were bound to the frame for greater support. The chief's house began to sag from the weight of the thatch, and braces had to be put under the ridge pole. Two posts, as heavy as the center posts, were crossed just below the ridge pole and bound together. A few men got behind each post and pushed so that the poles would assume a more nearly vertical position and give firmer support to the ridge poles. When this had been accomplished, the bases of the posts were set in holes. 342 335

Quain had the opportunity to observe two houses being constructed: his own and a fifth dwelling being built by two Trumaí men. His own small house took one week to build. The work started off with a great burst of effort, and in four hours all the wall posts, center posts and the ridge pole were in place. However, every day thereafter progress became increasingly slower. 123 342 461

House styles and construction were not rigidly conventionalized. The Trumaí helped build a house for the missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Young, and they thought that Quain, being a *kuruhiba* (white man), would like one such as the Youngs had designed for themselves. When they were half finished with the frame, Quain realized what was happening, and asked for a haystack house like theirs. The revision was made easily and the result was a hybrid. This, added to the fact that two of the houses in the village were much larger than the other two, indicated a certain flexibility and willingness to imitate. The Kamayurá classified the different posts and poles that went into house building, but the Trumaí had only very broad terms for the corresponding parts. 123 341 [197] [192] [335]

The heavy work of raising the ridge pole, stepping in braces, and carrying and inserting center posts was done cooperatively. These joint labors, although brief and infrequent, made for a festive occasion and gave rise to laughter and gaiety, an unusual thing among the men. With the exception of operations requiring the combined efforts of more men, the house was built by the males who were to occupy it. Women took no part in the building. Yanahi and Mayuva, who were building a new house, shared the work unequally, Yanahi doing the larger part. They did not always work at the same time, and, when they did, they worked on separate sections of the house. 335 342 476 [462]

Quain's house was built cooperatively because he was an outsider, and it was the obligation of the whole community to accommodate him. 123 342 476 574

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531 302 Black zig-zags on a grayish background were painted on the body of one of the singers. Many designs were undoubtedly conventionalized, but seemingly not according to rigid standards.

All of these designs were observed on men. The women painted themselves much less often, and their patterns were far simpler. Blackened foreheads and black streacks on the thighs were most common. The latter looked as if the women had merely wiped their hands on their thighs after having painted their husbands.

Children also had their bodies painted. Some of the boys blackened their faces or had black dots put on their chests. One little girl had black angles painted on her cheek by her mother. Children's and women's body designs were simple and required little paint. The men reserved most of the paint for themselves.

A husband's painting was often done by his wife, but men frequently adorned themselves or another man, particularly a younger close relative. There may also have been specialized knowledge of certain designs. Only one man was said to be able to make the zig-zag snake pattern, and he painted it on the bodies of others.

Work Patterns

461 512 Accompanying the low degree of specialization and cooperation in production was a lack of rhythm in the work habits of the Trumaí. The day started at about three or four o'clock in the morning. At this time many persons got out of their hammocks to fan their fires and huddle around them, for these were the chilliest hours. The men might get together at this time and talk while the women prepared food. Not much work was done then. At most, a man might add some thatch to his house. By sunrise everyone was awake, and the women went in a [515] body to a nearby arm of the lagoon to bathe and draw containers of water. The men usually went to bathe a little later in pairs or alone. After bathing, everyone ate, and the work day really began.

Those who intended to garden went out early and labored until ten or eleven o'clock, that is, while it was cool and insects were less troublesome. As a rule, they ate again upon returning and then stayed in the [264] village the rest of the day, working at various crafts as the spirit moved them. Actually a good deal of time was spent loafing and sleeping.

Those who planned to fish started out in the morning, but usually after the gardeners had departed. Unless a two or three day trip was planned, they commonly returned by four o'clock, and always before dark. Occasionally a group of men and women went to the lagoon to [258] spend a day or two making salt.

One of the striking features of Trumaí economic activity was the number of different tasks done by various people on the same day.

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Agendas were ordinarily based on the immediate needs of the household or the desire for some variety in their diet. Food, however, was shared widely, and this probably robbed most work of any sense of urgency. Apparently, each man's plans for the day were determined in part by the season, in part by the household needs, and in part by what he felt like doing.

Some men stayed in the village all day, sleeping and working intermittently at small tasks. The women spent more time in the village than the men. Their work was done in the house or, if outside, in the shade of the house. Since male work was done largely in the morning, most of the men had ample time in the afternoon for trade, wrestling, and other diversions. The trade game was an especially popular indoor activity on rainy days.

Much less work was probably done during the rainy season, for planting would be finished, the *piquí* would be harvested, and the heavy rains would confine people to the village. However, there was much less seasonal variation for the women, as they had to continue to make *beijú*, weave, cook, and care for their households — the ordinary female chores, whatever the month.

Trumaí economic life was loosely organized. Few types of labor transcended the nuclear family, which was the basic unit of economic cooperation and interdependence. The inventory of material culture was sparse, and workmanship was not highly developed. What the Trumaí did not make, they could obtain by trade. From the standpoint of technology, the Trumaí were more backward than other tribes in the upper Xingú area, perhaps a reflection of their more recent settlement in the region.

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a certain point at least, the take increases geometrically with the number of persons participating.

In gardening, also, which was not practiced collectively, their small number decreased Trumaí security. It was common for nearly all the village men to plant their gardens in clearings adjacent to those of their neighbors. Obviously, if one part of such a single, extended clearing was improperly fired, or if the crops were destroyed by armadillos or wild pigs, the whole village might be without food. Crop failure for a variety of causes is common in the tropical forests, but most aboriginal communities in South America have several separated garden clearings, each owned by an individual or extended family. If one garden fails, the family can, in a period of emergency, reap from others. Oberg relates that the Trumaí once had to turn for food to the Kamayura,[4] perhaps because of the failure of the village clearing.

It is, of course, possible that in the past the Trumaí organized their gardens along the more rational lines of the Kamayurá;[5] and it is also possible that they never made a proper ecological adaptation subsequent to their arrival in the upper Xingú region. But lacking information on their economy prior to their decimation, we cannot make any firm statement on these points. However, it is certain that, despite their small numbers, the individual Trumaí could have cleared and planted much more land. The average size of the gardens observed by Quain was one-half acre, and this area had to feed up to four people. Many men also had old gardens which were planted only to manioc. According to Quain's calculations, the total acreage of Trumaí gardens was only a little over thirteen. Since yields from forest soils are not high, it is evident that this very small area must have barely met the needs of a population of 43 persons. Manifestly, the Trumaí did not work hard enough; and it seems evident that their lack of application did more to impoverish them than any other single factor.

If the other upper Xingú tribes are used as criteria to establish what Trumaí society was like before its decline, some very serious dysfunctions within Trumaí social structure soon become apparent. To be sure, such a comparison is an arbitrary procedure; and it is only invoked here for its heuristic value. Since village and house patrilocality is the usual mode of residence among the Trumaí, a household similar to that of the Kamayurá, and with like functions, might be expected and might indeed have existed in the past. However, the Trumaí death rate in 1938 was so high that these units disintegrated before they had gone beyond the embryonic stage. House membership was shifting, the number of persons involved small, and leadership nebulous. And since kinship was the principal mechanism for structuring interpersonal relationships in Trumaí society, this lack of a stable, kin-structured unit probably did

[4] Oberg 1953, p. 42. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 45.

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The usual procedure was for each man to clear a garden plot adjacent to the others; in this way the two large clearings of Nariatan and Waniwanitan were created. The three isolated small clearings might have been nuclei for future large clearings.

All the trees in the plot to be cleared were felled, and the underbrush was slashed away. This has been done with steel axes since the upper Xingú Indians came in contact with the outside world. Quain noted that much more work must have been involved in clearing the forest when stone axes were used. Even with improved implements, clearing land was the most arduous work done by the Trumaí. Stumps were not uprooted, nor were the fallen trees and shrubs removed. The dead vegetation was allowed to dry, and the plot was burned over just before planting in September. When planting, the Trumaí followed the simple expedient of avoiding burned tree trunks and stumps. One year old garden plots were made ready for replanting simply by pulling out or chopping down weeds.

The heavy work of clearing the land fell to the men. In one case reported by Quain, two men from the same household cleared a plot jointly, but in all other instances each garden was cleared by one man.

Permanent rights to land resided in the community as a whole, but gardens were spoken of as belonging to the man who had cleared the land. He also had proprietary rights over the crops, even when he had not planted them himself. Generally, however, such fine points of property were not an issue, as the man who cleared the land usually planted it. Land tenure was a function of use only.

Absolute, permanent ownership of property in land would have had no purpose, as the gardens were temporary and were abandoned when the soil was exhausted after two consecutive plantings.

The planting season began after the first light rains and lasted from about the middle of September to about the second week in October. The first heavy daytime rains arrive at the beginning of October and become more frequent throughout the month. Thus the sowing was done after the earth was moistened, but before the rains arrived in full force.

Quain made note of a variety of food plants growing in the Trumaí gardens. These included bitter manioc (*ole*), corn (*xolei*), squash, large beans (*kuman*), small beans (*kumana'i*), sweet potatoes (*mani*), sugar cane (*kanaviya*), a species of pineapple (*wasus ruyau*), and banana trees (*toi idaidai*). Among the domesticated non-food plants were tobacco, cotton (*amundya*), the castor bean (*patasy*), and *urucú* (*maidot*). Quain believed that the castor bean was used for the round hollow point of the whistling arrow, but Oberg says that the Kamayurá make theirs with hollow nuts of the tucúm palm.[1] *Urucú* is a plant bearing a pod, the

[1] Oberg 1953, p. 31.

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249 Urucú is a plant bearing a pod, the
386 interior of which yields a red paint used in body painting and the decoration of artifacts.

244 Bitter manioc was by far the most important crop, while maize and sweet potatoes ranked second and third, respectively. Most of the crops
[243] were planted in the same three-to-four-week period, but the gardener usually planted manioc before the other vegetables. For this purpose, holes were dug at six to ten foot intervals wherever space between the charred logs permitted. A short trench was first dug with a hoe, and then, from the opposite side, an adjacent trench was dug. The loose earth from the second trench was piled into the first, in which the manioc was then planted. Each pair of trenches was made with about fifty hoe strokes.

244 Shoots for planting were obtained by cutting sections from the stalks
242 of old manioc plants. About ten shoots were planted in each hole by thrusting them at an angle into the loose earth. The gardener tried to plant the stems deeply so that the developing tubers would receive maximum moisture. Slipshod gardeners, however, often thrust them in lightly and heaped earth around the stems. The shoots were inserted at slightly different angles to minimize the tangle of stems and thus facilitate the harvesting, but all shoots pointed in a general westerly direction. Quain was told that if they were planted otherwise, the wind would break the growing stalks.

243 The procedure for planting maize was somewhat simpler. The gardener brought a large container of seed corn and a jug of water to the area to be planted. He soaked some of the kernels, and then put them in a small gourd which he carried with him. Small holes, three to four inches deep, were dug with a digging stick (*mica*) or knife blade in the open spaces between the manioc holes. Into each hole three or four kernels were dropped. A small pile of the loose earth that had just been dug up remained next to the depression in which the corn was planted. This served to trap the early rains. The digging stick and knife were the only implements used in maize planting, whereas only the hoe was used to plant manioc.

244 Men planted manioc; the women were said by the men to "not know
462 how." Indicative of the importance of manioc, the word for planting refers only to manioc planting. Thus, a man who told Quain that he had finished his planting went to his garden the next day to put in sweet potatoes. Similarly, Quain was told that women do not "plant." He soon
[241] learned, however, that women could plant other crops, but, with the exception of cotton, it was always done under the supervision of the men.

The most active horticultural role of the women was harvesting. The
[493] wife of the gardener went to his plot to dig up manioc and pick vegetables, which she carried back to the village in a basketry container balanced on her head. If the gardener had no wife, the female relative in his household who prepared his food brought in his crop.

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Each man planted his garden without male assistance. However, when planting vegetables other than manioc, he was often aided by his wife or wives. During the whole Trumaí planting season Quain observed only one instance of cooperative labor in manioc planting. This occurred in the garden of Uluku, a Kamayurá, who had cleared a plot in the Trumaí gardens but had not returned in time to plant it. The work was initiated by the Trumaí chief, as this was an obligation of the village to an outsider. However, the men largely ignored his call and, of those who responded, most were co-residents of the chief.

Fishing Techniques

A variety of fish were caught and eaten by the Trumaí. The exact species were not recorded by Quain, but those in Oberg's partial list are also found in other tributaries of the Amazon.[3] A small fish called *kate* by the Trumaí was caught in great quantities during Quain's visit. Fish figured importantly in the diet throughout the year, but they were not as easily caught during the rainy season when the rivers overflowed into the adjacent forest. Fish were taken by hook and line, bow and arrow, poisoning, traps, nets and weirs.

Shooting with the bow and arrow was the most important single method. The fisherman stood in the bow of his bark canoe with bow and arrow poised while his helper paddled slowly in the stern. When a fish was sighted the arrow usually found its mark with surprising accuracy. Insofar as is known, only hooks and lines obtained from the whites by trade or gift were used. Quain found a great demand for them, and he gave many to the Trumaí and other groups.

Two kinds of poison were used to drug fish in the lagoons. The more important was made from the shredded bark of the *tawasi* tree and was effective only upon the small *kate* fish. The other was made from the ripe fruit of the *fift'a* tree, the bark of which was used in the washing of the body after ceremonial scarification.[3]

Fish traps were baited and set out in the lagoon. These were basket containers, long and rounded in shape. An open-ended basket cone, through which the fish swam, was set in the mouth. Once inside, the fish could not find their way out through the small end of the cone, which was pointed towards the inside of the trap. According to one informant, the Mehinaku could make fish traps, but not the Trumaí. Quain, however, found that at least three Trumaí men made traps,

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 25–26.

[3] The exact species of these trees are not known. Oberg (1953, pp. 26–27) refers to the use of *timbó* in a general sense only. *Timbó* commonly refers to the root of a small shrub and not to the above-mentioned drugs. Von den Steinen (1897) makes no reference to fish drugs.

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were the teams always the same. Old Matiwana and his son Yati fished together most of the time, as did Aloari and his true brother Tun. Other true brothers often fished together, but, with the exception of the two above-mentioned steadfast teams, men chose their fishing companions according to their mutual needs or plans for the day. Since such agreements occurred most often between members of the same household, co-residents often cooperated. One man, Jakuma, spent much of his time fishing as the *tau* of different canoe owners or borrowers. He had no wife, and his garden, which he did not till very diligently, was very small. His fishing partners included men from every household, who were related to him in various degrees.

Although the position of *tau* was a temporarily subordinate one, it caused no loss of status. Even the Trumaí chief, since he owned no canoe, went fishing as a *tau*. Occasionally men took their wives along, but fishing was a man's specialty, and the woman's function was restricted to paddling.

Gathering

The two most important food products that the Trumaí gathered were turtle eggs and the fruit of the *piquí* tree, or *tsinon*. Throughout the dry season, turtle eggs were gathered in great quantity on the banks and sandbars of the rivers. By September they were no longer available and, in the following month, *piquí* became the main objective of the gathering parties. The harvest of this fruit was stored and lasted nearly to the end of the rainy season. *Piquí* was an important staple, especially in the period before crops ripened. Most of the *piquí* trees grow wild, but there is a suggestion in Quain's notes that they might also have been transplanted when young. All of the *piquí* trees were individually owned, and proprietary rights of individuals to groups of trees were clearly understood by all. In order to make the fruit ripen fast, the owner of the trees built a slow-burning fire of grass underneath them at night. The early rainy season was a rather lean period, so that there was great joy when the *piquí* was heard falling in the forest. Everyone broke into shouts of "*kaha kaha kaha-a-a*," which was the conventional cry for greeting the first *piquí*. These shouts were slightly different from those welcoming fish brought into the village.

The first fruit was usually gathered by the owner of the trees and his family. However, when the fruit began to fall in great quantity there was a general harvest which was shared without regard for tree ownership.

Piquí gathering started in the middle of October, when the planting season had ended and the men were free to help in the gathering. However, men still fished frequently, and the burden of the gathering fell on the women and older boys. Women from the same household

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often gathered together, and at times all of the women of a house would work together in *piquí* collecting. Parties of boys and men sometimes picked up the fruit, and a man often went gathering with his wife to protect her from possible enemies, especially if there had been recent threats or omens. He took his bow and arrows, and frequently did not help in carrying the fruit back to the village. The *piquí* was brought to the village in basket containers, and then made into a variety of dishes.

Guava (*waruwaru*) grows wild in the forest, ripening a short time before *piquí* does, but extending into the season of the latter. Quain believed it to be a valuable vitamin C supplement to the diet, but it was a far less important food than *piquí*. Men participated little in guava collecting, although they accompanied their wives for sociability and protection. Quain described these connubial gathering expeditions as being largely pleasant jaunts through the wood. Children often went out for the fruit, which they brought back to the village strung on straws.

The water lily from which salt was made was another important item gathered during the period of Quain's residence among the Trumaí. The water lilies were collected in the Trumaí lagoon, and the complete salt-making process was carried on there. Each Trumaí built a rack over the waters of the lagoon. The lilies were pulled up, spread out on the rack to dry, and later burned. The ashes were sifted to obtain the salt. Quain did not mention any women's salt racks, but the women prepared their own supply of salt, too. Quain saw salt-making only in the early part of September, although it is possible that it occurred prior to this time as well. However, salt was not made after the middle of September, due to the rains and the exigencies of planting.

Ants were eaten by the Trumaí, and, according to an informant, by all groups in the area. A little boy demonstrated the correct way to consume them when he joyously brought in a fat one, plucked off its abdomen and swallowed it. Quain was told that later in the season the women and children would go out and collect them in large quantities. Other insects were in heavy demand for feeding the harpy eagle and other pet birds. Crickets were considered especially good for this purpose, and the boys made great sport of shooting these insects with their miniature bows and arrows.

A few other wild foods were eaten, but these were relatively insignificant. Among them was the fruit of the *awa'o* palm. Another fruit called *lamux*, resembling the crabapple in taste and superficial appearance, had a gelatinous interior. An unnamed plant is described by Quain as resembling grass, but having a quality like algae. It was eaten only in times of a manioc shortage. *Kawu's* is a parasitic plant that looks and tastes like the date. The *atoh* is a berry that tastes like the chokecherry.

Fift'a and *tawasi*, the fish poisons, were gathered in the locale. The gathering and preparation of *tawasi* boughs was a cooperative venture.

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smaller food stock than did the Kamayurá. Quain found the Trumaí diet nourishing and tasty, and although the methods of cooking were not always appetizing from a European point of view, he notes that "the delightful rounds of foods are endless," and that there were many recipes for their preparation.

Manioc processing, from harvest to finished product, was the work of the women. The tubers were dug up when reserves of *beijú*, or manioc cake, ran low, for the supply of manioc flour on hand was always enough for several days, but no more. The first step in the process was to scrape the skin from the tubers. This was done with a clam shell, the rough edges of which had been abraded so as to give a smooth scraping surface. The manioc was then reduced to a wet pulp by rubbing it on a grater made of wood studded with sharp bones. In order to extract the prussic acid from the bitter manioc, the pulp was placed on an open-work sieve, or *tuafi*, which was set on top of a wide-mouthed Waurá pot, and water was washed through it. The mass was then wrung out and rewashed. After several washings, the manioc was squeezed into a lump and dried on a rack in the sun. The flour (*karima*), thus prepared, was used to make the flat manioc cake or was mixed in water to make a gruel. For *beijú*, the sun-dried lumps of flour were pulverized in a large wooden mortar set in the floor and moistened, sometimes with fish juice. It was then placed on a flat clay plate (*ja'meo*) and beaten with a special wooden paddle until flat, after which it was baked. Two kinds of *beijú* were made: a thin and a coarse, thick type. *Beijú* was sometimes eaten plain, but other foods were usually heaped on top.

Manioc was also regularly consumed in the form of a thick gruel prepared by boiling the flour in water. A fibrous fruit known as *iriwa* was often boiled with the manioc gruel and imparted a prune-like taste to the dish. When drinking it, the fruit was chewed, the shells and fiber spat out. The manioc gruel (*ats aek*) was kept in the house in gourds.

Fish were roasted or boiled. Roasting was done by holding the fish directly over the flame, or by wrapping it in a broad palm leaf and placing it on a babricot over the fire. A common dish was a thick stew of boiled fish which was heaped on *beijú*. Fish was also added to stews which contained vegetables in season. Men did all the roasting in the Trumaí village, although it was permissible for a woman to help. However, most foods were prepared by boiling, and the burden of cooking thus fell on the women.

The *piquí* fruit (*teinon*) was the most versatile food in the village during Quain's period of residence. The most important dish was boiled *piquí* pulp (*ke'jau*), which was placed in containers and stored in the waters of a pool in sufficient quantity to last until the end of the rainy season. *Piquí*, like most fruits, ripens and falls uniformly, making it necessary to gather the harvest all at once, and to prepare and store

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it before it rots. The Trumaí worked hard at this, and Quain heard the sounds of women boiling and stirring the *ke'jau* far into the night. Some of the *ke'jau* was placed in gourds for immediate use. It was mixed with water, making a rich yellow drink, and was frequently stirred into the manioc gruel, or *ats aek*. *Ke'jau* was considered an excellent food for canoe trips, and was carried by fishermen and travelers.

The *piquí* fruit when roasted whole "tastes like egg yolk, or, vaguely, like deviled eggs," Quain wrote. In addition to cooking the pulp of the fruit, the kernel of the *piquí* pit was used. It was sometimes eaten raw, but usually it was cooked. The kernel has a fragrant, coconut-like flavor. A pudding was made by boiling down *piquí* kernels to the consistency of paste and, to Quain, the flavor was much like that of the caramelized coconut sauce prepared in Fiji. Another preparation called *t'ak*, which resembled *beijú*, was made from a flour prepared from *piquí* kernels. Fish and various other foods were piled on top of the *t'ak* and eaten with it, or pieces of the cake were broken off and eaten plain.

Maize, beans, and squash were grown in the Trumaí gardens, but due to the season none of these was eaten during Quain's stay. While making house inventories he saw small amounts of maize and beans stored in gourds sealed with tree gum, undoubtedly to be used as seed. Two varieties of maize were eaten. The more common type was called *xotet*; the other was a red species known as *hy kapsik*.

Pineapples and bananas did not figure importantly in the diet. Although the Trumaí grew sugar cane (*kanaviya*), there is no information on its use. Sweet potatoes were roasted by the men, but were probably prepared in other ways also. A paste was made from cotton seeds by pounding them in a mortar and then boiling the mashed seeds. The paste was kept in a gourd and eaten by scooping it up with the fingers.

Quain's notes contain little on the preparation of wild foods other than *piquí* fruit. Guava were eaten raw, but there is no information on how the various kinds of palm fruits were prepared.

The abdomen of a large ant called *xokoldomat'ek* was considered a delicacy, and flying ants were popped into the mouth like peanuts. A tremendous green grasshopper with long horns (*tawarerɔ*) was roasted and eaten. A small red tick (*tekwu*) was also consumed, but a fuzzy caterpillar known as the *ma'yryr* was looked upon with revulsion. The Trumaí claimed contemptuously that only the Suyá ate them.

It would appear that the Trumaí seldom drank plain water. Instead, beverages such as the manioc or *piquí* drinks were used. A gourdful of one of these drinks was usually available in the houses, and a supply was taken on canoe trips. No intoxicating beverages were made, but Quain was told by a former captive of the Yuruna that the Yuruna brew "kills you for a day or two, and they stay up all night shouting and singing." The informant did not approve of its taste or effects.

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was working on the roof, the other thatched the wall facing the forest, and the house was subsequently occupied while work was still proceeding on that wall. The wall toward the village was temporarily hung with cloth drapes for privacy, although for purposes of protection from enemies the opposite side was thatched first. 342

Additional thatch was placed on the house at the beginning of the rainy season. At that time light poles were bound to the frame for greater support. The chief's house began to sag from the weight of the thatch, and braces had to be put under the ridge pole. Two posts, as heavy as the center posts, were crossed just below the ridge pole and bound together. A few men got behind each post and pushed so that the poles would assume a more nearly vertical position and give firmer support to the ridge poles. When this had been accomplished, the bases of the posts were set in holes. 342 335

Quain had the opportunity to observe two houses being constructed: his own and a fifth dwelling being built by two Trumaí men. His own small house took one week to build. The work started off with a great burst of effort, and in four hours all the wall posts, center posts and the ridge pole were in place. However, every day thereafter progress became increasingly slower. 123 342 461

House styles and construction were not rigidly conventionalized. The Trumaí helped build a house for the missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Young, and they thought that Quain, being a *karaíbe* (white man), would like one such as the Youngs had designed for themselves. When they were half finished with the frame, Quain realized what was happening, and asked for a haystack house like theirs. The revision was made easily and the result was a hybrid. This, added to the fact that two of the houses in the village were much larger than the other two, indicated a certain flexibility and willingness to imitate. The Kamayurá classified the different posts and poles that went into house building, but the Trumaí had only very broad terms for the corresponding parts. 123 341 [197] [192] [335]

The heavy work of raising the ridge pole, stepping in braces, and carrying and inserting center posts was done cooperatively. These joint labors, although brief and infrequent, made for a festive occasion and gave rise to laughter and gaiety, an unusual thing among the men. With the exception of operations requiring the combined efforts of more men, the house was built by the males who were to occupy it. Women took no part in the building. Yanahi and Mayuva, who were building a new house, shared the work unequally, Yanahi doing the larger part. They did not always work at the same time, and, when they did, they worked on separate sections of the house. 335 342 476 [462]

Quain's house was built cooperatively because he was an outsider, and it was the obligation of the whole community to accommodate him. 123 342 476 574

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The situation was comparable to the previously mentioned communal planting of the garden of the Kamayurá, Uluku.

Canoes

The standard bark canoe of the upper Xingú was made and used by the Trumaí.[4] Construction was simple and much less time was required to complete it than the typical dugout canoe of the tropical forest. A long, rectangular piece of bark was cut from the *jatobá* tree by men standing on platforms. The bark was then heated over a fire to soften it. The sides were bent up, and the top end of the bark, which narrowed slightly, was made into the bow by bending it upwards. The center of the stern was bent inwards, allowing the whole stern to be well above the water. Leaks were mended with patches of river mud or clay. Propulsion was by paddle, although occasionally poles were used.

There was also one small dugout in the village which belonged to Aloari, Quain's cook and helper. Aloari had been a Yuruna captive, and it was undoubtedly during this experience that he had learned to make this type craft. He also had a bark canoe and was the only Trumaí to own two canoes.

Basketry

The Trumaí men manufactured baskets that were variously shaped and served several purposes. In general, the Trumaí were less skilled in this art than their upper Xingú neighbors. Among the baskets described by Quain was a deep, round tray made of *buriti* fiber and another which was used to store manioc flour and, when equipped with shoulder and forehead tumplines, to carry loads. The latter was an openwork container made of bark strips. A smaller basket of this type was made of *buriti* fibers. The manioc sieve, or *tuafi*, was made of stiff *buriti* fronds and was also used to store small articles. It was made by the women. The women also made a bark cloth bag known as the *idesnit*, a term that, in addition, designated the female pubic covering.

All of the baskets and similar containers described by Quain were made by other groups of the area, but the art of manufacturing certain varieties was known to only a few Trumaí. Some baskets were obtained in trade.

Textiles

All work in cotton was the exclusive province of the women. Hammocks of both twined and woven types were made. The loom consisted of two upright posts between which a warp of *buriti* fiber was extended.

[4] Cf. von den Steinen 1897, pp. 222-23.
[i.e. building Quain's house--Analyst]

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The woof was made of cotton threads. The men's hammocks were usually woven, while those made by the women for themselves were generally an inferior twined product. Other manufactures of cotton were arm and leg bands. —

Ceramics

The knowledge of ceramic manufacture cannot be properly considered a part of Trumaí culture, despite their daily use of pottery in cooking, manioc processing, eating and storage. All pottery utensils were obtained in trade with the Arawakan Waurá, usually in return for salt. The only clay article of Trumaí manufacture was the *ja'meo*, a crude clay griddle on which the *beijú* was baked. The Trumaí did not rely completely on pottery for watertight containers, as gourds, grown in their own gardens, were extensively used.

Wood Manufactures

All woodwork was done by the men with, at the time of Quain's visit, steel tools. The most distinctive article was the zoomorphically carved wooden stool, found among all upper Xingú peoples. Quain's notes contain a sketch of one such stool which is very similar to the one depicted by von den Steinen.[5] Other wood products were canoe paddles, *beijú* paddles, manioc graters, and mortars and pestles, used by the women to pulverize the hard, dry balls of manioc flour.

Weapons

Bows and arrows were used almost to the exclusion of other weapons. The Trumaí got their bows in trade from the Kamayurá, but made the bowstrings themselves from the fiber of a tree known to them as the *patacy*. They made their own feathered arrows out of cane, at the end of which was inserted a thin wooden shaft. The points were fixed to the shaft with a tree resin (*awalitsu*) and were wrapped at the juncture with cotton thread. Monkey bone points were used for shooting fish and birds. One man who was making a bamboo point told Quain that it was used for hunting and warfare. Another was seen hammering an arrow point out of a piece of metal.

Spears were not used often, although the Trumaí made them. Quain saw a spear point being made of the shin bone of a tapir. The spear-thrower (*xopep*) was used only in the annual spear-throwing contest. It was made from the wood of a palm. Quain sketched one that had a flat handle with a finger hole and a shaft with a hook on the end, and another that lacked the hook, but had a thong on the end.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 141.

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The Trumaí made no war clubs at the time of Quain's investigation, although von den Steinen stated that the Trumaí and the Suyá were the only groups of the region to have clubs.[6] The only war club in the village was a long, fluted one of wood that the Waurá had captured from the Suyá and had subsequently given to one of the Trumaí men. It was only used ceremonially.

Firemaking

Fires were kindled by use of a simple, hand-twirled fire drill. Generation of a new fire was not often necessary as there was almost always an active fire in the village from which a flame could be taken. Gathering firewood was woman's work.

Ornaments and Body Decoration

Except for ornaments, men and women were completely nude. The women wore a cord belt that passed around the body just above the buttocks. Some of the women still had what Quain called a "fig leaf," probably a piece of leaf or bark, strung on a cord passing between the buttocks. It was known as the *tdesnit*, the Trumaí term for the *uluri*, the common upper Xingú version of which they did not use.

Except for occasional body painting, the women indulged in little ornamentation. They were plucked of all body hair, but in contrast to the shorter tonsure of the males, they let their hair grow over their shoulders.

The men wore belts of cotton thread or bark fiber, but did not tie their penes. Occasionally flat shell beads were strung around the waist, but more often they were used in necklaces. Necklaces, which were worn in ceremonies, were made by stringing flat rectangular shells on cotton thread. The shells were strung only on the front half of the necklace. Quain noted one type that had two black panels on each end of the necklace. Shell necklaces were an important commodity in intertribal trade, as has already been indicated. Cotton or bark fiber bands were tied around the ankles, just below the knees, and around the biceps.

Featherwork ornaments were worn ceremonially and included headdresses, ear pendants, and feather necklaces. Quain noted one pendant made from the whole breast of a bird. The breast had four colored bands: black, yellow, red, and again yellow, from top to bottom. Another feather pendant consisted of black, red, and yellow feathers arranged in bands and attached to a short piece of wood. A black tree resin held the feathers firmly in place. The feathers were obtained from the tips of parrot wings.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 222.

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Agendas were ordinarily based on the immediate needs of the household or the desire for some variety in their diet. Food, however, was shared widely, and this probably robbed most work of any sense of urgency. Apparently, each man's plans for the day were determined in part by the season, in part by the household needs, and in part by what he felt like doing.

Some men stayed in the village all day, sleeping and working intermittently at small tasks. The women spent more time in the village than the men. Their work was done in the house or, if outside, in the shade of the house. Since male work was done largely in the morning, most of the men had ample time in the afternoon for trade, wrestling, and other diversions. The trade game was an especially popular indoor activity on rainy days.

Much less work was probably done during the rainy season, for planting would be finished, the *piquí* would be harvested, and the heavy rains would confine people to the village. However, there was much less seasonal variation for the women, as they had to continue to make *beijú*, weave, cook, and care for their households — the ordinary female chores, whatever the month.

Trumaí economic life was loosely organized. Few types of labor transcended the nuclear family, which was the basic unit of economic cooperation and interdependence. The inventory of material culture was sparse, and workmanship was not highly developed. What the Trumaí did not make, they could obtain by trade. From the standpoint of technology, the Trumaí were more backward than other tribes in the upper Xingú area, perhaps a reflection of their more recent settlement in the region.

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CHAPTER THREE

Trumaí Social Organization

Property Ownership

105 Trumaí society was relatively simple. There was no social stratification
[556] based on wealth, nor were the mechanisms of social control and
[626] cohesion highly developed. This was in accord with the individualization
[433] of productive effort and the low level of economic surplus. The political
[62] unit was a single community, the sole bearer of Trumaí culture.

All land and productive resources were considered the property of the
421 community, and the right to their exploitation resided with any indivi-
423 dual willing to expend the labor. Gardens were individual property, but only in the sense that the man who reclaimed the land from the jungle was entitled to its product. There was no concept of alienable property in land, entailing the right of disposition. The *piquí* trees were said to be owned individually, but the owner exercised exclusive rights only over the first fruits. Other wild food plants were community property
423 and their fruits belonged to the gatherer.

The fishing rights to lagoons and backwaters of the rivers belonged
[226] to the tribes in whose territory they were located. There was no indivi-
dual ownership of fishing sites.

422 There was property in foods, but as soon as they were cooked they
[262] were freely distributed. *Beijú* belonged to the women, but the manioc
out of which it was prepared was said to be the property of the man
[462] who grew it. Such distinctions were largely academic. Actually, the men grew the vegetable and the women harvested it, prepared it, and cooked it, after which it was distributed and eaten. The same situation prevailed in regard to the products of fishing, hunting, and gathering. Salt was
[263] the only exception, as it was prepared and owned by individual men
[439] and women. The difference undoubtedly lies in the fact that salt was an important trade item, while the other commodities were not.

Very little property can be said to have belonged to the family.
[285] Baskets and gourd containers were made by the men for themselves
[415] and for the women, but they were often used by both a man and his wife. Nearly all material objects outside of natural resources were owned by the person who made them or the person to whom an object was
423 given. House ownership was vague, since houses were built and occupied by more than one man, and abandoned when the village moved. The house, however, was often considered the property of the man who put

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Quain was told that the Kamayurá were "bad," because they permitted marriage with a sister's daughter.[8]

Cross-cousin marriage is correlated with sororal polygyny among the Trumaí and with the sexual privileges that a man may take with his wife's sister. No indication was found of the sororate, despite its probable acceptability. There was only one case of the levirate, and that was the marriage of the chief to his dead brother's wife. That the levirate is expected but not compulsory is apparent in the case of Yati and his brother's widow Vatsiat. She resided in Yati's house, and they performed many necessary, sexually specialized functions for each other. Although their hammocks were some distance apart, Vatsiat called him ece (husband) and became quite incensed at one of his paramours. However, Yati called her *apizi* (sibling), and apparently felt that there were no marital obligations between them. He had his love-life, which did not include her, and he showed no sign of annoyance at her escapades. It was a standing joke that every man in the village had sexual relations with Vatsiat, except where an incest taboo prohibited it.

Marriage between people of different generations, especially between older women and younger men, was frequent: but the rules governing such unions are obscure. It was specifically frowned upon for a man to marry his mother's brother's widow. However, when one young man did so, he was only mildly ridiculed and censured, and his status in the village was little affected.

Joking Relations

Cross-cousins were not the only acceptable marriage partners, but they were the only ones with whom marriage was expected and especially approved. Also, patterned and expected joking existed only between these kin. Cross-cousins of the same sex, especially males, bantered with each other, but most sexual joking occurred between men and women. Thus, Aloari enjoyed making suggestive remarks to the rather old and ugly Vatsiat and frequently accused her of improprieties with various men. On one occasion, partly for Quain's benefit, he threw her on her back and went through the motions of coitus.

Cross-cousins of the same sex confined their joking to pranks and good-natured raillery, *ami tarajau*, which Quain translates as "cross-cousin talk." Mayuva teased Yati, who had a phobia of frogs, by chasing after him with a frog hanging from a stick. Both men and women made great sport of urging Quain to throw their cross-cousins out of his house. On one occasion, Quain, experimentally, made sexual suggestions to several women who had congregated in his house. They all ran out laughing shrilly, but one came back later to be reassured that it was

[8] Cf. Oberg 1953, p. 44.

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Diagnosis and Treatment of Disease

Illness was believed to be caused primarily by witchcraft and, secondarily, by the breaking of a taboo or by contagion. Headaches, bloated stomach (*pihl*) and stomach aches were among the common symptoms of bewitchment. The tremendous fear of black magic probably added greatly to the severity of these afflictions. During Quain's stay the women appeared to complain more of sorcery as a cause of their illnesses than did the men, but this self-diagnosis was not always accepted.

Trumaí concepts regarding contagion were generally loose, and they often fused with witchcraft beliefs. Contagion was acknowledged to be a possible cause of illness, but if death followed, it would in all probability be laid to sorcery. The Trumaí knew that epidemics of pulmonary diseases were associated with the coming of white men, and they were especially worried that when the rainy season arrived Quain would give them coughs and fevers. Indeed, one night when Quain complained of illness and retired to his hammock with a headache, this eventuality was vigorously discussed.

The Trumaí called such a threat *tun*, a word that can be translated only as a malignant influence causing disease. *Tun* was said to exist around sick people or in places where there was known to be danger of contamination. Thus, when several of the people of Jakwanari's household were sick, everyone avoided the house, for it was full of *tun*. Aloari said that the waterfront, also, was full of *tun*. He preferred to bathe from a pottery vessel outside his house. Ringworm, however, was known to be caused by natural means.

The word *okei*, while referring to sorcery under certain conditions, was also a general term for medicinal preparations. Thus, *okei* of various kinds were used in different stages of the life crisis rituals and also in the treatment of various ailments. Roots were extensively used for medicinal purposes. Maibu rubbed his wife's head with the extract of a root (*ipox*) when she had a headache. Another root (*murukuyu*) supplied the basic ingredient for eye drops, and still another was prescribed for ringworm.

The Trumaí were subject to severe boils which were treated by piercing. This was a woman's specialty, and it was usually done by the wife or a close relative of the afflicted person. All other curing, both secular and supernatural, was done by men. Herbal medicines were used exclusively for such ailments as ringworm, but most cures involved both botanical and supernatural means used in conjunction.

Illness was treated by both individual curers and group ceremonies. The practice of individual shamanistic curing, known as *jau'kath*, had much in common with similar arts throughout South America. The main techniques employed were tobacco smoke and sucking. Great

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clouds of tobacco smoke were first blown over the affected area by the curer who then, with noisy inhalations, sucked that part of the body in which the ailment appeared to be localized. Insofar as Quain was able to determine, no foreign objects were "extracted," and he was not given any explanation as to why the treatment worked.

Knowledge of curing was widespread among the men. All the men knew how to use botanicals, and over half, all said to have been taught by Matiwana, knew the art of *jau'kath*. Men cured their wives, children, or other close blood relatives. When Aloari was treating his son's ringworm he was asked by Quain whether he would also treat a young boy who was only indirectly related. Aloari refused because the boy had closer kinsmen who could perform this act. Kayaru developed a swollen breast, and it was Yanahi, her sister's son, who performed *jau'kath* on it. All men treated the members of their biological families with medicines, but those who did not know the shamanistic cure relied on a practitioner from outside the immediate family.

Matiwana treated his son Yati without recompense, but when his daughter's husband became ill, the latter paid him for the cure with a pot. The kinship ties by which curing was free to certain relatives probably corresponded closely to the pattern of gift-giving obligations. Payments for medical treatment were called *okei pop* (medicine gift). Quain was usually given small payments for the many cures he performed for the Trumaí. In no case could it be said that any curer derived a significant income from his services.

Group Curing Ceremony

The only time that Quain witnessed the group curing ceremony (*kevere*) was on an occasion two weeks after his arrival. He noted the formal aspects carefully, but he was unable to ascertain their meanings, since his command of the language at that time was so meagre.

Maibu's wife, Matavitsa, was sick and wasted when Quain arrived in the village. Her husband had been treating her for some time by the shamanistic means of tobacco smoke and sucking, but with little success. It was decided to hold a ceremonial cure, although shamanistic techniques were not ruled out. Nearly all the adult men of the village gathered in Maibu's house for the ritual, which lasted for three hours. No women were admitted, and the door was kept closed. The *kevere* was strictly prohibited to females, and the men would not even talk of it in their presence. The women seemed to regard Quain's status as doubtful, for Maibu's sister told him that he would die if he entered. He refused to be dissuaded, and upon entering was motioned to a seat.

The men were ranged in a broad semi-circle along the side of the house opposite the sick woman's hammock. Matiwana, who was in charge of

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The path which led from the village to Nariatan, the northwestern garden clearing, passed through the previously mentioned ceremonial clearing north of the village. A short distance beyond this point, a branch took off to the east and led to Waniwanitan, the northeastern and second largest clearing, which contained nine garden plots totaling approximately five acres. Each garden was tilled by a different man, but two men had plots in both Nariatan and Waniwanitan. The size of the average garden was one-half acre. There was no newly cleared land, and, in contrast to Nariatan which was still yielding, nearly all of the crop (mostly manioc) had either died or been harvested. Quain noticed that the soil in Nariatan had a gray tone, whereas that of Waniwanitan was reddish in hue. This difference in color was due to the ashes deposited by the more recent burning over of the former site.

Nariatan was a newer garden than Waniwanitan, and the former was planted to a variety of crops while the latter was nearly all in manioc. This is indicative of the common tropical forest slash and burn system whereby second year gardens are used only for manioc growing, and new areas in which the soil is still comparatively rich are used for other vegetables in addition to manioc. The Trumaí are unique, however, in that the garden clearing was divided into individually owned plots. Smaller individual gardens or large gardens cleared and cultivated collectively are the general rule in the rain forests of South America.

The three other clearings were small, and each contained one garden plot. One was one-quarter acre in size, while the other two each comprised one-half acre. These small gardens were connected with the village by separate paths and were closer to it than the two larger clearings. Anariatan, Nariatan and Waniwanitan were named after old village sites, but Quain knew of no abandoned locations from which the names Tan Toreake and Tandatake could have been derived.

Horticultural Techniques

It is difficult to assess the relative importance of horticulture, fishing and gathering in the subsistence economy of the Trumaí. At different times of the year each made the major contribution to the diet. Most garden products became available at about the middle of the rainy season, but manioc was dug up when needed throughout the year. Fish and manioc were staples the year-round, although fishing was poorer during the rains. Each was more important in the total diet than were the products of gathering. However, the subsistence of the Trumaí at certain times of the year, especially in the early part of the rainy season, would have been seriously threatened without the wild foods.

The agricultural cycle started in the early part of the dry season when the clearings needed for the next rainy season's gardens were made.

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Each man planted his garden without male assistance. However, when planting vegetables other than manioc, he was often aided by his wife or wives. During the whole Trumaí planting season Quain observed only one instance of cooperative labor in manioc planting. This occurred in the garden of Uluku, a Kamayurá, who had cleared a plot in the Trumaí gardens but had not returned in time to plant it. The work was initiated by the Trumaí chief, as this was an obligation of the village to an outsider. However, the men largely ignored his call and, of those who responded, most were co-residents of the chief.

Fishing Techniques

A variety of fish were caught and eaten by the Trumaí. The exact species were not recorded by Quain, but those in Oberg's partial list are also found in other tributaries of the Amazon.[1] A small fish called *kute* by the Trumaí was caught in great quantities during Quain's visit. Fish figured importantly in the diet throughout the year, but they were not as easily caught during the rainy season when the rivers overflowed into the adjacent forest. Fish were taken by hook and line, bow and arrow, poisoning, traps, nets and weirs.

Shooting with the bow and arrow was the most important single method. The fisherman stood in the bow of his bark canoe with bow and arrow poised while his helper paddled slowly in the stern. When a fish was sighted the arrow usually found its mark with surprising accuracy. Insofar as is known, only hooks and lines obtained from the whites by trade or gift were used. Quain found a great demand for them, and he gave many to the Trumaí and other groups.

Two kinds of poison were used to drug fish in the lagoons. The more important was made from the shredded bark of the *tsuesi* tree and was effective only upon the small *kute* fish. The other was made from the ripe fruit of the *fi'i* tree, the bark of which was used in the washing of the body after ceremonial scarification.[2]

Fish traps were baited and set out in the lagoon. These were basket containers, long and rounded in shape. An open-ended basket cone, through which the fish swam, was set in the mouth. Once inside, the fish could not find their way out through the small end of the cone, which was pointed towards the inside of the trap. According to one informant, the Mehinaku could make fish traps, but not the Trumaí. Quain, however, found that at least three Trumaí men made traps,

[1] *Ibid.* pp. 25–26.

[2] The exact species of these trees are not known. Oberg (1953, pp. 26–27) refers to the use of *timbó* in a general sense only. *Timbó* commonly refers to the root of a small shrub and not to the above-mentioned drugs. Von den Steinen (1897) makes no reference to fish drugs.

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222 often gathered together, and at times all of the women of a house would
462 work together in *piquí* collecting. Parties of boys and men sometimes picked up the fruit, and a man often went gathering with his wife to protect her from possible enemies, especially if there had been recent threats or omens. He took his bow and arrows, and frequently did not help in carrying the fruit back to the village. The *piquí* was brought to the village in basket containers, and then made into a variety of dishes.

Guava (*waruwaru*) grows wild in the forest, ripening a short time before *piquí* does, but extending into the season of the latter. Quain be-
[146] lieved it to be a valuable vitamin C supplement to the diet, but it was a far less important food than *piquí*. Men participated little in guava collecting, although they accompanied their wives for sociability and protection. Quain described these connubial gathering expeditions as being largely pleasant jaunts through the wood. Children often went out for the fruit, which they brought back to the village strung on straws.

222 The water lily from which salt was made was another important
258 item gathered during the period of Quain's residence among the Trumaí.
462 The water lilies were collected in the Trumaí lagoon, and the complete salt-making process was carried on there. Each Trumaí built a rack over the waters of the lagoon. The lilies were pulled up, spread out on the rack to dry, and later burned. The ashes were sifted to obtain the salt. Quain did not mention any women's salt racks, but the women prepared their own supply of salt, too. Quain saw salt-making only in the early part of September, although it is possible that it occurred prior to this time as well. However, salt was not made after the middle of September, due to the rains and the exigencies of planting.

222 Ants were eaten by the Trumaí and, according to an informant, by
[262] all groups in the area. A little boy demonstrated the correct way to consume them when he joyously brought in a fat one, plucked off its abdomen and swallowed it. Quain was told that later in the season the
[231] women and children would go out and collect them in large quantities.
[857] Other insects were in heavy demand for feeding the harpy eagle and other pet birds. Crickets were considered especially good for this purpose, and the boys made great sport of shooting these insects with their miniature bows and arrows.

137 A few other wild foods were eaten, but these were relatively insigni-
222 ficant. Among them was the fruit of the *awa'o* palm. Another fruit called
262 *lamux*, resembling the crabapple in taste and superficial appearance, had a gelatinous interior. An unnamed plant is described by Quain as resembling grass, but having a quality like algae. It was eaten only in times of a manioc shortage. *Kamu'u* is a parasitic plant that looks and tastes like the date. The *atoh* is a berry that tastes like the chokecherry.

226 *Fift'a* and *tawasi*, the fish poisons, were gathered in the locale. The
278 gathering and preparation of *tawasi* boughs was a cooperative venture.
476

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Older boys and men went into the forest to cut down the trees and bring the boughs back to the village. The men then took turns in pounding the boughs into coarse fiber with the blunt end of an axe. Even men who did not participate in the gathering of the boughs helped in their reduction into fiber.

The group nature of the work is understandable in view of the communal labor and benefits involved in fish poisoning. Once the boughs were reduced, the fibers were cut into sheaves of about two and one-half feet in length. These sheaves were used to poison the water. Interestingly, both bark and wood were pounded up together, although, according to Quain, only the bark is poisonous.

The *buriti* palm supplied two raw materials, *isinke* and *isinke hut'*. *Isinke* was obtained from the heart of the young spike of the growing tip of the palm. The top was separated to give access to the heart, and long fibers were pulled out, which were then hung in the interior of the house to dry. When dry they resembled a heavy hemp, and were used to make cord. *Isinke hut'* is the leaf of the *buriti*, which was used in basketry.

Hunting

Hunting was not important at any time during Quain's stay. Tapir, peccary, deer, monkey, jaguar, squirrel and paca, a large rodent, are among the animals mentioned by Quain as being found in the vicinity, but only the monkey and paca were eaten. Birds were also eaten, and their feathers were used for ornamentation. Terrapin were caught by hand, either by creeping up on them or by swimming close to them under water and grabbing them by the shell. All other game was shot with the bow and arrow, except for the capybara, called *tsimo* by the Trumaí. Canoeists speared the swimming animals. The spear was used at no other time in hunting or fishing, although the Yaulapiti speared fish.

Quain saw no organized hunting parties. One or two men sometimes set out with the express intention of hunting, but most animals were shot while on fishing or gathering expeditions. The Trumaí did not rely on meat, nor did they show a craving for it. Hunting seemed to be more a pastime and sport than a subsistence activity. When Quain hunted with the Trumaí he noticed that they wanted him to kill birds more for their feathers than for their meat. They also wanted him to kill several entirely worthless birds because, as two of the men expressed it, they wanted "to see it."

Foods

The horticulture, fishing and gathering economy of the Trumaí gave them a fair variety and adequate quantity of food during most of the year, barring crop failure. The Trumaí, however, had a considerably

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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was working on the roof, the other thatched the wall facing the forest, and the house was subsequently occupied while work was still proceeding on that wall. The wall toward the village was temporarily hung with cloth drapes for privacy, although for purposes of protection from enemies the opposite side was thatched first. 342

Additional thatch was placed on the house at the beginning of the rainy season. At that time light poles were bound to the frame for greater support. The chief's house began to sag from the weight of the thatch, and braces had to be put under the ridge pole. Two posts, as heavy as the center posts, were crossed just below the ridge pole and bound together. A few men got behind each post and pushed so that the poles would assume a more nearly vertical position and give firmer support to the ridge poles. When this had been accomplished, the bases of the posts were set in holes. 342 335

Quain had the opportunity to observe two houses being constructed: his own and a fifth dwelling being built by two Trumaí men. His own small house took one week to build. The work started off with a great burst of effort, and in four hours all the wall posts, center posts and the ridge pole were in place. However, every day thereafter progress became increasingly slower. 123 342 461

House styles and construction were not rigidly conventionalized. The Trumaí helped build a house for the missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Young, and they thought that Quain, being a *karaíba* (white man), would like one such as the Youngs had designed for themselves. When they were half finished with the frame, Quain realized what was happening, and asked for a haystack house like theirs. The revision was made easily and the result was a hybrid. This, added to the fact that two of the houses in the village were much larger than the other two, indicated a certain flexibility and willingness to imitate. The Kamayurá classified the different posts and poles that went into house building, but the Trumaí had only very broad terms for the corresponding parts. 123 341 [197] [192] [335]

The heavy work of raising the ridge pole, stepping in braces, and carrying and inserting center posts was done cooperatively. These joint labors, although brief and infrequent, made for a festive occasion and gave rise to laughter and gaiety, an unusual thing among the men. With the exception of operations requiring the combined efforts of more men, the house was built by the males who were to occupy it. Women took no part in the building. Yanahi and Mayuva, who were building a new house, shared the work unequally, Yanahi doing the larger part. They did not always work at the same time, and, when they did, they worked on separate sections of the house. 335 342 476 [460]

Quain's house was built cooperatively because he was an outsider, and it was the obligation of the whole community to accommodate him. 123 342 476 574

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The situation was comparable to the previously mentioned communal planting of the garden of the Kamayurá, Uluku.

Canoes

The standard bark canoe of the upper Xingú was made and used by the Trumaí.[4] Construction was simple and much less time was required to complete it than the typical dugout canoe of the tropical forest. A long, rectangular piece of bark was cut from the *jatobá* tree by men standing on platforms. The bark was then heated over a fire to soften it. The sides were bent up, and the top end of the bark, which narrowed slightly, was made into the bow by bending it upwards. The center of the stern was bent inwards, allowing the whole stern to be well above the water. Leaks were mended with patches of river mud or clay. Propulsion was by paddle, although occasionally poles were used.

There was also one small dugout in the village which belonged to Aloari, Quain's cook and helper. Aloari had been a Yuruna captive, and it was undoubtedly during this experience that he had learned to make this type craft. He also had a bark canoe and was the only Trumaí to own two canoes.

Basketry

The Trumaí men manufactured baskets that were variously shaped and served several purposes. In general, the Trumaí were less skilled in this art than their upper Xingú neighbors. Among the baskets described by Quain was a deep, round tray made of *buriti* fiber and another which was used to store manioc flour and, when equipped with shoulder and forehead tumplines, to carry loads. The latter was an openwork container made of bark strips. A smaller basket of this type was made of *buriti* fibers. The manioc sieve, or *tuafi*, was made of stiff *buriti* fronds and was also used to store small articles. It was made by the women. The women also made a bark cloth bag known as the *idesnit*, a term that, in addition, designated the female pubic covering.

All of the baskets and similar containers described by Quain were made by other groups of the area, but the art of manufacturing certain varieties was known to only a few Trumaí. Some baskets were obtained in trade.

Textiles

All work in cotton was the exclusive province of the women. Hammocks of both twined and woven types were made. The loom consisted of two upright posts between which a warp of *buriti* fiber was extended.

[4] Cf. von den Steinen 1897, pp. 322-23.
[i.e. building Quain's house -- Analyst]

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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pursue their individual affairs. Maibu made speeches in the evening men's circle or in the early morning, telling the men to plant their gardens or urging all to gather *piqui* fruit. Such proddings had little meaning, as they were usually made during the appropriate season for these activities, and most people would have planted or gathered as a matter of course.

Those who did not choose to do what Maibu suggested went their own way, whether it was to fish or sleep. Maibu was a gadfly; yet he was the conscience of the Trumaí. Perhaps more people would have procrastinated if it had not been for his admonitions. He was truly interested in the good of the village. He asked Quain for presents only for others, never for himself.

Cooperative work on the community level was usually organized by Maibu. The decision to perform such work was generally made by common agreement, but it was the chief's function to recruit the necessary labor and see that the task was done. This he did with varying degrees of success, for his power was limited.

The chief was accorded much more respect by his housemates and close kinsmen than by the rest of the villagers. The people resisted him in varying degrees, depending on their relationship to him and their individual personalities. His control over the women was particularly weak. When Quain first arrived, they refused to carry water for him, despite Maibu's orders. When they realized that they were to be given gifts for their trouble they grudgingly consented to do so, but, in the meantime, the chief had fetched the water, since the performance of such tasks for an outsider was the responsibility of the village as a whole, and no other man would do women's work.

Referring to the limitations on chiefly powers, Quain noted, "Maibu has to put up with a lot of booing and do a lot of talking. Obedience comes to him only after a long time. He seems to have no 'big stick.'" The Trumaí chief had no coercive power whatsoever. This particular headman was not a powerful shaman, although such a combination was possible and would undoubtedly have enhanced his position. The only act of a supernatural nature that he could perform was curing by sucking and blowing smoke, which was practiced by almost every adult Trumaí male.

Maibu was often completely ignored, and some of the men made a point of flouting his authority. The men of Aloari's house were extremely antagonistic toward him and told Quain that he was not a true "*aek*." These men rarely took part in the few group work projects and usually they were also absent from the wrestling matches. Their own prestige motives and individual inclinations brought them into frequent conflict with Maibu, both in his capacity as the man of highest status and as the village goad. Their resentment of authority never resulted in

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post-natal sexual taboos is a serious social problem. A large group of not very pretty bachelors must use the woman with ringworm or the Suyá captive, whose present marriage is considered dishonorable. These women have no brothers or fathers. In contrast with Karajá, there is no stylized homosexuality. Yet the complete freedom of sexual play results in activities which might be considered overt homosexuality. But to the Trumaí such activity has little emotional content. It does not seem to set up special personal relationships.

"Women are in constant fear of attack. Yet a wife tyrannizes her husband by withholding her favors and pulling the hair of anyone whom she suspects her husband has used sexually. Between married people, sex occurs at night — preferably when everyone else is asleep — or while going to the forest on various gathering tasks. A man and his wife engage in many things together, such as afternoon relaxation, fishing, and gardening. There is companionship even between those spouses among whom the wife is much older and no longer of interest to the man sexually.

"Between themselves, the men are extremely individualistic. Cooperation rarely exceeds kin limits even at the explicit order of the chief. Only when outsiders are present do men band together in a mock display of solid cooperation. . . . There is only one old man, who is about seventy — all others are under 45 ..... All death is murder. Nobody expects to live longer than the next rainy season. Men always carry bows and arrows for protection. Shamans keep the village in constant fear of attack from the Suyá or Kamayurá.... There are imaginary attacks quite often. Men gather in terror at the center of the village — the most exposed spot — and wait to be shot at from the dark bushes at the margin of the village. . . .

"Authority is lax. The patrilineally hereditary chief does no work and is a parasite on his household. He is self-conscious of the rank of his wife whose marriage has elevated her. He lounges in his hammock, but it is his duty to orate from the center of the village at night and sometimes in the morning, urging the men to undertake group projects. He is the only man who has the courage to be an executive. This contrasts with the Kamayurá where there are several chiefs who, uniquely in their culture, are shy and ashamed to speak and whose orders must be referred through special talkers. It also contrasts with the Karajá where the chief is the best worker .... When the season changes, the Trumaí chief urges the people to engage in the new work, which they would do anyway. An example of the complete independence of spirit is illustrated by the two brothers who would not help the brother-in-law of one build the house in which they all were living, because they thought the mosquitoes would be bad in that location during the rainy season. The brother-in-law built the tremendous house all by himself — the two brothers lived comfortably in it.

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Urucú is a plant bearing a pod, the interior of which yields a red paint used in body painting and the decoration of artifacts.

Bitter manioc was by far the most important crop, while maize and sweet potatoes ranked second and third, respectively. Most of the crops were planted in the same three-to-four-week period, but the gardener usually planted manioc before the other vegetables. For this purpose, holes were dug at six to ten foot intervals wherever space between the charred logs permitted. A short trench was first dug with a hoe, and then, from the opposite side, an adjacent trench was dug. The loose earth from the second trench was piled into the first, in which the manioc was then planted. Each pair of trenches was made with about fifty hoe strokes.

Shoots for planting were obtained by cutting sections from the stalks of old manioc plants. About ten shoots were planted in each hole by thrusting them at an angle into the loose earth. The gardener tried to plant the stems deeply so that the developing tubers would receive maximum moisture. Slipshod gardeners, however, often thrust them in lightly and heaped earth around the stems. The shoots were inserted at slightly different angles to minimize the tangle of stems and thus facilitate the harvesting, but all shoots pointed in a general westerly direction. Quain was told that if they were planted otherwise, the wind would break the growing stalks.

The procedure for planting maize was somewhat simpler. The gardener brought a large container of seed corn and a jug of water to the area to be planted. He soaked some of the kernels, and then put them in a small gourd which he carried with him. Small holes, three to four inches deep, were dug with a digging stick (*mica*) or knife blade in the open spaces between the manioc holes. Into each hole three or four kernels were dropped. A small pile of the loose earth that had just been dug up remained next to the depression in which the corn was planted. This served to trap the early rains. The digging stick and knife were the only implements used in maize planting, whereas only the hoe was used to plant manioc.

Men planted manioc; the women were said by the men to "not know how." Indicative of the importance of manioc, the word for planting refers only to manioc planting. Thus, a man who told Quain that he had finished his planting went to his garden the next day to put in sweet potatoes. Similarly, Quain was told that women do not "plant." He soon learned, however, that women could plant other crops, but, with the exception of cotton, it was always done under the supervision of the men.

The most active horticultural role of the women was harvesting. The wife of the gardener went to his plot to dig up manioc and pick vegetables, which she carried back to the village in a basketry container balanced on her head. If the gardener had no wife, the female relative in his household who prepared his food brought in his crop.

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although a Mehinaku woman and a Suyá woman who had dwelled among the Waurá were living there. 439

The origin of specialization apparently lies in the diversity of the original cultures of the upper Xingú tribes. While a great degree of cultural homogeneity was subsequently attained through interaction and diffusion, certain culturally specialized items became integral to the trade relationships that were a functional part of intertribal social life. Trade became standardized, and monopolies were thereby perpetuated. The Kamayurá-type bow and the Waurá pot were not only essential to the Trumaí economy, but trade in these items with these tribes was expected and served to reinforce the structure of the supra-village society. 182 439

In addition to trade in specialized products, there was active exchange of other items of Western and native manufacture, such as feathers, fishhooks, line, cotton yarn, cloth, paper, beads, and trinkets. This, however, did not require organized trading trips, as did the exchange of the specialized products. The Trumaí traveled for the specific purpose of trading salt or securing pots and bows, although such transactions were also carried out during ordinary visits and at intertribal ceremonials. The non-specialized items were taken along on all visits in anticipation of a lively afternoon of trading, but they were incidental to such expeditions. 439 484 [177]

Despite the economic foundation of upper Xingú trade, all exchanges were considered gifts. No aspect of trade was recognized as divorced from personal relations. Food was shared freely in the community and did not enter into trade. Quain was the only person in the Trumaí village who traded to obtain food. 439 437 431 [123]

Quain believed that there was a scale of values and a concept of equivalence in trade, as certain proffered articles were rejected by sellers as inadequate. The individual exchanges indicated some equivalence, and there was a tendency for particular categories of goods to be exchanged. Men traded arrows for fishhooks and gourds for small pots. Trinkets also formed a class. However, when dealing in specialized products, payment in another specialty was not required. Western goods were especially desired. Knives and axes were in great demand, and, once given to an Indian by a white man, they entered into active trade circulation. There was sufficient cross-cutting between the classes of articles to suggest the operation of a more comprehensive scale of values, but, unfortunately, Quain had to leave the Trumaí before this could be verified. 439 435 [177]

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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857 Among the eight boys below the ages of Autsuki and Jawaku there were no clearly organized groups. When outdoors they usually played in small groups of three or four, although nearly all would gather together occasionally for some special activity. The small groups were usually composed of age mates. Tsirikoan, the youngest, spent most of his time in the house, while the oldest boy, Muruta, was already drifting away from the others and spending more time with the men. Tay, an orphan boy of between ten and twelve years of age, was decidedly a misfit and did not join the others often. Of the remaining five, the three oldest were steady companions, while the two youngest either trailed them or stayed near their houses.

[572] Despite the fact that the children were together frequently, there were no fast friendships or strong ties of loyalty and dependence. In this respect they were much like the men. Their play together was sporadic, and participation was fluid and shifting.

857 The only organized play in which the children indulged was wrestling. 526 Matches were infrequent and usually broke up within fifteen minutes. [569] All the boys turned out on such occasions except Tay, whose interests [838] were abnormally directed toward homosexual play. The wrestling [858] matches were a complete replica of the adult contests, the boys even sitting on the log in the men's circle (this was one of the few times they were permitted to do so). The adults never interfered. Usually they stood near the houses and watched the grappling with great amusement. When the wrestling involved boys of the village only, it was very informal and few pains were taken with their ornamentation. Each bout consisted of trying out some holds and grunting loudly in imitation of the men. The contests generally ended in a draw by mutual consent without any hostility being shown.

Most of the matches were between the older boys. But they also wrestled with the younger children. Even little Tsirikoan wrestled once. As he did not know what he was expected to do, he merely grunted and fell down. The bigger boys were very gentle with the little ones and tried only to teach them.

648 Just as the men were excited by the intertribal wrestling matches, the 857 boys welcomed the chance to wrestle with boys from other tribes. This 526 occurred regularly, since it was customary in the upper Xingú for a boy ● [484] to travel with his maternal uncle. At one such time, a Kamayurá boy [604] came to the Trumaí village and was invited to wrestle. The boys gathered [17] in the men's circle after having carefully painted themselves and put on new arm and leg bands. The older boys wrestled the Kamayurá youngster in turn, but since he was bigger, he threw them easily. The Trumaí men watched from a distance, silently rooting for their own [576] boys, but laughing loudly as each landed on his back, out of politeness to the visitors.

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Thirteenth Chapter

Meeting With the Trumaí

During the night Castro's canoe, the only one whose load was not brought to shore, floated away; in two hours it travels one legoa; Valentin and Satyr set out in pursuit.

122 31 Aug. φ 11° 46'.5, λ 31'.6, km. 18.12, total 466.81.
132 4:10 A.M.: I 744.0, dry. 19.2.
6:45 A.M.: I 744.6, II 737.0, dry. 19.4, wet. 19.0, strc. 9°, water 25.8.
5:40 P.M.: I 744.4, II 735.6, dry. 24.8, wet. 21.9, horizon hazy 4, wind = 0, water 27.9.
9:45 P.M.: I 745.0, dry. 20.8.

484 "Vem os compadres! oh, quantas canoas!" suddenly rang
501 out around 10:00; "the compadres are coming; oh, how many
609 canoes!" The soldiers hastened from the nearby camp in the forest; everyone armed himself and watched the canoes drawing up picturesquely in a long row -- and a magnificent sight it was as one after another came around the bend and slowly drifted down the Kuliseu. Two Indians stood erect, with quiet composure, their bows in readiness; a third sat in the center and scarcely moved the oar. We counted 14 canoes and 43 persons.

/191 cont./

484 501 609 In perfect order, as though this were a carefully rehearsed theatrical performance /192/ supported by very successful scenery, the long, narrow craft glided silently along, a considerable distance from our praia /sandy shore; see the glossary, p. 172 /, closer to the opposite wooded shore; no command sounded. Almost all [291] [302] [289] the naked occupants were painted black and bright red on faces and bodies, many simply blackened all over with soot; on their heads they wore white feather caps, the hair was cut short all [411] around, as among the Bakaïrí; the standing ones were overtopped by the bows, almost two and a half meters long, and in the left hand held a thick bundle of colorfully feathered arrows.

609 576 [101] Gradually they came to a stop and the stillness was followed by a dreadful noise, a fanatical howling and bellowing. There could be no doubt but that they were Trumaí, for they shouted this word incessantly as though their lives depended on it, beat their fists against their chests, and at the same time made bows with their upper bodies all the more violently since their legs had little room for lively gesticulation. Nevertheless, if any of us had behaved half as excitedly in the canoe, we would surely have fallen hopelessly into the water at the very beginning of the imitation. But we were on firm ground, and the example is contagious. We, too, howled; we, too, bellowed; we, too, beat our chests. Everybody shouted whatever he happened to remember of an Indian language: "Katú, hekatú Trumaí, Bakaïrí, Kustenaú," interspersed with an occasional lusty "diavo," heiliges Donnerwetter /hang it all/ in German, "don't these fellows have any sense?"

[123] But far from it! No matter how invitingly we waved to them, how affably we clapped our hands, how graciously we pointed to our campsite, as though we were speaking to the Spaniard, "Sir, this house is your house," it did not help in the least. It was clear that this performance is official on the Schingú; we should be committing a breach of etiquette were we to speak of other things before we had thoroughly introduced ourselves to each other for half an hour.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The fishing grounds and the still productive fruit trees of the old villages were considered to be the domain of the Trumaí, and these rights were apparently respected by others. When the village moved in search of new land, it was usually to one of the old sites, whose name the new village would take.

The Trumaí were once feared by the other tribes of the upper Xingú and were evidently a relatively numerous and vigorous people. However, when Quain visited them in 1938, they numbered only 43, and only ten years later, in 1948, the population had shrunken to a meagre 25.[11] Their small numbers had forced them to abandon village life once since Quain's visit, but they subsequently reunited in a new community.[11a]

Warfare

The topography of the flat upper Xingú Basin encourages considerable contact between tribes. The waterways are extensive and have importance beyond subsistence, as they are the chief avenues of trade and warfare. Communication through the river and flood plain system is the main reason for the high degree of cultural homogeneity that has been achieved by these tribes of diverse origins and languages. Intertribal relations are not confined to trade and warfare, but enter the spheres of social organization, ceremonialism and mythology.

Intertribal bonds within the upper Xingú Basin were based on peaceful relations between the tribes. These tribes formed part of a bounded social system in which groups outside the area did not take part. The Bakairí Indians of the Paranatinga River were on a friendly basis with the headwaters groups only because they had once lived on the Batoví River. Other tribes were uniformly enemies, regardless of cultural or linguistic affinities. Despite this peaceful interaction among the upper Xingú villages, there was considerable mutual fear and hostility between them which was expressed in witchcraft, petty thievery and intimidation. The practice of sorcery upon other villages is especially significant, in that sorcery is used in nearly all cultures only between people who share close interpersonal ties. This illustrates better than anything else the high degree of intervillage integration in the upper Xingú River Basin. The component groups constitute far more than a culture area — they form a society.

Despite the nominal peace within the upper Xingú area, the Trumaí lived in dread of their neighbors, and with good reason.[12] Situated

[11] Oberg 1953, p. 4.

[11a] Latest reports state that a measles epidemic has wrought great havoc, and that the few survivors have all joined other groups.

[12] Although fear of neighboring groups is general in the upper Xingú, de Lima (1949, p. 25) noted it to be especially strong among the numerically weak Trumaí.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The plaza was the center of Trumaí social life. Here guests were entertained, ceremonials and wrestling matches were held, and the men gathered daily. Although the women might sit in front of their houses and watch these activities, they were not allowed to come near the log bench, even when the men were not there. The plaza of the Trumaí village was also used as the burying ground.

A short distance north of the circle of houses, on the path to the two main garden clearings of the Trumaí, was another smaller clearing used during the *ole*, or manioc, ceremonies. Other paths radiated outward from the village to the other gardens and to nearby groves of *piquí* trees. Quain noticed that the paths leading to the Kamayurá village were much broader and cleaner. The Kamayurá were proud of their paths and kept them in good condition. Their plaza was also clearer of weeds and trash than that of the Trumaí.

Of the four completed houses in the village, two were as large as those of the Kamayurá, but the other two, which were much smaller, were considered by Quain's informants to be genuinely Trumaí in type. Insofar as is known, the details of the construction and shape of all four were substantially the same. They had an elliptical floor plan and were haystack-shaped. Although the side walls were only four feet high, the roof attained a height of fifteen feet. The silhouette of the house was an almost smooth curve from ridge pole to ground. The frame was covered with a grass thatch. There were no windows, and a single entry opened on the plaza.

Each family occupied its own section of the house and had its own fireplace. Personal belongings hung from the walls and ceilings or were placed on small shelves. Hammocks were hung between the side wall posts and the two center posts, the woman's hammock beneath that of her husband. Except for two nuclear families that screened off their sections with blankets and cloth given them by Quain, there was no internal division of the house.

The two largest garden clearings were situated respectively about one mile northeast and one mile northwest of the village. Three small ones were located southeast of the settlement. In order of size, the gardens were named Nariatan, Waniwanitan, Anariatan, Tan Toreake, and Tandatake. Nariatan, the largest, contained, by Quain's rough calculation, approximately seven acres divided into ten plots, representing the gardens of seven men. One plot contained two acres, but the average garden varied between one-fourth and one acre in size. One of the men had erected a temporary thatch shelter in his plot, providing protection from the sun, but not from the rain. Inside there was only a basket of manioc flour, a rack for cooking fish, and a large shallow pot into which manioc was grated. This was the sole garden shelter Quain saw, and, significantly, it belonged to the most industrious horticulturist in the village.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The path which led from the village to Nariatan, the northwestern garden clearing, passed through the previously mentioned ceremonial clearing north of the village. A short distance beyond this point, a branch took off to the east and led to Waniwanitan, the northeastern and second largest clearing, which contained nine garden plots totaling approximately five acres. Each garden was tilled by a different man, but two men had plots in both Nariatan and Waniwanitan. The size of the average garden was one-half acre. There was no newly cleared land, and, in contrast to Nariatan which was still yielding, nearly all of the crop (mostly manioc) had either died or been harvested. Quain noticed that the soil in Nariatan had a gray tone, whereas that of Waniwanitan was reddish in hue. This difference in color was due to the ashes deposited by the more recent burning over of the former site.

Nariatan was a newer garden than Waniwanitan, and the former was planted to a variety of crops while the latter was nearly all in manioc. This is indicative of the common tropical forest slash and burn system whereby second year gardens are used only for manioc growing, and new areas in which the soil is still comparatively rich are used for other vegetables in addition to manioc. The Trumaí are unique, however, in that the garden clearing was divided into individually owned plots. Smaller individual gardens or large gardens cleared and cultivated collectively are the general rule in the rain forests of South America.

The three other clearings were small, and each contained one garden plot. One was one-quarter acre in size, while the other two each comprised one-half acre. These small gardens were connected with the village by separate paths and were closer to it than the two larger clearings. Anariatan, Nariatan and Waniwanitan were named after old village sites, but Quain knew of no abandoned locations from which the names Tan Toreake and Tandatake could have been derived.

Horticultural Techniques

It is difficult to assess the relative importance of horticulture, fishing and gathering in the subsistence economy of the Trumaí. At different times of the year each made the major contribution to the diet. Most garden products became available at about the middle of the rainy season, but manioc was dug up when needed throughout the year. Fish and manioc were staples the year-round, although fishing was poorer during the rains. Each was more important in the total diet than were the products of gathering. However, the subsistence of the Trumaí at certain times of the year, especially in the early part of the rainy season, would have been seriously threatened without the wild foods.

The agricultural cycle started in the early part of the dry season when the clearings needed for the next rainy season's gardens were made.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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226 although not everyone owned one. Quain also described Trumaí fish nets, but netting must have been a minor technique, as he did not see it practiced during his stay.

[171] Throughout the upper Xingú area it was common practice to construct fish dams across the mouths of lagoons. There were two such fish weirs in the Trumaí lagoon, one near its mouth, the other across a small inlet near the village. Their purpose was to block the fish from escape to the main stream when drugs were placed in the water. They were built by driving upright stakes into the floor of the lagoon, after which a wall of rubbish and branches was built against the fence. One dam was constructed by the village cooperatively, while the other was said to have been built by a single man.

226 423 The Trumaí lagoon was considered the property of the community, and the Trumaí maintained exclusive fishing rights in it. The water in the lagoon is clear in comparison to the muddy Kuluene, and the fishing excellent. A good proportion of the fishing was done there, especially when traps and poisons were used, but they also had fishing rights in other lagoons within the territory of abandoned Trumaí villages. In addition, they fished in the Kuluene and Kuliseu and ranged as far afield as the Batoví River.

576 [201] While most fishing trips were carried out within a day, some lasted two or three days. When the fishermen returned, they were greeted with a conventional shout by all the villagers. The shout was meant to welcome the food rather than the fishermen, and similar cries were heard when well laden gathering parties returned from a short jaunt into the forest.

501 422 226 About one-half of the men owned canoes, and according to Quain's informants, only six did not know how to build them. The bark canoes of the upper Xingú are not difficult to make, and it can be assumed that the community did not need more, inasmuch as fishing parties always consisted of two men. Larger groups went out of the village in a body when many fish were needed for a ceremony or to feed guests, but they usually split into pairs. Cooperative fishing groups of more than two men were needed only for drugging and perhaps for netting. On one *tuwasi* fishing expedition over half the males of the village went to the lagoon with bundles of shredded bark. Quain noted that this was one of the few examples of group labor transcending the immediate family.

226 571 Two-man fishing expeditions were composed of the owner or borrower of the canoe and his helper (*tau*). The *tau* generally paddled while the owner fished. Only while serving as a helper was he referred to as the *tau* of that man. Thus, if a person went as the helper of Makurawa, he was referred to as "Makurawatau." He shared in the catch, but whether he received less than the canoe owner is not indicated by the field notes. There seemed to be no fixed standard for the selection of the *tau*, nor

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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PLATE II

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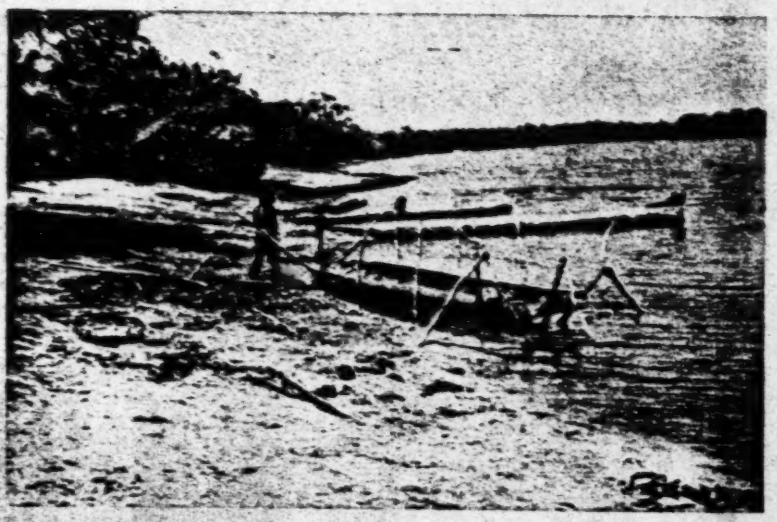

Trumaí camping at Karajaja

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Working Manioc

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

The situation was comparable to the previously mentioned communal planting of the garden of the Kamayurá, Uluku.

Canoes

The standard bark canoe of the upper Xingú was made and used by the Trumaí.[4] Construction was simple and much less time was required to complete it than the typical dugout canoe of the tropical forest. A long, rectangular piece of bark was cut from the *jatobá* tree by men standing on platforms. The bark was then heated over a fire to soften it. The sides were bent up, and the top end of the bark, which narrowed slightly, was made into the bow by bending it upwards. The center of the stern was bent inwards, allowing the whole stern to be well above the water. Leaks were mended with patches of river mud or clay. Propulsion was by paddle, although occasionally poles were used.

There was also one small dugout in the village which belonged to Aloari, Quain's cook and helper. Aloari had been a Yuruna captive, and it was undoubtedly during this experience that he had learned to make this type craft. He also had a bark canoe and was the only Trumaí to own two canoes.

Basketry

The Trumaí men manufactured baskets that were variously shaped and served several purposes. In general, the Trumaí were less skilled in this art than their upper Xingú neighbors. Among the baskets described by Quain was a deep, round tray made of *buriti* fiber and another which was used to store manioc flour and, when equipped with shoulder and forehead tumplines, to carry loads. The latter was an openwork container made of bark strips. A smaller basket of this type was made of *buriti* fibers. The manioc sieve, or *tuafi*, was made of stiff *buriti* fronds and was also used to store small articles. It was made by the women. The women also made a bark cloth bag known as the *idesnit*, a term that, in addition, designated the female pubic covering.

All of the baskets and similar containers described by Quain were made by other groups of the area, but the art of manufacturing certain varieties was known to only a few Trumaí. Some baskets were obtained in trade.

Textiles

All work in cotton was the exclusive province of the women. Hammocks of both twined and woven types were made. The loom consisted of two upright posts between which a warp of *buriti* fiber was extended.

[4] Cf. von den Steinen 1897, pp. 322–23.
[1.e. building Quain's house--Analyst]

/191/

000

Thirteenth Chapter

Meeting With the Trumaí

During the night Castro's canoe, the only one whose load was not brought to shore, floated away; in two hours it travels one legoa; Valentin and Satyr set out in pursuit.

122 31 Aug. φ 11° 46'.5, λ 31'.6, km. 18.12, total 466.81.
132 4:10 A.M.: I 744.0, dry. 19.2.
6:45 A.M.: I 744.6, II 737.0, dry. 19.4, wet. 19.0, strc. 9°, water 25.8.
5:40 P.M.: I 744.4, II 735.6, dry. 24.8, wet. 21.9, horizon hazy 4, wind = 0, water 27.9.
9:45 P.M.: I 745.0, dry. 20.8.

484 "Vem os compadres! oh, quantas canoas!" suddenly rang
• 501 out around 10:00; "the compadres are coming; oh, how many
609 canoes!" The soldiers hastened from the nearby camp in the forest; everyone armed himself and watched the canoes drawing up picturesquely in a long row -- and a magnificent sight it was as one after another came around the bend and slowly drifted down the Kulisëu. Two Indians stood erect, with quiet composure, their bows in readiness; a third sat in the center and scarcely moved the oar. We counted 14 canoes and 43 persons.

/191 cont./

484 In perfect order, as though this were a carefully rehearsed theatri-
501 cal performance /192/ supported by very successful scenery, the
609 long, narrow craft glided silently along, a considerable distance from our praia /sandy shore; see the glossary, p. 172 /, closer to the opposite wooded shore; no command sounded. Almost all [291] [302] [289] the naked occupants were painted black and bright red on faces and bodies, many simply blackened all over with soot; on their heads they wore white feather caps, the hair was cut short all [411] around, as among the Bakaïrí; the standing ones were overtopped by the bows, almost two and a half meters long, and in the left hand held a thick bundle of colorfully feathered arrows.

609 Gradually they came to a stop and the stillness was followed
576 by a dreadful noise, a fanatical howling and bellowing. There [101] could be no doubt but that they were Trumaí, for they shouted this word incessantly as though their lives depended on it, beat their fists against their chests, and at the same time made bows with their upper bodies all the more violently since their legs had little room for lively gesticulation. Nevertheless, if any of us had behaved half as excitedly in the canoe, we would surely have fallen hopelessly into the water at the very beginning of the imitation. But we were on firm ground, and the example is contagious. We, too, howled; we, too, bellowed; we, too, beat our chests. Everybody shouted whatever he happened to remember of an Indian language: "Katú, hekatú Trumaí, Bakaïrí, Kustenaú," interspersed with an occasional lusty "diavo," heiliges Donnerwetter /hang it all/ in German, "don't these fellows have any sense?"

[123] But far from it! No matter how invitingly we waved to them, how affably we clapped our hands, how graciously we pointed to our campsite, as though we were speaking to the Spaniard, "Sir, this house is your house," it did not help in the least. It was clear that this performance is official on the Schingú; we should be committing a breach of etiquette were we to speak of other things before we had thoroughly introduced ourselves to each other for half an hour.

1: Steinen--75 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi
Trumai SP28

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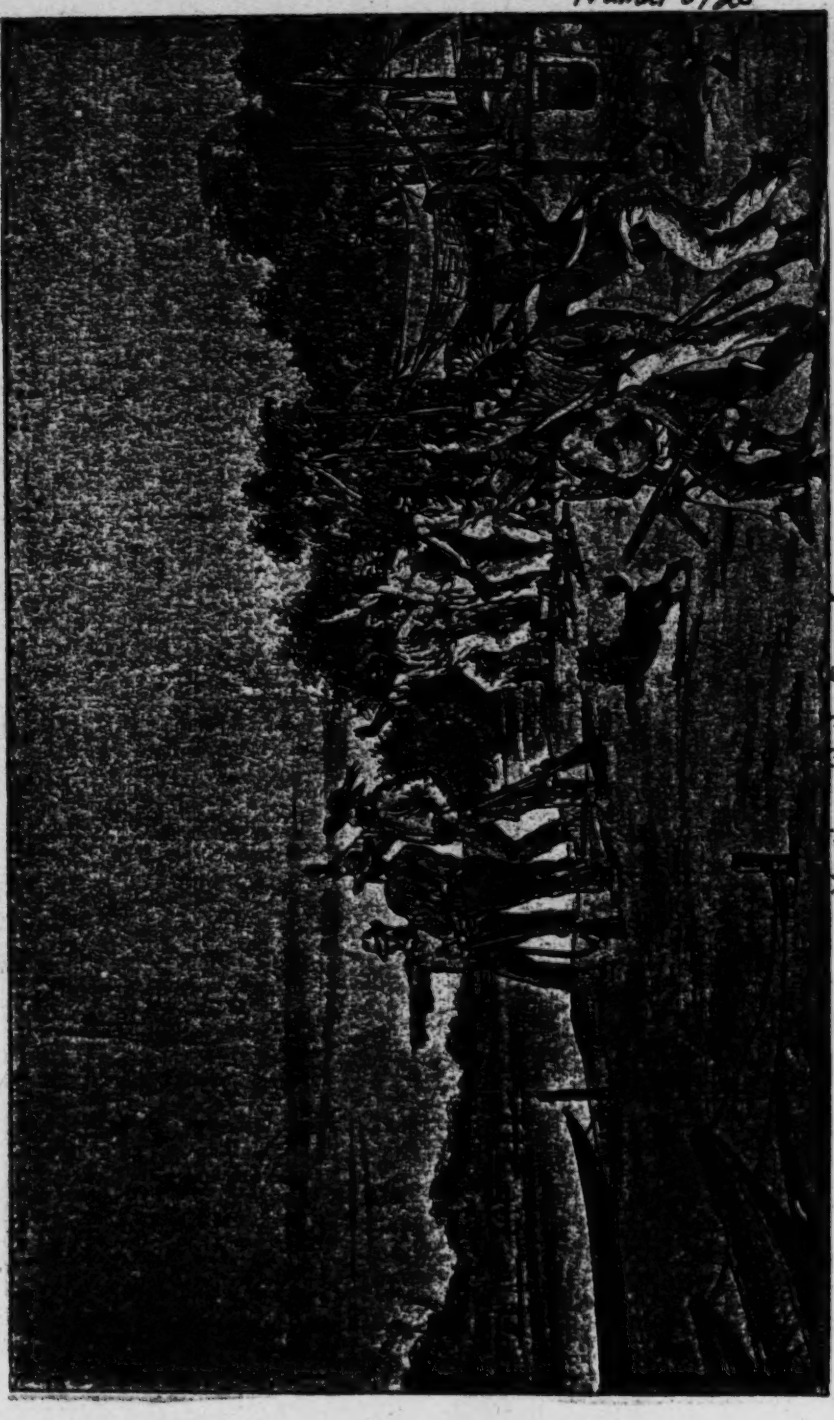

Meeting with the Trumai.

/195 cont./

301 a head-net, above which they pointed upwards, sticking out on
237 all sides, and into which they could be bent back to protect them
415 after use. There was also a dainty little pot with a notched edge,
283 and red cotton strings which several Trumaí wore around the waist
276 or around the lower leg. There was some tobacco wrapped in
415 green leaves; on the beach there were also a few gourd vessels
272 containing insipid, pasty mingau[1] which was just as poor as the mandioca bread.

142 There was no indication that the Trumaí are on a higher level than the Bakaïrí; as far as their body structure is concerned, I did not notice anything peculiar during the brief encounter; in size they did not differ from the Bakaïrí and Kustenaú. The fact that they appeared so ugly in the face may have been due to the
291 disfigurement. They protect themselves against penetrating in-
825 sects in the strangest and most primitive manner -- præputium filo gossypii rubro ante glandem farciminis instar constringunt /the foreskin is bound with red cotton thread in front of the glans in such a manner as to look like farcy/. This arrangement may also be useful in the water against the prying candiru fish.

123 What now? A closer study of the Trumaí is, of course, inconceivable. War has been declared; we have no choice but to disappear from the scene of action as quickly as possible. We are forced to forego all further soundings and measurements and bid the Kuliseu farewell. We can still draw one advantage from the awkward situation, however. Since we have departed this far from the path of virtue, we need not have any scruples about transgressing still more. After all, we did not get back our fine ax (two canoes capsized and sank when the Trumaí fled to land). Why should we hesitate to exchange the most warped and defective canoes for those abandoned there, which are well built and excellently dried out?

501 /196/ Several men are sent out and return with three canoes
171 and a few oars, which do not differ from those of the Bakaïrí; one of them is for Valentin and me, a second will be pulled
000 along as a reserve, the third goes to the sergeant. Meanwhile Castro's craft has also been brought home.

[1] [i.e. a drink mixed with manioc flour--Analyst]

/241 cont./

Y 411 [824] [237] The bows are four-edged, dark brown, a little over two meters long; the arrows are of cambaiuva, a light, hard reed, with pretty, colored feathers, pointed bones, or long bamboo blades. Heavy, dark brown clubs, one meter 35 centimeters long, Y [439] the shape of a staff, and nicely grooved, come from the Karajá (2).

2. Cf. the second ethnographic plate /see p. 168/.

Y 501 The oars have a flared crook by which one levers with the one hand, while the other grasps the shank, and a broad blade Y [531] which works powerfully in the water; I found one painted with a simple line pattern. (Handle 62 centimeters, blade 83 centimeters long.)

Y [824] The ubá is not a bark canoe, but rather a tree canoe consisting of a cedar trunk hollowed out with fire and ax. Ten persons could easily sit in the largest ones, without any goods to limit the space.

In front and rear a horizontal footboard is left where the hollowing begins.

B I S ● 501 I measured the canoes that brought us safely this far; besides the single canoe that we ourselves made on the Batovy, the flotilla contained specimens of the shipbuilding art of the Bakaïrí, Trumaí, and Suyá:

	Length	Center Width above	Center Width below	Depth	Width of Stern	Thickness of Bark
Ours from Batovy	6.70	70 cm.	56 cm.	27.5 cm.	67 cm.	37 mm.
Bakaïrí	8	64	56	24	63	11-21
Trumaí	7.70	53	39	27	57	16
Suyá	9	65	54	33	59	19

Y 501 Yuruna ubá: length 10.60 meters, greatest width 95 centimeters, depth 39 centimeters, thickness of wall 25 millimeters. Front footboard: one meter long, 90 centimeters wide. Rear footboard: 57 centimeters long, 44 centimeters wide.

/122 cont./

123 152 half an hour renewed howling and women's screams announced the arrival of Wilhelm and Carlos, who were led up and likewise gave expression to their friendly intentions with words and gestures.

142 /123/ There were mostly small, frail figures with small heads, receding chins, and ugly faces; among the old women there were truly magnificent specimens of witch-models. The 291 women in part wore the triangular uluri, in part a wardrobe garment new to us, a grayish-white bast loop that was drawn over 194 the hips and thickened into a small roll. The language in its cadence reminded us not a little of that of the Suyá, with which it had in common the nagging, squeezed habitus and could be immediately distinguished from all the Kulisehu languages by the frequent terminal sound of ts and by the f.

727 It was strange that the Trumaí had let themselves be taken by surprise in this way. Probably they had fled from the Suyá who had plundered their villages and from us at the same time. Their scouts, who were roving about among the Auetó, Yaulapiti, and Kamayurá, probably believed that we would not return directly to the Auetó from the Kamayurá, but would go to Schingú-Koblenz in order to join Perrot and Vogel, whose trip was already known to them, and reach the Auetó harbor on the river. The camp of the fugitives presented a spectacle of [162] disorder and confusion. There were about 50 persons in all; [352] numerous small fires were burning beside the brown hammocks, bundles of all kinds lay about and hung from the trees; the shelter-huts of the Auetó plantation remained unused. The • [501] Indians had come in part by way of the canals: a small flotilla of canoes had drawn up in the swampy water nearby, many of them in bad shape and where necessary pasted up merely with lumps of loam.

437 The beijús, the filled gourd bowls, and the cigars were necessarily lacking at this reception. They brought small balls of cotton and asked for beads. Unfortunately, we had given away almost everything to the Kamayurá and could therefore not offer much. With the remains, however, a few

SP8 Bororo
Trumai SP23
Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25

T 101 361 648

The Trumai were met on the west bank of the Kuluseu, between the Anahukua and Mehinaku ports. They had no canoes. We learned that their village was close to the Batovy. It would seem that they also have shifted their village site since Von den Steinen's encounter with them. [50]

All of these people live at peace with each other, though of course quarrels arose at times. Their common enemies are, however, the tribes living to the east and west, tribes that roam across the headwaters and depend on hunting rather than fishing for food.

B 101 829

The Bakairi gave the following list of tribes that are supposed to live in the forests east of the Kuluene: Kayahó (Kayapó); Kaviji; Turi; Maritsava; Phoi, who are pygmies, a little over a metre high; Penehoko, who are a very large people; Tsuyakadi, who also are very large; Yaruma; Suya; Tsuruna; and, on the Paranatinga, the Tonali, who are also known as Kayabi, Kajabi; Apiakala (Apiaka) and the Pana, who are a very tall people.

Y 101 829 648

The Kalapalu gave the names of the following tribes who are supposed to live to the east of the Kuluene and with whom they are permanently in a state of war: lower part of Kuluene, the Siuya (Suya) and Tsuruna (Juruna); directly to the east of their village, the Ahinkotl, Turi, Jaruma, Tumbilyaka, Kayapo (big feet) Alitsowa, Aiiva, Yahã, Ravine, Aruga (hide away to kill people), Yarpitsu (kill people), Tahulgi (pygmies). [See map, Plate XXV.]

Y B 648

Our attempt to meet some of these tribes that are supposed to have their villages close to the banks of the Seventh of September river was not successful. In view of the above linguistic grouping of the tribes, it is interesting to note their attitude toward each other. The Bakairi, who are Caribs, distrust and fear the Anahukua, who are of the same linguistic stock, affirming to me again and again that they are a bad people. They were relieved when we left their neighborhood. On the other hand they praised the Mehinaku, and were not even afraid to leave their goods about. The Mehinaku are Arawaks. My canoemen were also at ease with the Aura and the Yawalapiti, and seemed to expect nothing from the Trumai, whom they considered an inferior and poor people. The Auiti were watched with suspicion, but the Kamayula were actually feared, as well as the Tsuva, Kuikutl and Kalapalu, the first being Tupi and the last three Caribs; but the Paravute were praised for their honesty and peaceful disposition, and seemed to recognize in the Bakairi,

C

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

105 182 648 in the Trumaí community, for, as Oberg notes, no adult male would choose to live with a people of such low status.[1]

105 162 It might be expected that the Trumaí could have compensated for this drain by raising their birth rate. However, in this population of 43 persons, there were only ten children, an extremely small number when the low average life span is considered. Furthermore, only two of the children were females. Of the approximately twelve women who 105 were capable of bearing children, only one was pregnant, and the others 163 were urging her to abort her child. Thus, infanticide and abortion were 161 taking a heavy toll in the Trumaí village.

847 845 The custom of killing twins and of spacing births three or four years apart are reported by Oberg for the Kamayurá,[2] and these factors may well have been present in the Trumaí situation. The long post-natal [171] taboo on sexual intercourse had the same effect. Wagley, who studied the dying but equally unacculturated Tapirapé, found that traditional practices were contributing to the complete depopulation of that group also.[3]

105 161 178 154 But among the Trumaí there is still another and less tangible dimension. Abortion may have been urged on a pregnant woman because she had no husband, but how is one to explain the killing of two of Aloari's children without his consent, or the fact that there were eight male and only two female children in the community? The limited information available suggests that the Trumaí were purposely restricting their number and committing suicide, perhaps unintentionally, in the process. Two reasons for this extreme behavior may be hypothesized: first, the impasse in which the Trumaí found themselves because of the steady depopulation made them so personally insecure and apathetic regarding both the present and the future that they were no longer willing to rear sizable families, despite their evident devotion to children; and second, they may not have thought it possible to produce the surplus necessary to support such families. Actually, however, even with their diminished numbers the Trumaí could have increased their food supply.

105 ● 511 433 226 Their lowered standard of living was due to more than attitudes. Loss of population no doubt also decreased the yield of Trumaí fishing and therefore limited their chief source of protein. To be sure, bow and arrow fishing was little affected, but fish poisoning, the only communal subsistence technique practiced by them, was much less effective when employed by a small group, for a few people can adequately poison only smaller watercourses and branches of lagoons, while a greater number can cover larger streams and whole lagoons. In the latter circumstance, both the take would be larger and larger species would be available. Moreover, when the waters are heavily poisoned and enough people are present to reap the "harvest," there is less chance of fish escaping. Thus, up to

[1] Oberg 1953, p. 15. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 62. [3] Wagley 1940.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

a certain point at least, the take increases geometrically with the number of persons participating.

In gardening, also, which was not practiced collectively, their small number decreased Trumaí security. It was common for nearly all the village men to plant their gardens in clearings adjacent to those of their neighbors. Obviously, if one part of such a single, extended clearing was improperly fired, or if the crops were destroyed by armadillos or wild pigs, the whole village might be without food. Crop failure for a variety of causes is common in the tropical forests, but most aboriginal communities in South America have several separated garden clearings, each owned by an individual or extended family. If one garden fails, the family can, in a period of emergency, reap from others. Oberg relates that the Trumaí once had to turn for food to the Kamayura,[4] perhaps because of the failure of the village clearing.

It is, of course, possible that in the past the Trumaí organized their gardens along the more rational lines of the Kamayurá;[5] and it is also possible that they never made a proper ecological adaptation subsequent to their arrival in the upper Xingú region. But lacking information on their economy prior to their decimation, we cannot make any firm statement on these points. However, it is certain that, despite their small numbers, the individual Trumaí could have cleared and planted much more land. The average size of the gardens observed by Quain was one-half acre, and this area had to feed up to four people. Many men also had old gardens which were planted only to manioc. According to Quain's calculations, the total acreage of Trumaí gardens was only a little over thirteen. Since yields from forest soils are not high, it is evident that this very small area must have barely met the needs of a population of 43 persons. Manifestly, the Trumaí did not work hard enough; and it seems evident that their lack of application did more to impoverish them than any other single factor.

If the other upper Xingú tribes are used as criteria to establish what Trumaí society was like before its decline, some very serious dysfunctions within Trumaí social structure soon become apparent. To be sure, such a comparison is an arbitrary procedure; and it is only invoked here for its heuristic value. Since village and house patrilocality is the usual mode of residence among the Trumaí, a household similar to that of the Kamayurá, and with like functions, might be expected and might indeed have existed in the past. However, the Trumaí death rate in 1938 was so high that these units disintegrated before they had gone beyond the embryonic stage. House membership was shifting, the number of persons involved small, and leadership nebulous. And since kinship was the principal mechanism for structuring interpersonal relationships in Trumaí society, this lack of a stable, kin-structured unit probably did

[4] Oberg 1953, p. 42. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 45.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

Black zig-zags on a grayish background were painted on the body of one of the singers. Many designs were undoubtedly conventionalized, but seemingly not according to rigid standards.

All of these designs were observed on men. The women painted themselves much less often, and their patterns were far simpler. Blackened foreheads and black streacks on the thighs were most common. The latter looked as if the women had merely wiped their hands on their thighs after having painted their husbands.

Children also had their bodies painted. Some of the boys blackened their faces or had black dots put on their chests. One little girl had black angles painted on her cheek by her mother. Children's and women's body designs were simple and required little paint. The men reserved most of the paint for themselves.

A husband's painting was often done by his wife, but men frequently adorned themselves or another man, particularly a younger close relative. There may also have been specialized knowledge of certain designs. Only one man was said to be able to make the zig-zag snake pattern, and he painted it on the bodies of others.

Work Patterns

Accompanying the low degree of specialization and cooperation in production was a lack of rhythm in the work habits of the Trumaí. The day started at about three or four o'clock in the morning. At this time many persons got out of their hammocks to fan their fires and huddle around them, for these were the chilliest hours. The men might get together at this time and talk while the women prepared food. Not much work was done then. At most, a man might add some thatch to his house. By sunrise everyone was awake, and the women went in a body to a nearby arm of the lagoon to bathe and draw containers of water. The men usually went to bathe a little later in pairs or alone. After bathing, everyone ate, and the work day really began.

Those who intended to garden went out early and labored until ten or eleven o'clock, that is, while it was cool and insects were less troublesome. As a rule, they ate again upon returning and then stayed in the village the rest of the day, working at various crafts as the spirit moved them. Actually a good deal of time was spent loafing and sleeping.

Those who planned to fish started out in the morning, but usually after the gardeners had departed. Unless a two or three day trip was planned, they commonly returned by four o'clock, and always before dark. Occasionally a group of men and women went to the lagoon to spend a day or two making salt.

One of the striking features of Trumaí economic activity was the number of different tasks done by various people on the same day.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

Agendas were ordinarily based on the immediate needs of the household or the desire for some variety in their diet. Food, however, was shared widely, and this probably robbed most work of any sense of urgency. Apparently, each man's plans for the day were determined in part by the season, in part by the household needs, and in part by what he felt like doing.

Some men stayed in the village all day, sleeping and working intermittently at small tasks. The women spent more time in the village than the men. Their work was done in the house or, if outside, in the shade of the house. Since male work was done largely in the morning, most of the men had ample time in the afternoon for trade, wrestling, and other diversions. The trade game was an especially popular indoor activity on rainy days.

Much less work was probably done during the rainy season, for planting would be finished, the *piqui* would be harvested, and the heavy rains would confine people to the village. However, there was much less seasonal variation for the women, as they had to continue to make *beijú*, weave, cook, and care for their households — the ordinary female chores, whatever the month.

Trumaí economic life was loosely organized. Few types of labor transcended the nuclear family, which was the basic unit of economic cooperation and interdependence. The inventory of material culture was sparse, and workmanship was not highly developed. What the Trumaí did not make, they could obtain by trade. From the standpoint of technology, the Trumaí were more backward than other tribes in the upper Xingú area, perhaps a reflection of their more recent settlement in the region.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

592 578 friendly terms tended to join in forming a household, and third, it was probably considered desirable to suppress ill feeling within the house.

571 578 592 The unfriendliness between Maibu and the men of Aloari's family existed side by side with close gift-giving obligations between their two houses. According to Aloari's brother Oirupa, he *pans* (gives) to all the people of his own house and also to all the people of Maibu's house. Residence was the crucial factor, for when Yanahi and Mayuva moved from his house, Oirupa no longer gave to them. Similarly, the two other houses had close gift-giving ties. The women united according to this house division when an attack was thought imminent.

114 592 602 Insofar as can be ascertained from Quain's genealogical data, there were no special kin bonds between the households of Maibu and Aloari, on one hand, and Jakwanari and Nitvary, on the other, to explain this moiety-like division. But it is of interest that the houses of both Maibu and Aloari were the large type of domicile, like those of the Kamayurá, whereas the other pair of houses were the smaller "true" Trumaí type. It is possible that the residents of one pair of houses, perhaps the smaller, were the descendants of inhabitants of the southern village.

The Nuclear Family

594 Despite the importance of the household and the bilateral consanguineal group, the nuclear family, consisting of man, wife, and children, was still the basic unit of Trumaí society and economy. The biological family could provide nearly all the necessities of life within the previously outlined framework of individualized production and division of labor between the sexes.

The responsibilities of child-rearing fell largely on the nuclear family. The Trumaí showed a fondness for children, and it was not unusual for other adults in the house to play with them and watch over them; but the chief attention came from the parents, and the dependence of the young upon the father and mother was stronger than upon the rest of the household.

[513] 593 The conjugal group had its own hearth near which its hammocks were strung. Very young children slept with the mother or, if motherless, with the father. Couples were companionable and spent much of their leisure time with each other. It was common for a man and wife to sit in the shade of their house in the afternoon while he made arrows and she worked on a hammock. At other times the couple would go on a short [832] gathering trip, or just idle around the house. Embraces or mild sex play often occurred in public between younger mates.

593 156 Some unions were closer than others. Aloari and his wife Yumunuwa spent more time together and showed more affection than did other couples. They were both young; he was virile and aggressive, and she

four, three between five and seven, two between seven and ten, and the other two between ten and twelve. The little girl could not as yet walk alone. The two youngest boys could, although occasionally they still suckled at their mother's breasts.

The Trumaí infant was subjected to very little training. Rarely was the very young child told not to do anything. However, all the children except for Katsits, the infant girl, knew that they should defecate in the bush and urinate away from the village plaza. Katsits very often eliminated in the house, or while she was in her mother's arms. X'utsi, the mother, merely scraped a bit of dirt over the wet spot. She gave no indication to the child that this was an undesirable act, and the child took no note of her own activity. Exactly how a child learned to exert self-control is not clear, but it was probably by emulating older children and adults, whose toilet habits were hardly a secret.

The child suckled until it was five or six years of age, although it began to partake of the ordinary diet by the end of the first year. Yumunuwa said that she suckled Tsirikoan three times a day: morning, noon, and evening. This was not a strict regimen, for the boy often crawled into her lap or straddled her waist and suckled at odd hours. Until about five years old, the child slept in the mother's hammock, or if motherless, with the father. Often it slept with the mother's breast in its mouth, and if it awoke during the night, it suckled until it fell asleep again.

The nursing of older children is a perpetuation of the infantile pattern, and it is indicative of the lack of stress on weaning. Also, because of infanticide and the low birth rate, there is little cause for sibling rivalry among the Trumaí.

Help was given the child in learning to walk and talk. The men appeared to devote more attention to this phase of upbringing than the women. Katsits was often walked about by her father, and sometimes by Maibu or other men who lived in the same house. Her father was eager to have her walk by herself so that he would not need to coach her, but nevertheless he and the other adults showed the greatest indulgence and patience in this task.

Part of the father's anxiety was doubtless due to the taboos which restricted his activity until his child had learned to walk. The most important of these was a ban on sexual intercourse. When Katsits developed colic, it was generally thought to be the outcome of coitus between the parents. Certain foods were also forbidden the father, one being seasoned fish hash, which was a great favorite. It is not known whether the mother was also required to observe food taboos.

More emphasis was placed on teaching the child to speak. The adults and older children made repeated attempts to put words into the mouths of the very young, saying the same phrases over and over again. In this

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

APPENDIX

Buell Quain, in a letter to the late Dr. Ruth Benedict written from Brazil on December 21, 1938, summarized several aspects of Trumaí culture which have a direct and immediate bearing on their decline. Following are excerpts of ethnological interest from this letter, which was discovered after this monograph was completed:

"They are a dying culture. Each generation improves its imitation of Kamayurá culture. Everyone in the village knows a few Kamayurá words. Almost all the songs in the manioc fertility ceremony are Kamayurá. Half the people in the village can carry on a conversation in Kamayurá with ease. One household (there are four) uses Kamayurá in preference to Trumaí. The mother of the house owner speaks no Trumaí; she is a Kamayurá woman who has lived with the Trumaí for about twenty-five years. The child of the household, a ten year old girl, confuses Kamayurá kinship terms with Trumaí in classifying the village. All Trumaí women between twenty and forty have been captive wives among the Kamayurá (which puts the Trumaí men in a peculiar position which they fully but fruitlessly resent) .... They have lots of disorganized leisure. They are sleepy (in part because of insects and fear throughout the night). They are ready to imitate not only the Kamayurá, but me, in petty daily habits. No outsider speaks Trumaí.

"There is nobody among them who volunteers information of ethnological value. For three months I dug for structure and got very little... Dullness cannot be attributed to the climate.

"The village is small .... Each of the four households — now five because of a recent split — are organized, or perhaps disorganized, according to different sociological principals. Three of the seventeen women are of foreign birth; one is Kamayurá, one is Mehinaku, and one is Suyá. The first two speak no Trumaí. A fourth woman with ringworm and two sick children is said to be Yaulapití, but she is well set in Trumaí culture. Nobody claims her as a relative (in part because of aversion toward her ringworm); hence she is used as a prostitute by every man in the village — she is the village joke. Among the men, I have found remarkably uniform responses to various 'tests'. (I said 'Draw a picture of a woman and a man.' Every man but one drew the woman first and oriented her in a distinctive way on the paper. The women showed no such regularity. One Kamayurá man tested also lacked this stereotyped response.)

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577 Yanahi was less inhibited than any of the other men, but his be-
831 havior was not considered shocking or immoral. Quain had apparently
833 arrived at the village just at the time that Yanahi was on the threshold
156 of sexual experience. He appeared in Quain's house one night to show
123 that he had an erection and announced that he would soon be having coitus. Thereafter, he rarely failed to tell Quain of his exploits. One night quite a crowd, including Yanahi and one of his paramours, Vatsiat, was gathered in Quain's house. The young man suddenly developed a longing for her and, as soon as all the visitors had left, satisfied his craving noisily amidst Quain's pots and pans. He was proud of his virility, as were most of the Trumaí men.

577 No discredit attached to the male involved in a love affair and very
831 little to the woman. Oirupa merely scolded his sister for having copu-
562 lated with Yanahi. Only where adultery was involved did promiscuity
837 lower the status of a woman. Chastity before marriage was not expected, and there was not a single virgin in the village over the age of puberty. Older women without husbands or close relatives to protect them were often used for sexual purposes against their will. This was especially the case with unmarried foreign women. Some of them complained that they had to dispense their favors to too many men too often.

831 This aggressiveness and the danger of bride-capture made the women
152 extremely fearful of being raped, and, as noted above, they were
583 uneasy even when the threats were made in fun. One morning Quain decided to get rid of his numerous female visitors by employing this
[123] device. They all fled except one, who, despite her seeming courage, looked worried. Without doubt, the women enjoyed visiting Quain, but a man told him that if he were to have intercourse with any one of them, they would all fear him. Over and above this fear of rape, there
[578] was a definite hostility between the sexes, which was usually well controlled, but which on occasion might explode in open quarrels between the men and the women.

576 No cumbersome taboos surrounded physiological functions. Belching
514 and the release of flatus were common in company, but generally dis-
827 regarded. However, if an unusually unpleasant odor followed, those nearby spat on the ground as a mark of disgust. The men urinated near their houses or at the edge of the village plaza. The women went to the edge of the village clearing or behind the houses. Both sexes went a short distance into the brush to defecate, but at night elimination was permitted in the village plaza if a hole was first dug for this purpose and covered over.

There was no salacious attitude toward body processes. The Trumaí were puzzled by Quain's desire for privacy in his personal habits and his curiosity about other people's. One woman seriously asked if she could watch him eliminate.

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The main motivation for going into the brush to defecate was not modesty, but a feeling of revulsion for body products. One did not eliminate in places frequented by people. Yanahi was disgusted when Quain defecated in his garden and claimed that the garden was ruined. Similarly, it was considered repulsive to defecate in the water. When Quain described the great ship that had brought him to Brazil, the only thing that the Trumaí found hard to believe was that the people aboard would have to eliminate in the water.

The rules of etiquette required a person entering or leaving company to make an appropriate statement. The salutation usually consisted of a phrase stating what the person being greeted was doing at the moment. Thus, typical greetings were, "You are eating," "You have returned from fishing," "You are sitting," and so on. When leaving a person or group it was proper to announce, "I am leaving," followed generally by a statement of what one was going to do. If this last was not observed, the departing person was usually asked where he was going. These formalities were not as regularly invoked in the larger gatherings as in house-visiting.

The rules of etiquette also required the emission of conventionalized cries on particular occasions, such as the bringing of food into the village or the offering of tobacco to guests. In the latter case the person making the presentation cried "*aha*," the recipient "*ha-a-a ha ha ha*." These amenities, which were observed between the Trumaí, were always louder when an outsider was involved.

Hospitality was extended to all upper Xingú Indians and white men who visited the village. In part this was inspired by a fear of their neighbors, in part by etiquette. The Trumaí had little reason to fear Quain; yet he was treated with the greatest kindness and consideration, and everyone was eager to converse with him. Indeed, their attentions were so constant that at times he wanted nothing more than to be left alone.

While the men were far more self-assertive than the women, they were also extremely sensitive. They were insulted at the refusal of a request, or at the denial of what they considered to be the recognition due them as individuals. They did not like to be treated as faceless members of a group. During the argument that followed Quain's complaint that some article of his had been stolen, Maibu criticized him for addressing them collectively as "Trumaí," while they always called him "*capitão*" or by his name.

The Trumaí were greatly interested in Western goods and their behavior toward whites was unrestrained. The following quotation from Quain's field notes describes this succinctly:

> The reason why it is so difficult to live with these people is that they are so "impolite." At least in their dealings with me, an outsider, and with the mission-

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531 Black zig-zags on a grayish background were painted on the body of one
302 of the singers. Many designs were undoubtedly conventionalized, but seemingly not according to rigid standards.

All of these designs were observed on men. The women painted themselves much less often, and their patterns were far simpler. Blackened foreheads and black streacks on the thighs were most common. The latter looked as if the women had merely wiped their hands on their thighs after having painted their husbands.

Children also had their bodies painted. Some of the boys blackened their faces or had black dots put on their chests. One little girl had black angles painted on her cheek by her mother. Children's and women's body designs were simple and required little paint. The men reserved most of the paint for themselves.

A husband's painting was often done by his wife, but men frequently adorned themselves or another man, particularly a younger [illegible] relative. There may also have been specialized knowledge of certain designs. Only one man was said to be able to make the zig-zag snake pattern, and he painted it on the bodies of others.

Work Patterns

46 Accompanying the low degree of specialization and cooperation in
512 production was a lack of rhythm in the work habits of the Trumaí. The day started at about three or four o'clock in the morning. At this time many persons got out of their hammocks to fan their fires and huddle around them, for these were the chilliest hours. The men might get together at this time and talk while the women prepared food. Not much work was done then. At most, a man might add some thatch to his house. By sunrise everyone was awake, and the women went in a
[515] body to a nearby arm of the lagoon to bathe and draw containers of water. The men usually went to bathe a little later in pairs or alone. After bathing, everyone ate, and the work day really began.

Those who intended to garden went out early and labored until ten or eleven o'clock, that is, while it was cool and insects were less trouble-
[264] some. As a rule, they ate again upon returning and then stayed in the village the rest of the day, working at various crafts as the spirit moved them. Actually a good deal of time was spent loafing and sleeping.

Those who planned to fish started out in the morning, but usually after the gardeners had departed. Unless a two or three day trip was planned, they commonly returned by four o'clock, and always before
[258] dark. Occasionally a group of men and women went to the lagoon to spend a day or two making salt.

One of the striking features of Trumaí economic activity was the number of different tasks done by various people on the same day.

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Diagnosis and Treatment of Disease

Illness was believed to be caused primarily by witchcraft and, secondarily, by the breaking of a taboo or by contagion. Headaches, bloated stomach (*pihl*) and stomach aches were among the common symptoms of bewitchment. The tremendous fear of black magic probably added greatly to the severity of these afflictions. During Quain's stay the women appeared to complain more of sorcery as a cause of their illnesses than did the men, but this self-diagnosis was not always accepted.

Trumaí concepts regarding contagion were generally loose, and they often fused with witchcraft beliefs. Contagion was acknowledged to be a possible cause of illness, but if death followed, it would in all probability be laid to sorcery. The Trumaí knew that epidemics of pulmonary diseases were associated with the coming of white men, and they were especially worried that when the rainy season arrived Quain would give them coughs and fevers. Indeed, one night when Quain complained of illness and retired to his hammock with a headache, this eventuality was vigorously discussed.

The Trumaí called such a threat *tun*, a word that can be translated only as a malignant influence causing disease. *Tun* was said to exist around sick people or in places where there was known to be danger of contamination. Thus, when several of the people of Jakwanari's household were sick, everyone avoided the house, for it was full of *tun*. Aloari said that the waterfront, also, was full of *tun*. He preferred to bathe from a pottery vessel outside his house. Ringworm, however, was known to be caused by natural means.

The word *okei*, while referring to sorcery under certain conditions, was also a general term for medicinal preparations. Thus, *okei* of various kinds were used in different stages of the life crisis rituals and also in the treatment of various ailments. Roots were extensively used for medicinal purposes. Maibu rubbed his wife's head with the extract of a root (*ipox*) when she had a headache. Another root (*murukuyu*) supplied the basic ingredient for eye drops, and still another was prescribed for ringworm.

The Trumaí were subject to severe boils which were treated by piercing. This was a woman's specialty, and it was usually done by the wife or a close relative of the afflicted person. All other curing, both secular and supernatural, was done by men. Herbal medicines were used exclusively for such ailments as ringworm, but most cures involved both botanical and supernatural means used in conjunction.

Illness was treated by both individual curers and group ceremonies. The practice of individual shamanistic curing, known as *jau'kath*, had much in common with similar arts throughout South America. The main techniques employed were tobacco smoke and sucking. Great

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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compartment in the house for six months, at the end of which time she is accepted as a young woman.[3]

Menstruation caused no special distress to the Trumaí women. They maintained personal cleanliness with the aid of leaves, going out into the brush behind the house to care for themselves. Although the relevant taboos were observed, the women talked frankly to Quain about menstruation, and were interested in learning what white women did during the period. The men, although expressing a fear of menstrual blood, did not shun the subject either. Most of them knew when women in the village were having their menses.

Everyone was extremely shocked when Quain told them that white people often had intercourse during the menstrual period, for such contact would make a Trumaí man fall ill and die. Aloari said that he would surely die of a cough if he copulated with his wife then. The blood itself was considered malignant, infecting whatever it touched. The whole village became very disturbed when Kuyafi dropped some menstrual blood on the path to the gardens. Aloari averred that he would not go for manioc until the rain washed it away.

Fear of polluting forced a menstruating woman to make frequent trips to the weeds, where nobody walked. The danger also extended to her person. During this time she was not allowed to cook, although she could sit around the fire when food was being prepared. (Quain's departure from the Trumaí village was delayed for a day as both the wife and sister-in-law of Aloari, who was to accompany him, were menstruating, and there was only one woman left in the household to make his *beijú* supply.) Nor could the menstruating woman carry water or take a bath. However, a prohibition on eating fish was the only food taboo that she had to observe.

Marriage

A man was ready to seek a mate within one or two years after his initiation, or at the corresponding age level. Women were suitable prospects soon after their puberty rites. It was common for marriages to be arranged by parents while their children were still infants. These infant betrothals were usually between cross-cousins. It is doubtful, however, whether many such arranged marriages were consummated, both because of the high mortality and the fact that most of the Trumaí women were ultimately fought for and won by verbal battles in the men's circle.

Courtships were neither long nor formalized. When a man developed an interest in a woman, he usually expressed it by attempting to seduce her. In most instances, amorous advances were made without any in-

[3] Rodrigues Ferreira 1946, p. 92.

B 142 /172 cont./

especially the "Egyptian woman" of the first village, with her narrow face and her long, slightly aquiline nose, showed great resemblance to the women of the ancient kingdom of the Nile, as these have come down to us.

B T 142 Bulging foreheads were found here and there among all tribes, but they were typical of the Trumaí and doubly conspicuous among these little people. They also had the greatest prognathism and the most receding chins; they had a narrow nasal root and little space between the eyes, while the Mehinakú were striking because of their slight prognathism, protruding chin, wide, low faces, and eyes far apart. The faces of the Nahuquá differed from those of the Bakaïrí in their coarser character; in contrast to the oval shape of the latter, they had a somewhat square and thick-set one, with very prominent jaw angles. The most finely chiseled faces were to be found among the Kamayurá.

The iris was dark brown and only as an exception light brown; the Trumaí had relatively light eyes. We found one blue-eyed Nahuquá. He had nothing special in the way of hair and skin color; his hair was black and quite straight. He was the father of a young man with dark brown eyes, but his own eyes had a definitely blue iris. The position of the eyes was horizontal or slightly oblique, the form was almond-shaped; the eyeslit among the Bakaïrí was commonly wide open, among the rest, especially among the Nahuquá and Kamayurá, rather small and low. We did not see Mongolian eyes; only one Kamayurá could be regarded as Mongoloid.

Beautiful teeth were extremely rare. They were more often opaque, rather than translucent, the color was yellowish and only as an exception white, the position largely irregular; they were rather bulky, but among the Mehinakú frequently small and fine. B T [515] Almost everywhere they appeared greatly chewed down. One never sees the Indians brushing their teeth or rinsing their mouths, which would be very advisable in view of their starchy diet. B T [412] They use their teeth very incautiously if they do not have any fish teeth or shells at hand; moreover, they bite a hole into the oyster-like, hard shells of river mussels, in order to smooth wood

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PLATE II

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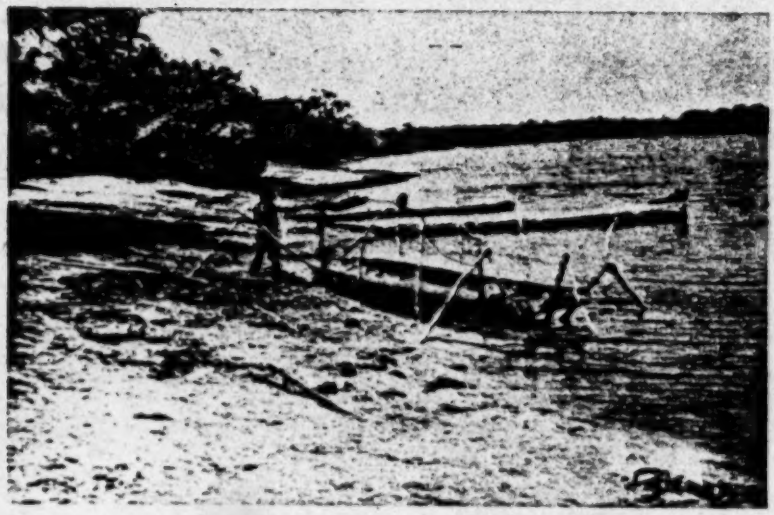

Trumaí camping at Karajaja

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Working Manioc

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Intermarriage

648 Despite occasional semi-hostile encounters between the upper Xingú groups, most contacts within the area are peaceful. Intermarriage is [591] common, and, since patrilocality is general, the wives are usually brought back to the village of the groom. There are, however, exceptions to this rule. For instance, if the man has strong enough kinship ties with the bride's village, he may stay there. This was true in the case of a member of the Trumaí village who was half Kamayurá. [167] [598] Friction with one's fellow tribesmen can also lead to a move to another village, as in the case of a Trumaí man and his wife who went to live with the Kamayurá because they believed that someone in their own group was practicing witchcraft against them.

602 648 One result of this mixing process, in addition to its obvious function as a mechanism of diffusion, is that all of the upper Xingú groups are cross-cut by ties of kinship. Nearly every man on the Kuliseu River knows all others so located, and they are often related. Most of the extra-tribal kin ties of the Trumaí were with the Kamayurá and Mehinaku, but they also extended to many other villages of the area. For reasons not fully explored by Quain, the chief contacts of the Trumaí were with Tupian and Arawakan groups, especially those of the Kuliseu River. Little mention is found in Quain's notes of the Cariban tribes of the Kuluene River.

602 648 186 Kinship ties were probably responsible for the preference shown by certain Trumaí men for particular tribes. While most men said that the Kamayurá were "bad," a few claimed that they were really "good" and that the other tribes were the ones to be feared. One day a fire was sighted which, it was decided, had been lit by the Yuruna. A man having kinsmen among them left the village to tell them of his presence there and so prevent an attack. The alarm in this instance proved false.

648 186 Another basis for preference was past residence with a tribe, even as a captive. However, if there was gossip of an attack by some tribe, even those most kindly disposed toward the potential enemy would become nervous and seek out their bows and arrows.

648 574 There was a great deal of friendly visiting between villages. The host village was expected to provide food for their guests, but if women were brought, they joined in the women's work of preparing it. In the afternoon the men traded with each other and engaged in wrestling [517] contests. At night, singing, shamanism and speech-making were in order in the men's circle. Tobacco and large quantities of food were [602] passed around at all times. If the visitors were staying overnight, they slept in the house of their closest kinsman. The latter was also expected to greet them upon arrival and act as their host during their stay.

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Agendas were ordinarily based on the immediate needs of the household or the desire for some variety in their diet. Food, however, was shared widely, and this probably robbed most work of any sense of urgency. Apparently, each man's plans for the day were determined in part by the season, in part by the household needs, and in part by what he felt like doing.

Some men stayed in the village all day, sleeping and working intermittently at small tasks. The women spent more time in the village than the men. Their work was done in the house or, if outside, in the shade of the house. Since male work was done largely in the morning, most of the men had ample time in the afternoon for trade, wrestling, and other diversions. The trade game was an especially popular indoor activity on rainy days.

Much less work was probably done during the rainy season, for planting would be finished, the *piquí* would be harvested, and the heavy rains would confine people to the village. However, there was much less seasonal variation for the women, as they had to continue to make *beijú*, weave, cook, and care for their households — the ordinary female chores, whatever the month.

Trumaí economic life was loosely organized. Few types of labor transcended the nuclear family, which was the basic unit of economic cooperation and interdependence. The inventory of material culture was sparse, and workmanship was not highly developed. What the Trumaí did not make, they could obtain by trade. From the standpoint of technology, the Trumaí were more backward than other tribes in the upper Xingú area, perhaps a reflection of their more recent settlement in the region.

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on a man's property, as did also, in the following order, his sister's son and his brother's son. Within the household, food was freely shared, and correspondingly, a co-resident could ask for a material object. These requests, however, were not always granted. A common excuse was to say that the object was promised to someone having a stronger claim. Despite these evasions, the patterns of gift-giving created a constant circulation of food and objects throughout the village.

Inheritance

Transmission of property was accomplished chiefly through trade and gift. There is no information on the disposal of the material possessions of the deceased. The only available data on inheritance concern the office of chief and the possession of certain songs sung at the *ole* (manioc) ceremony. The former was inherited patrilineally and will be discussed later. The ceremonial songs were inherited either through the mother's brother or the mother's father. Thus, old Matiwana would some day teach his *ole* songs to Amanatsin, his daughter's eldest son. Nitvary, another of the three men who knew *ole* songs, learned them from Jawaku's father, who was his mother's brother. Since cross-cousin marriage was practiced, Jawaku might marry Nitvary's sister, and their child would inherit the songs from Nitvary. In this way the *ole* songs returned to the direct patrilineal line every other generation.

In response to careful questioning, Quain was assured that these songs could be obtained only from the mother's brother and mother's father, and not from the father or the father's brother. The combination of this matrilineal trait and patrilineal elements is characteristic of the bilaterality in upper Xingú culture.

The Trade Game

The trade game was a mechanism of inter- and intra-community distribution. Even more importantly it provided a framework for social participation, leisure time relaxation, and general enjoyment. As such it was one of the few integrating factors in Trumaí society.

Afternoons, especially rainy afternoons, were dull times in the Trumaí village. In Quain's words, "These people are bored but don't realize it! Wrestling provides some diversion, but nothing quickens spirits more than a brisk trade game (*kwirxo*). All that is needed is for one of the men to stride through the village with a bundle of goods to trade and suggest a *kwirxo*. Shouts go up on all sides, everybody crowds into one of the houses, and the game is on. Enthusiasm is even greater when there are visitors in the village."

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These were noisy affairs. The seller threw his merchandise on the ground and loosed an exultant shout. All the participants cried out in response. Occasionally the goods were offered in the hope of acquiring a desired article from a certain person, but usually they were put up for barter with the general public. In this case, whoever wanted the item went back to his house and brought an article to exchange. He placed this on the floor and picked up his purchase. Often the seller refused the proffered exchange and waited for a better offer. If the trade was consummated, another loud shout was given by the audience. These exchanges went on until the participants lost interest, or until no more goods were offered.

All exchanges were considered to be gift-giving. This was especially true of trade between fellow-Trumaí. When members of other groups were involved, trade was at least formally so considered, although the behavior and attitudes in gift-giving, proper, were quite different. When Quain made exchanges he was always admonished to tell his wife who the donor of the "gift" was.

Within the Trumaí village gift-giving and not trade was the usual form of property distribution, especially between kinsmen. A man might trade with a person whom he called mother's brother, or father's brother, or some other relationship term, but this was almost always a kin bond reckoned by extension, and not a close blood tie.

Women participated little in the men's trade games. In part this was due to the sexual dichotomy that operated in social participation generally, in part to the nature of the goods involved. A woman did not want to buy a man's fish hooks any more than he wanted her cotton. Occasionally a woman might break into the male trade game to buy a particular object, but once this was accomplished she would withdraw. A few women might sit around the house where the trade game was being held, especially if their husbands were participating. Occasionally the women held their own trade games in which cotton and household utensils were commonly bartered. Conventional shouts accompanied their activities, but they were less boisterous than those of the men.

The women were especially eager to trade with Quain, to get his cloth and colored thread in exchange for food, which normally was given away. The chief was also a main instigator of trade games with Quain. At times Quain refused to participate to the great annoyance of the would-be second party.

The trade game reflected the Trumaí attitude towards property, in that it provided more enjoyment and excitement than any other form of social participation, except intertribal festivities. Each exchange was watched with bated breath, and the outcome greeted with happy cries and laughter. There was some indication that the most dominant and forward personalities were also the most energetic traders. It was

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cumbent upon the males was a prohibition against wearing body paint for several months after the death. This ban extended to women, also. In addition, the female mourner could not sing in any of the ceremonies, and she cut her hair immediately after the death. Marriage was also forbidden her during the mourning period. (Autu came under censure as she had married her dead husband's sister's son — which at any time was reprehensible — even though her hair, cut when he died, had not yet grown back.) The woman was also required to wail occasionally for the dead person during the time of mourning, and she made flat mud discs, about one inch high, in the village center. Quain never found out the reason for this, although Kayaru made several of these markers for her dead brother. No special reverence or respect was given to the markers as they were usually demolished during the wrestling matches.

Recreation and Amusement

Trading sessions have been referred to as "games" because they are a form of amusement, but this appellation is in a way misleading, as the economic aspect of the "trade game" is very important. Actually, except for the intertribal spear-throwing contest, the only organized recreation is wrestling, and this is immensely popular throughout the whole upper Xingú area.[4] Wrestling matches were especially frequent during intertribal visits and ceremonials. These occasions aroused keen interest, and competitive spirits ran high, but the onlookers made it a point of etiquette to show no partisanship, and the contestants made every effort to conceal latent intertribal hostility. They were always friendly to each other, and at the end of the match they exchanged a friendly embrace. This was not necessary between fellow Trumaí or close kinsmen of different villages. The most effusive behavior was always shown toward those who were most disliked and mistrusted.

Wrestling matches always took place in the afternoon. All that was needed to start a match was a quorum of four or five men. These small bouts were usually informal and more in the nature of practice than competitive contests. When most of the men were in the village the contests attracted more attention and required more preparation. Bodies were painted and arm and leg bands were worn. The hair was usually combed and plastered down.

The men lined up on the log in the men's circle or brought stools. The women and young boys watched from the periphery. Uninitiated boys were not allowed to take part in the men's wrestling, but the older ones were generally permitted to sit with the men.

Each wrestler tried for a grip by grabbing at the body of the other. A variant of the half-Nelson was frequently attempted. The match

[4] Cf. Galvão 1949, p. 44.

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APPENDIX

Buell Quain, in a letter to the late Dr. Ruth Benedict written from Brazil on December 21, 1938, summarized several aspects of Trumaí culture which have a direct and immediate bearing on their decline. Following are excerpts of ethnological interest from this letter, which was discovered after this monograph was completed:

"They are a dying culture. Each generation improves its imitation of Kamayurá culture. Everyone in the village knows a few Kamayurá words. Almost all the songs in the manioc fertility ceremony are Kamayurá. Half the people in the village can carry on a conversation in Kamayurá with ease. One household (there are four) uses Kamayurá in preference to Trumaí. The mother of the house owner speaks no Trumaí; she is a Kamayurá woman who has lived with the Trumaí for about twenty-five years. The child of the household, a ten year old girl, confuses Kamayurá kinship terms with Trumaí in classifying the village. All Trumaí women between twenty and forty have been captive wives among the Kamayurá (which puts the Trumaí men in a peculiar position which they fully but fruitlessly resent) .... They have lots of disorganized leisure. They are sleepy (in part because of insects and fear throughout the night). They are ready to imitate not only the Kamayurá, but me, in petty daily habits. No outsider speaks Trumaí.

"There is nobody among them who volunteers information of ethnological value. For three months I dug for structure and got very little... Dullness cannot be attributed to the climate.

"The village is small .... Each of the four households — now five because of a recent split — are organized, or perhaps disorganized, according to different sociological principals. Three of the seventeen women are of foreign birth; one is Kamayurá, one is Mehinaku, and one is Suyá. The first two speak no Trumaí. A fourth woman with ringworm and two sick children is said to be Yaulapití, but she is well set in Trumaí culture. Nobody claims her as a relative (in part because of aversion toward her ringworm); hence she is used as a prostitute by every man in the village — she is the village joke. Among the men, I have found remarkably uniform responses to various 'tests'. (I said 'Draw a picture of a woman and a man.' Every man but one drew the woman first and oriented her in a distinctive way on the paper. The women showed no such regularity. One Kamayurá man tested also lacked this stereotyped response.)

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the group, and they never participated in any of its activities. Occasionally men gathered in the village center during the day, but at night the circle always formed, generally lasting from sundown until about nine o'clock. In the afternoon it was often the scene of wrestling matches. Talk usually went on then also, but the gatherings were smaller than at night.

At night most of the men were present, and conversation ranged over a variety of topics. Of greatest interest were neighboring tribes, past warfare and present threats to peace. Gossip, usually about sex, found ready ears. This was the time when the chief made most of his speeches, and the time when plans for a fishing trip, for salt manufacture, or for a journey to the Waurá for pots were discussed. The men's circle was also the place where the shaman practiced his art, and, as noted above, where grievances were aired.

The social life of the males was centered almost completely in these gatherings, and it was in them that the mechanisms of village authority and social control were expressed. Also, the men's circle underlined the cleavage between the activities of the men and of the women. The women had no formal grouping such as the men's circle, but they showed solidarity when the need arose. While men were dominant, as Quain said, they "look on the women as an ungoverned force," and open group quarrels were not infrequent between the sexes.

Status

Aek, the Trumaí word for chief, also denoted membership in the upper half of what is nominally a status class. Members of the lower half of this class were loosely referred to as *camara*, a term which, according to Galvão, probably diffused into the region from rural Brazil, where workers are called *camaradas*.[10] There was some uncertainty on the part of Quain's informants as to who were members of the *aek* division. In general, it included the chief, the two sub-chiefs, and their families. But while the status appears to have been hereditary, its transmission was loose and uncertain. For instance, Maibu was an *aek*, but he refused to classify his brothers as such. However, the fathers of both Maibu and Katauka, one of the sub-chiefs, were *aek*. Matiwana's three daughters and his son derived their status from him, further supporting the case for patrilineality. On the other hand, the children of one of the daughters were *aek*, even though their father was a *camara*. The significance of being *aek* had probably declined with the weakening of leadership patterns and the lessened importance of the sub-chiefs. Today, the *aek-camara* division is non-functional, membership is confused, and, except for the chieftainship, it is correlated only vaguely

[10] Galvão 1949, p. 40.

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only *ami tarajau*. *Ami tarajau* also took the form of mock name-calling contests between men.

The Trumaí found great amusement in minor accidents that befell others and in humorous gossip, without regard to kinship. Jokes played by one person on another, however, usually occurred between cross-cousins.

Avoidance and Respect

Taboos on the names or persons of affinal relatives were observed by the Trumaí, because, as they said, they felt *vaity* (ashamed) toward them. The strongest prohibited a man from speaking the name of his parents-in-law or being in their presence. Thus, a man would not enter a house in which his father-in-law was visiting or join the men's circle if he were there. Parents-in-law were the only affinals whose persons were avoided, and this was most strictly observed between a man and his father-in-law. Due to the short life span, social intercourse was little interrupted by this practice; only one father-in-law and two mothers-in-law lived in the Trumaí village. However, they figured importantly in marital troubles, since parents always took the part of their own offspring in a conflict between mates. Aloari felt bitter about his dead mother-in-law, because she had helped his wife to kill their first two children at birth. The avoidance of a father-in-law's name was so strict that a Trumaí man could not mention his own son's second name, because it was inherited from his wife's father.

Name avoidance was also invoked to some degree with respect to the second ascending generation of affinals. A wife's grandparents could be referred to by name, but only in a whisper, while no such inhibitions were observed when addressing the wife herself by the name.[7]

The Trumaí were ashamed toward the wife's brother and the sister's husband. This was expressed by name avoidance and a respect relation. If there were children, a man could avoid the use of his brother-in-law's name by calling him *deta a'o* (sister's son's father) in the case of a sister's husband, or *apat'awe* (child's mother's brother), if he was the wife's brother. Respect was shown by offering the affinal a chair or by other small courtesies or gift-giving. Since an affinal of the same generation was often a cross-cousin, the joking and respect relationships overlapped rather curiously. While Yati and his cross-cousin and brother-in-law Mayuva played pranks on or feigned anger at one another, they showed great mutual deference at other times. Immediately after Yati told Quain to throw Mayuva out of his house, Mayuva rolled a cigarette for Yati and lit it for him. Manifestly, the two prescribed patterns caused no conflict.

[7] This probably illustrates some overlapping between name avoidance and the taboo on speaking the name of a dead person.

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551 605 607 Only when he was also the brother-in-law was respect given to a cross-cousin or his name avoided. Female cross-cousins, despite affinal connections, were never so treated by the men.

Avunculate

604 522 [861] [431] The maternal uncle in Trumaí society was in no sense a disciplinarian. Only the father and the father's brother were allowed to strike a child. On the other hand, the gift-giving claims of the sister's son (*deta*) upon the mother's brother (*wawe*) were strong, and particularly so when they were reinforced by co-residence. A man was expected to be benevolent and tolerant toward his *deta*. This frequently took the form of teasing and jollying the boy, and contrasted with the more serious attitude of the father and his brothers. For instance, Yati told his *deta* that he and Quain were going to eat him, and, as if to carry out the threat, he began to drag him toward the fire. The child cried lustily, and Yati immediately stopped and cajoled him. Also, Katauka said to his *deta*, "When you die, I will not cry." Katauka was greatly amused when this caused tears.

Such teasing ceased by the time a boy reached the age of puberty. Moreover, the *wawe* became a defender of the *deta's* interests in the absence of the boy's father or father's brother, and, in some cases, he supervised his initiation ceremonies. Common to both the Trumaí and [437] Kamayurá was the traveling partnership of a man and his sister's son. [171] It was quite usual for a *wawe* to take his *deta* along when he visited another village. Quain noted that on such trips the wife of the older man was rarely included. This is consistent with the sexual taboo [835] between the nephew and the maternal uncle's wife.

The Chieftaincy

622 624 The Trumaí had one chieftain (*aek*), Maibu, and two sub-chiefs, Katauka and Matiwana. At the outset it should be understood that Katauka and Matiwana at no time during Quain's stay exerted any [988] chiefly prerogative or function. They were not men of especially high status — indeed, Matiwana was looked down upon as an old man. Their main function, Quain was told, was to take over the office of chief when Maibu was away from the village. Due to Matiwana's advanced age, this duty ordinarily fell to Katauka. Otherwise, neither man was particularly influential; nor did they talk more in the men's circle than others.

622 537 The chief's main function was to urge his fellow Trumaí to carry out those projects or tasks which were the responsibility of the community as a whole or in its interest, but he frequently exhorted the villagers to

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but the frequent repetitions and the small number of pitches made accompaniment possible, and their voices fell consistently into the fourth interval below those of the men. The women, however, enjoyed their role thoroughly and gave far better support than the men, who made little effort to coordinate their activities. 796 243 533

The songs were arranged in a series of three verses. Each time a new house was entered, the singer started a new series. Matiwana's songs were more elaborate than Nitvary's. Occasionally the old man would make a mistake and have to start the verse over again, but these lapses merely amused him. The only musical instrument used was the tapir hoof rattle. [534]

Quain gives no detailed information on the dances involved, but apparently they were simple, and perhaps partially improvised. Nitvary was the sole person to take special pains with his toilet before leading a dance. At such a time he usually wore a feather headdress and painted his body ornately. [535] [302]

One of the more important parts of the *ole* ceremony was the complex of activities surrounding the *ole* posts. A few days after the ceremony began several poles were brought into the clearing just outside the village, and the bark was peeled from them. They were rubbed with white clay and painted in colored designs. Each man placed the pole he had decorated upon his shoulders and brought it into the village with shouts and singing. With the poles on their shoulders, they danced about the village, finally placing their burdens upright in holes that had been dug previously in the village plaza. The children helped by packing dirt around them. The women then smeared red *urucú* dye on the bases of the poles and just below the upper ends. Tufts of cotton were put on top by both men and women. An offering in the form of fish on *beijú* was placed in front of the posts. Later in the afternoon, and early every afternoon for the next two weeks, the men ate together among these poles. Their attitude in this ceremonial milieu was certainly not one of special reverence, for they draped two blankets Quain had given them over the posts for shade. 796 243 [386] [782]

Nearly every day additional food offerings were placed in front of the posts. One post was given special attention. This was Nukekerehe, which was said to be malignant. However, fear of Nukekerehe was mixed with jokes. Quain was told one night that the men would not go to bed until he did, for if he stayed up long Nukekerehe would surely eat him. Weeks later, when the posts were pulled up and brought into the houses of their owners, the man carrying this pole stamped his feet at the children and pretended anger, much to everyone's amusement. On one occasion Matiwana performed a ritual in which he was apparently acting the part of Nukekerehe. He made wrathful noises and jumped about in front of the post, before which were two bowls of manioc soup. [782] 796 243 522 [247]

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796 He then started a song about the post in which he was joined by Nitvary
243 and the women. After two repetitions, the women poured a bowl of the
522 soup on Matiwana's head and shoulders, making a dripping mess of him. He retired amid general laughter. The second bowl of soup was then poured over the pole. A full explanation of the beliefs surrounding the *ole* posts was not obtained.

796 Due to the fact that Quain had only recently arrived in the village
243 when the ceremony was held, there is also a lack of clarity in the system
608 of relationships known as *ole aton*. The word "*aton*" means "pet" in Trumaí, but in the present context it applies to a temporary ceremonial identification between people, and between people and the *ole* posts. The
[571] interpersonal ties set up were only between persons of opposite sex. However, a man could have more than one woman for *aton*, and vice versa.

Kinship may be the determinant of these ties, but the data are inconclusive. Interestingly, the greatest number of *ole aton* relationships existed between people of the previously mentioned pairs of houses, suggesting a ceremonial reinforcement of this moiety-like arrangement.

Except for reciprocal gift-giving obligations, nothing is known of the behavioral roles called for by these connections. The owners of the *ole* posts were said to have their particular posts for *atons*. Their chief
[782] ceremonial duties were to peel and paint the pole, and supply it with
[778] food offerings. It may be hypothesized that the posts represent certain spirits with which individuals are identified, perhaps as the result of shamanistic experiences, as described by Oberg for the Kamayurá.[6]

796 During the *ole* ceremony, as during the cure described above, Quain
829 was impressed by the lack of interest in the proceedings. Those who
181 were not part of the immediate activity sat and smoked, indulging in the usual topics of conversation. The loose patterning and secularity which characterized the ritual bespoke the general lassitude that permeated all aspects of the culture.

The Piqui Ceremony

796 The *piqui (tsinon)* ceremony occurred at the end of the harvest of that fruit, during the first half of the rainy season. It was similar to the *ole* celebration, but not as lengthy nor as important. Quain's information on the festival, obtained from Aloari, is very limited. Jakwanari, the main functionary, occupied a position similar to that of Matiwana and Nitvary in the *ole* ceremony. As Aloari phrased it, "Jakwanari had *tsinon* as *aton*." There was house-to-house dancing by the women, accompanied
[262] by singing of a certain series of songs. At the end of the dancing Jakwanari's wife made a large quantity of *t'ak*, the *piqui* flour cake, which

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

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526 would be terminated by mutual consent and without the need for either contestant to concede defeat.[5] The wrestlers were often pushed around [152] considerably, but except for grunts of effort, there were no expressions of pain or anger. However, when Quain tried to teach the Trumaí men to box, even the lightest punch caused them to retire. They claimed that the *karahiba* sport was much too rough.

562 Trumaí women do not "know how" to wrestle, but the Kamayurá 526 women wrestled to entertain guests. It was common opinion in the region 186 that Trumaí women did not compare favorably with Kamayurá women. 648 Even the Trumaí men agreed on this point. After a visit to the Kama- 171 yurá village, the precocious young Yanahi was vociferous in his approval of them. His admiration was due chiefly to the *jamyrikuma*, a Kamayurá female song and dance in which the women flapped their breasts and went through other provocative motions. He also described how they had pushed their twine belts down low on their buttocks, which to him was a very suggestive act. After the dance the women wrestled. Jakwalu, a Mehinaku, was the only woman in the Trumaí village who could wrestle, a fact that suggests that the females of this group also practiced the sport. She demonstrated her ability only on intertribal visits.

574 The Trumaí women did not entertain guests, except insofar as visitors 535 forced their attentions on the unmarried ones. The only occasions on which they were known to sing and dance were at certain ceremonies when they served as a chorus to the men.

533 Except for the use of pan-pipes, which the men played in the morning, [534] all music was connected with religious ceremonial. The pan-pipes con- [196] sisted of a half-dozen hollow reeds of different lengths laced together. Ceremonial singing was melodious, and the Trumaí enjoyed singing. They frequently requested Quain to sing in the men's circle. The requests were always phrased on behalf of the women and children. [123] Visits from members of other tribes always called for a performance by the ethnographer.

522 Humor consisted mostly of practical jokes played at the expense of 571 others. Jokes were always perpetrated by the men; the women served occasionally as butts. This does not mean that the men were gayer or more light-hearted than the women, for the contrary was actually the case. The women enjoyed each other's company more. They gossiped and laughed together, worked together, and generally wore a pleasanter expression. For the men, jokes were important as a means of recognition and assertion. They were always performed for an audience.

Teasing the women was also a popular male diversion. This was often done by ignoring them completely during a conversation. Yati was a

[5] This may be true only of bouts between Trumaí, as Oberg (1953, p. 59) notes that a man is defeated when he is thrown on his back.

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on a man's property, as did also, in the following order, his sister's son and his brother's son. Within the household, food was freely shared, and correspondingly, a co-resident could ask for a material object. These requests, however, were not always granted. A common excuse was to say that the object was promised to someone having a stronger claim. Despite these evasions, the patterns of gift-giving created a constant circulation of food and objects throughout the village.

Inheritance

Transmission of property was accomplished chiefly through trade and gift. There is no information on the disposal of the material possessions of the deceased. The only available data on inheritance concern the office of chief and the possession of certain songs sung at the *ole* (manioc) ceremony. The former was inherited patrilineally and will be discussed later. The ceremonial songs were inherited either through the mother's brother or the mother's father. Thus, old Matiwana would some day teach his *ole* songs to Amanatsin, his daughter's eldest son. Nitvary, another of the three men who knew *ole* songs, learned them from Jawaku's father, who was his mother's brother. Since cross-cousin marriage was practiced, Jawaku might marry Nitvary's sister, and their child would inherit the songs from Nitvary. In this way the *ole* songs returned to the direct patrilineal line every other generation.

In response to careful questioning, Quain was assured that these songs could be obtained only from the mother's brother and mother's father, and not from the father or the father's brother. The combination of this matrilineal trait and patrilineal elements is characteristic of the bilaterality in upper Xingú culture.

The Trade Game

The trade game was a mechanism of inter- and intra-community distribution. Even more importantly it provided a framework for social participation, leisure time relaxation, and general enjoyment. As such it was one of the few integrating factors in Trumaí society.

Afternoons, especially rainy afternoons, were dull times in the Trumaí village. In Quain's words, "These people are bored but don't realize it! Wrestling provides some diversion, but nothing quickens spirits more than a brisk trade game (*kwirzo*). All that is needed is for one of the men to stride through the village with a bundle of goods to trade and suggest a *kwirzo*. Shouts go up on all sides, everybody crowds into one of the houses, and the game is on. Enthusiasm is even greater when there are visitors in the village."

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These were noisy affairs. The seller threw his merchandise on the ground and loosed an exultant shout. All the participants cried out in response. Occasionally the goods were offered in the hope of acquiring a desired article from a certain person, but usually they were put up for barter with the general public. In this case, whoever wanted the item went back to his house and brought an article to exchange. He placed this on the floor and picked up his purchase. Often the seller refused the proffered exchange and waited for a better offer. If the trade was consummated, another loud shout was given by the audience. These exchanges went on until the participants lost interest, or until no more goods were offered.

All exchanges were considered to be gift-giving. This was especially true of trade between fellow-Trumaí. When members of other groups were involved, trade was at least formally so considered, although the behavior and attitudes in gift-giving, proper, were quite different. When Quain made exchanges he was always admonished to tell his wife who the donor of the "gift" was.

Within the Trumaí village gift-giving and not trade was the usual form of property distribution, especially between kinsmen. A man might trade with a person whom he called mother's brother, or father's brother, or some other relationship term, but this was almost always a kin bond reckoned by extension, and not a close blood tie.

Women participated little in the men's trade games. In part this was due to the sexual dichotomy that operated in social participation generally, in part to the nature of the goods involved. A woman did not want to buy a man's fish hooks any more than he wanted her cotton. Occasionally a woman might break into the male trade game to buy a particular object, but once this was accomplished she would withdraw. A few women might sit around the house where the trade game was being held, especially if their husbands were participating. Occasionally the women held their own trade games in which cotton and household utensils were commonly bartered. Conventional shouts accompanied their activities, but they were less boisterous than those of the men.

The women were especially eager to trade with Quain, to get his cloth and colored thread in exchange for food, which normally was given away. The chief was also a main instigator of trade games with Quain. At times Quain refused to participate to the great annoyance of the would-be second party.

The trade game reflected the Trumaí attitude towards property, in that it provided more enjoyment and excitement than any other form of social participation, except intertribal festivities. Each exchange was watched with bated breath, and the outcome greeted with happy cries and laughter. There was some indication that the most dominant and forward personalities were also the most energetic traders. It was

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421 It was
437 significant that Aloari, probably the most aggressive person in the
524 village, was often an organizer and always a main participant in the
[156] games. On the other hand, he never cooperated in group work.
[527] This conventionalized form of exchange, which Quain called the trade game, had a strong functional role in Trumaí culture, but there are indications that it was of outside origin. One informant said that it was
[177] a Bakairí custom, and Quain thought that the "game" might have been introduced by Bakairí traders bringing goods from the Indian post on the Paranatinga River.[1]

The Household

171
596 Among both the Waurá and the Kamayurá the extended family occupied its own house, and the head of the lineage was considered a
622 sub-chief of the village.[2] Such unilocal, co-resident and extended family groupings, which were typical among tribes of the upper Xingú, were absent in the Trumaí village.

592 Consanguineally close male relatives usually formed co-resident units,
613 but these nucleii of kinsmen were very small and did not constitute an entire household. Furthermore, they were related to each other through
[591] male or female lines. Due to village patrilocality, there was a tendency for patrilineally related males to live together, but this did not result in
[165] the establishment of a patrilineal lineage for several reasons. Among them the high death rate was very important.

592 Maibu's house illustrates the eclectic nature of the Trumaí household.
594 Four nuclear families, totaling fourteen people, lived in it. Hanging their hammocks from one of the two center posts were Katauka, his son Kamkuti, his brother's son Autsuki, and another brother's son and his wife. At the opposite end of the house were Maibu and his wife, the wife's son by Maibu's deceased brother, Maibu's sister Ayenuke, Makurawa, a classificatory sister's son, and Makurawa's wife and their three children. Although everyone in the household was related, bonds were closer between those people who hung their hammocks from the same post.

589 Despite the fact that the household, as a unit, had no specific func-
592 tions, it established the framework within which certain interpersonal
182 dependencies were worked out. Bride-capture, intertribal warfare, divorce, and early death caused a significant proportion of the Trumaí to be temporarily or permanently without mates. This disadvantage was

[1] The trade game was possibly borrowed from the Bakairí, as its existence
[177] among this group has been reported by Oberg (1953, p. 72). However, craft specialization and trade on the upper Xingú predates the Indian post. Cf. von den Steinen 1897, pp. 196, 207.

[2] De Lima (1950, p. 9.) reports this arrangement among the Waurá, and Oberg (1953, p. 45.) adds that the position of house chief tends to pass in the male line in the Kamayurá village.

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cumbent upon the males was a prohibition against wearing body paint for several months after the death. This ban extended to women, also. In addition, the female mourner could not sing in any of the ceremonies, and she cut her hair immediately after the death. Marriage was also forbidden her during the mourning period. (Autu came under censure as she had married her dead husband's sister's son — which at any time was reprehensible — even though her hair, cut when he died, had not yet grown back.) The woman was also required to wail occasionally for the dead person during the time of mourning, and she made flat mud discs, about one inch high, in the village center. Quain never found out the reason for this, although Kayaru made several of these markers for her dead brother. No special reverence or respect was given to the markers as they were usually demolished during the wrestling matches.

Recreation and Amusement

Trading sessions have been referred to as "games" because they are a form of amusement, but this appellation is in a way misleading, as the economic aspect of the "trade game" is very important. Actually, except for the intertribal spear-throwing contest, the only organized recreation is wrestling, and this is immensely popular throughout the whole upper Xingú area.[4] Wrestling matches were especially frequent during intertribal visits and ceremonials. These occasions aroused keen interest, and competitive spirits ran high, but the onlookers made it a point of etiquette to show no partisanship, and the contestants made every effort to conceal latent intertribal hostility. They were always friendly to each other, and at the end of the match they exchanged a friendly embrace. This was not necessary between fellow Trumaí or close kinsmen of different villages. The most effusive behavior was always shown toward those who were most disliked and mistrusted.

Wrestling matches always took place in the afternoon. All that was needed to start a match was a quorum of four or five men. These small bouts were usually informal and more in the nature of practice than competitive contests. When most of the men were in the village the contests attracted more attention and required more preparation. Bodies were painted and arm and leg bands were worn. The hair was usually combed and plastered down.

The men lined up on the log in the men's circle or brought stools. The women and young boys watched from the periphery. Uninitiated boys were not allowed to take part in the men's wrestling, but the older ones were generally permitted to sit with the men.

Each wrestler tried for a grip by grabbing at the body of the other. A variant of the half-Nelson was frequently attempted. The match

[4] Cf. Galvão 1949, p. 44.

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"Tremendous interest in property, together with a simple and declining culture, results in my being a seriously disturbing element in their lives. Casual conversation always degenerates into a squabble about gift-giving .... There is intense pleasure in possession. Children get no sympathy when they are hurt, but objects are usually given to them. Every child has the right at least 'to see' anything he desires. In this respect children are pampered. Adults whine for things; withholding a desired object makes them intensely unhappy. Aggressive possession is admired.. Trade games make the exchange of property very fluid. Yet values in trade are well defined, and there is no prestige in giving more than one gets. Within the kinship circle, however, the old lavish property on the young. A father's garden is spoken of as that of his five year old son. There is a deliberate attempt to instill aggressive ownership attitudes in the young. A three year old girl is taught to claim objects in a loud voice. This is done by shouting the possessive pronoun....

"These are a settled people who live within the strict limits of their village. Their small number has advantage in the study of individuals. They have no knowledge of the world beyond the Kuluene-Kuliseu. It has no more real existence than the various inhabited regions of the heavens. The half dozen expeditions which have passed down the river have communicated with the natives only with signs. The one important result of such contact was division from peripheral tribes and the rise of metal tools. The disappearance of the stone industry, on which a defunct Trumaí moiety had a monopoly, has occurred within the last generation.[1] The increased leisure which probably resulted is not utilized economically.

"The complete lack of self-consciousness among these people makes behavior observation remarkably easy. Before I knew any of the language, I could sit by the hour in various households and time the actions of people while they paid no attention to me. For instance, one man during twenty minutes of leisure lay down to rest in his hammock fifteen different times, but each time disturbed himself with the remembrance of some petty chore undone....

"The only restriction of behavior that I have seen in casual intra-village personal relations is that the children are told not to litter the floor. The only positive rule is that the head of a household must sit with a guest and converse while the guest is inside his house .... Furthermore, extra-marital sexual intercourse has occurred in a shadowy corner of my house.. This lack of self-consciousness contrasts strongly with the Karajá, who are more prudish than the Fijians....

"Shortage of women, because of theft of young women, polygamy, lack of sexual interest in old wives (of which there are several), and

[1] Quain refers here to the moiety-like division of the Trumaí which has been discussed in Chapter Three. This appears to be rather a result of the merger of the northern and southern Trumaí villages. The latter specialized in axe-making.

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Recent ethnographic researches have for the most part concentrated upon the Kamayurá (Galvão 1949, 1950, and 1952; Oberg 1953), the Waurá (de Lima 1949, 1950), and the Kuikuru (Robert Carneiro and Gertrude E. Dole, unpublished). Only incidentally have these observers commented upon the Trumaí. Therefore, in 1953 when I had the opportunity to spend a little time in the upper Xingú area, I made a point of remaining a few days with the remants of the Trumaí. They were camped temporarily at Karajaja, the old village site, on a lake about half a mile away from the Kuluene River; their permanent houses were then at Anariatan, near the village site during Quain's visit. It was the dry season and the Trumaí were fishing. There were only 24 persons in the group — six adult males, ten adult females, four boys and four girls. Three of the women were unmarried widows, and there was one unmarried girl just past puberty. The chieftain whose current name was Ilitoari (no doubt the Aloari of Quain's notes), was married to two sisters, and there were four monogamous families. Two of the men were old and unmarried. Thus, the Trumaí were again united as a village (they had disbanded for a while). In 1953, however, there were not even enough men for the Trumaí to participate in the intertribal spear-throwing contests, a sport in which they had once been famous throughout the area.

The process of steady social and cultural disintegration and depopulation, which was already apparent among the Trumaí in 1938, has been a continuing one; and it is only a question of a very short time before these people cease to exist as a separate tribal group. Thus, the information and insights that Robert Murphy has brought together from Buell Quain's field work may be all that we shall ever have on Trumaí life and society.

Columbia University CHARLES WAGLEY
February 1955

[P. x contains no textual material]

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The woof was made of cotton threads. The men's hammocks were usually woven, while those made by the women for themselves were generally an inferior twined product. Other manufactures of cotton were arm and leg bands.

Ceramics

The knowledge of ceramic manufacture cannot be properly considered a part of Trumaí culture, despite their daily use of pottery in cooking, manioc processing, eating and storage. All pottery utensils were obtained in trade with the Arawakan Waurá, usually in return for salt. The only clay article of Trumaí manufacture was the *ja'meo*, a crude clay griddle on which the *beijú* was baked. The Trumaí did not rely completely on pottery for watertight containers, as gourds, grown in their own gardens, were extensively used.

Wood Manufactures

All woodwork was done by the men with, at the time of Quain's visit, steel tools. The most distinctive article was the zoomorphically carved wooden stool, found among all upper Xingú peoples. Quain's notes contain a sketch of one such stool which is very similar to the one depicted by von den Steinen.[8] Other wood products were canoe paddles, *beijú* paddles, manioc graters, and mortars and pestles, used by the women to pulverize the hard, dry balls of manioc flour.

Weapons

Bows and arrows were used almost to the exclusion of other weapons. The Trumaí got their bows in trade from the Kamayurá, but made the bowstrings themselves from the fiber of a tree known to them as the *patacy*. They made their own feathered arrows out of cane, at the end of which was inserted a thin wooden shaft. The points were fixed to the shaft with a tree resin (*awalitsu*) and were wrapped at the juncture with cotton thread. Monkey bone points were used for shooting fish and birds. One man who was making a bamboo point told Quain that it was used for hunting and warfare. Another was seen hammering an arrow point out of a piece of metal.

Spears were not used often, although the Trumaí made them. Quain saw a spear point being made of the shin bone of a tapir. The spear-thrower (*xopep*) was used only in the annual spear-throwing contest. It was made from the wood of a palm. Quain sketched one that had a flat handle with a finger hole and a shaft with a hook on the end, and another that lacked the hook, but had a thong on the end.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 141.

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Aloari took over the post of *aek* by dint of personality and not by regular succession. Even if Jawaku had died, Aloari would not have been a logical heir. Manifestly, patrilineality was very fluid. 622

Conflict

In cases of interpersonal strife in the village, there was no mediator. The chief usually dissociated himself from these arguments and let the litigants shout it out. Maibu, described by Quain as a happy extrovert and a secure person, was involved in few personal quarrels. He did have occasional difficulties in discharging his office. For instance, Tun and Aloari refused to help build Quain's house on the grounds that he was only a *camara*, or person of low status. There then ensued a loud argument in the village plaza between Aloari and Maibu in which each tried to shout the other down. The men sat around and watched in bored amusement. Finally, to break it up, they tried to get Quain to sing. When Maibu grew weary and retired, Aloari continued to talk, but was greeted with hoots of derision. 578 622 626 [123]

Aloari was continually embroiled with the other villagers. He refused to finish thatching his house for the rainy season because he wanted the community to move to an old village site where there were fewer insects. His protests were to no avail. The village remained where it was.

Protests against the chief or the village as a whole did not often result in open conflict. For the most part, they were expressed by grumbling, non-compliance, and threats to leave. No action except ridicule was taken against dissidents. Disputes usually took the form of shouted arguments in the evening men's circle. The closest approximation to the use of force was a mock wrestling match between the disputants, in which light slaps and holds were mixed with talk. During one argument, a club was waved. 622 578 [626] [526]

Unwarranted use of force was regarded as a serious offense. Quain learned this at first hand after he had been among the Trumaí for two and a half months and had established excellent relations with them. When Autsuki, an adolescent boy, who had been told not to take any flour from a sack in Quain's house, persisted in doing so, Quain knocked the flour from his hand. Autsuki left the house, laughing derisively. Instantly, however, the entire village was astir. The men gathered in the plaza for a serious discussion. The boy's *wawes* (mother's brothers) came to Quain's house to demand an explanation, as did the chief. Fortunately, except for his pride, Autsuki was not hurt, and the matter was allowed to drop. Maibu, however, seeing that Quain was still annoyed, invited him to come into the center of the village and make a speech in his native tongue, the standard Trumaí escape-valve. 123 578 626 [154]

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the group, and they never participated in any of its activities. Occasionally men gathered in the village center during the day, but at night the circle always formed, generally lasting from sundown until about nine o'clock. In the afternoon it was often the scene of wrestling matches. Talk usually went on then also, but the gatherings were smaller than at night.

At night most of the men were present, and conversation ranged over a variety of topics. Of greatest interest were neighboring tribes, past warfare and present threats to peace. Gossip, usually about sex, found ready ears. This was the time when the chief made most of his speeches, and the time when plans for a fishing trip, for salt manufacture, or for a journey to the Waurá for pots were discussed. The men's circle was also the place where the shaman practiced his art, and, as noted above, where grievances were aired.

The social life of the males was centered almost completely in these gatherings, and it was in them that the mechanisms of village authority and social control were expressed. Also, the men's circle underlined the cleavage between the activities of the men and of the women. The women had no formal grouping such as the men's circle, but they showed solidarity when the need arose. While men were dominant, as Quain said, they "look on the women as an ungoverned force," and open group quarrels were not infrequent between the sexes.

Status

Aek, the Trumaí word for chief, also denoted membership in the upper half of what is nominally a status class. Members of the lower half of this class were loosely referred to as *camara*, a term which, according to Galvão, probably diffused into the region from rural Brazil, where workers are called *camaradas*.[10] There was some uncertainty on the part of Quain's informants as to who were members of the *aek* division. In general, it included the chief, the two sub-chiefs, and their families. But while the status appears to have been hereditary, its transmission was loose and uncertain. For instance, Maibu was an *aek*, but he refused to classify his brothers as such. However, the fathers of both Maibu and Katauka, one of the sub-chiefs, were *aek*. Matiwana's three daughters and his son derived their status from him, further supporting the case for patrilineality. On the other hand, the children of one of the daughters were *aek*, even though their father was a *camara*. The significance of being *aek* had probably declined with the weakening of leadership patterns and the lessened importance of the sub-chiefs. Today, the *aek-camara* division is non-functional, membership is confused, and, except for the chieftainship, it is correlated only vaguely

[10] Galvão 1949, p. 40.

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Jakwanari then presented to the dancers as payment. In another part of the ceremony, a gourd of the *piquí* fruit drink was poured on Jakwanari in the same manner that the manioc gruel was poured on Matiwana during the *ole* festival.

The Spear-Throwing Contest

The spear-throwing contest involved intertribal participation and was completely secular. The core of the celebration, which took place at the end of the rainy season, was a duel between rival teams representing the tribes of the area. The purpose of the duel was for a member of the team on the offensive to strike a member of the defending team with a blunt-ended spear propelled by an *atlatl*, or spear-thrower. The defendant held a few sticks vertically, one end resting on the ground, and tried to deflect the oncoming spear with them. The distance between the two was about twenty paces and hits were frequently scored. After each turn, the defender went on the offensive. The games were conducted in a spirit of friendship and festivity. Bruises, some of which must have been severe, were compensated for by gift exchanges.

The participants painted their bodies elaborately for the combat. One informant erroneously stated that the masks for which the area is famous (but which were no longer made by the Trumaí) were worn during one part of the festival.[1] Intertribal wrestling matches were also held at this gathering.

The Bull Roarer

Information on the defunct bull roarer rites, as for other ceremonies, is extremely meagre. As the Trumaí express it, they have "buried the *kuiã*" (bull roarer), but most of the adult men knew the ritual connected with it and remembered when it was still in use. The Trumaí formerly went to the Kamayurá village and took part in the ceremony there. One man told Quain that dancing in the Trumaí village preceded the ritual, whereupon they all went to the Kamayurá village and "did things that the women cannot see." Then, he said, there was a great deal of wrestling and copulation. Yati, Maibu, and Tun played a ceremonial role known only to them, while Yati, Oirupa, and Nitvary sang certain songs at night when everyone was asleep. The ceremonial flutes found throughout the upper Xingú are not mentioned in Quain's notes. Apparently, they were no longer used by the Trumaí.

[1] These masks are worn during a ceremony called the *jakui* by the Kamayurá, which, according to Galvão (1950, p. 385.) takes place in the same season, thus explaining the confusion.

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857 Among the eight boys below the ages of Autsuki and Jawaku there were no clearly organized groups. When outdoors they usually played in small groups of three or four, although nearly all would gather together occasionally for some special activity. The small groups were usually composed of age mates. Tsirikoan, the youngest, spent most of his time in the house, while the oldest boy, Muruta, was already drifting away from the others and spending more time with the men. Tay, an orphan boy of between ten and twelve years of age, was decidedly a misfit and did not join the others often. Of the remaining five, the three oldest were steady companions, while the two youngest either trailed them or stayed near their houses.

[572] Despite the fact that the children were together frequently, there were no fast friendships or strong ties of loyalty and dependence. In this respect they were much like the men. Their play together was sporadic, and participation was fluid and shifting.

857 The only organized play in which the children indulged was wrestling. 526 Matches were infrequent and usually broke up within fifteen minutes. [484] All the boys turned out on such occasions except Tay, whose interests [604] were abnormally directed toward homosexual play. The wrestling [858] matches were a complete replica of the adult contests, the boys even sitting on the log in the men's circle (this was one of the few times they were permitted to do so). The adults never interfered. Usually they stood near the houses and watched the grappling with great amusement. When the wrestling involved boys of the village only, it was very informal and few pains were taken with their ornamentation. Each bout consisted of trying out some holds and grunting loudly in imitation of the men. The contests generally ended in a draw by mutual consent without any hostility being shown.

Most of the matches were between the older boys. But they also wrestled with the younger children. Even little Tsirikoan wrestled once. As he did not know what he was expected to do, he merely grunted and fell down. The bigger boys were very gentle with the little ones and tried only to teach them.

648 Just as the men were excited by the intertribal wrestling matches, the 857 boys welcomed the chance to wrestle with boys from other tribes. This 526 occurred regularly, since it was customary in the upper Xingú for a boy [484] to travel with his maternal uncle. At one such time, a Kamayurá boy [604] came to the Trumaí village and was invited to wrestle. The boys gathered [171] in the men's circle after having carefully painted themselves and put on new arm and leg bands. The older boys wrestled the Kamayurá youngster in turn, but since he was bigger, he threw them easily. The [576] Trumaí men watched from a distance, silently rooting for their own boys, but laughing loudly as each landed on his back, out of politeness to the visitors.

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tention of marriage. But an intention of marriage did not insure exclusive sexual rights. The man usually continued to get gratification wherever he could find it. The knowledge of his other liaisons did not particularly disturb his bride-to-be, as she herself may well have been receiving attentions from other lovers. After marriage, such transgressions were not so readily tolerated.

The chief obstacles in the way of the marriage-bent Trumaí swain were the necessity to shout down his rivals and gain the approval and consent of the girl's kinsmen. The woman's consent was not necessary in making the marriage, and she usually remained aloof, waiting to see who won. If, however, she was not pleased with the mate to whom she was awarded, she was free to leave him. And this she often did. While Quain was in the village, there were marriages that lasted only a day or two due to the bride's dissatisfaction.

In addition to the arguments that precede most marriages, the man was expected to go through certain formalities. He went to the girl's mother and stated his intentions. If the girl had no mother, he approached the nearest male relative. In order to gain the favor of her kinsmen, he distributed gifts, the most important to the girl's mother, others to her father, siblings, and her mother's brother. The gift to the latter was especially important, as he was the one who formally gave the woman, or as the Trumaí phrase it, "spreads her legs." Gifts were also given the girl, culminating with a present of fish. In the meantime the girl made an especially fine hammock which she gave to the groom.

If everything was accepted, the man was free to take the girl to his house. The wedding was preceded by a fishing expedition in which nearly all the men participated, and by a wrestling match for which the groom was beautifully painted. The women held a trade game. The actual ceremony consisted of nothing more than the woman's moving into the house of her mate. A male relative carried her hammock to his home.

This was the way weddings should have been conducted in the Trumaí village. Actually, they were even less formal, especially in the case of second wives in polygamous unions. Marriage and sex preoccupied the Trumaí, for there were not enough women to go around; but even the few formal acts involved interested the Trumaí little. If the marriage was durable, the couple settled down and had children. After marriage and the birth of children no great change occurred in their positions in the community until they reached old age.

Old Age

Everyone in the village was classified as "younger" or "older." The men were either *axosek* (younger) or *tdakek* (older), while the terms for the women were, respectively, *axosektsa* and *tdakits*. These were not age

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cumbent upon the males was a prohibition against wearing body paint for several months after the death. This ban extended to women, also. In addition, the female mourner could not sing in any of the ceremonies, and she cut her hair immediately after the death. Marriage was also forbidden her during the mourning period. (Autu came under censure as she had married her dead husband's sister's son — which at any time was reprehensible — even though her hair, cut when he died, had not yet grown back.) The woman was also required to wail occasionally for the dead person during the time of mourning, and she made flat mud discs, about one inch high, in the village center. Quain never found out the reason for this, although Kayaru made several of these markers for her dead brother. No special reverence or respect was given to the markers as they were usually demolished during the wrestling matches.

Recreation and Amusement

Trading sessions have been referred to as "games" because they are a form of amusement, but this appellation is in a way misleading, as the economic aspect of the "trade game" is very important. Actually, except for the intertribal spear-throwing contest, the only organized recreation is wrestling, and this is immensely popular throughout the whole upper Xingú area.[4] Wrestling matches were especially frequent during intertribal visits and ceremonials. These occasions aroused keen interest, and competitive spirits ran high, but the onlookers made it a point of etiquette to show no partisanship, and the contestants made every effort to conceal latent intertribal hostility. They were always friendly to each other, and at the end of the match they exchanged a friendly embrace. This was not necessary between fellow Trumaí or close kinsmen of different villages. The most effusive behavior was always shown toward those who were most disliked and mistrusted.

Wrestling matches always took place in the afternoon. All that was needed to start a match was a quorum of four or five men. These small bouts were usually informal and more in the nature of practice than competitive contests. When most of the men were in the village the contests attracted more attention and required more preparation. Bodies were painted and arm and leg bands were worn. The hair was usually combed and plastered down.

The men lined up on the log in the men's circle or brought stools. The women and young boys watched from the periphery. Uninitiated boys were not allowed to take part in the men's wrestling, but the older ones were generally permitted to sit with the men.

Each wrestler tried for a grip by grabbing at the body of the other. A variant of the half-Nelson was frequently attempted. The match

[4] Cf. Galvão 1949, p. 44.

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526 would be terminated by mutual consent and without the need for either contestant to concede defeat.[4] The wrestlers were often pushed around [152] considerably, but except for grunts of effort, there were no expressions of pain or anger. However, when Quain tried to teach the Trumaí men to box, even the lightest punch caused them to retire. They claimed that the *karahiba* sport was much too rough.

562 Trumaí women do not "know how" to wrestle, but the Kamayurá 526 women wrestled to entertain guests. It was common opinion in the region 186 that Trumaí women did not compare favorably with Kamayurá women. 648 Even the Trumaí men agreed on this point. After a visit to the Kama- yurá village, the precocious young Yanahi was vociferous in his approval 171 of them. His admiration was due chiefly to the *jamyrikuma*, a Kamayurá female song and dance in which the women flapped their breasts and went through other provocative motions. He also described how they had pushed their twine belts down low on their buttocks, which to him was a very suggestive act. After the dance the women wrestled. Jakwalu, a Mehinaku, was the only woman in the Trumaí village who could wrestle, a fact that suggests that the females of this group also practiced the sport. She demonstrated her ability only on intertribal visits.

574 The Trumaí women did not entertain guests, except insofar as visitors 535 forced their attentions on the unmarried ones. The only occasions on which they were known to sing and dance were at certain ceremonies when they served as a chorus to the men.

533 Except for the use of pan-pipes, which the men played in the morning, [534] all music was connected with religious ceremonial. The pan-pipes con- [196] sisted of a half-dozen hollow reeds of different lengths laced together. Ceremonial singing was melodious, and the Trumaí enjoyed singing. They frequently requested Quain to sing in the men's circle. The requests were always phrased on behalf of the women and children. [123] Visits from members of other tribes always called for a performance by the ethnographer.

522 Humor consisted mostly of practical jokes played at the expense of 571 others. Jokes were always perpetrated by the men; the women served occasionally as butts. This does not mean that the men were gayer or more light-hearted than the women, for the contrary was actually the case. The women enjoyed each other's company more. They gossiped and laughed together, worked together, and generally wore a pleasanter expression. For the men, jokes were important as a means of recognition and assertion. They were always performed for an audience.

Teasing the women was also a popular male diversion. This was often done by ignoring them completely during a conversation. Yati was a

[4] This may be true only of bouts between Trumaí, as Oberg (1953, p. 89) notes that a man is defeated when he is thrown on his back.

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Indians practice on the village plaza and, as a target, plant a shaft which bears at the top a cylindrical or conical piece of cork wood.

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411 The throwing board, in our case, where there is no "board" often called a throwing stick,* is now a rare weapon which was

* For our case the best expression would be "arrow thrower." "Throwing stick" too easily gives rise to confusion with sticks that are thrown.

found among only the two Tupí tribes, the Kamayurá /Camayura/ and Auetö, and among the Trumaí. It was the greatest ethnological surprise of our journey. Ehrenreich then also came across it among the Karayá on the Araguay. Replaced by the bow, it has remained in active use only among the wood-poor Eskimo. The North American Indians, as far as is known, were not familiar with it; among the ancient Mexicans and among the Maya, as well as among the inhabitants of Colombia, it appears in limited use, though a wider distribution in early times may be inferred; it is regarded as the weapon of the Inca warriors; and finally we see individual examples of it among South American primitive peoples, especially Tupís, on the high Amazon as well as in eastern Brazil. Among our tribes, too, the throwing stick had lost its real importance, or at least was on the point of losing it. Nevertheless, in every house there were more throwing boards than bows; the Indians said that they never used the weapon any more for hunting, to be sure, but certainly in war. In 1884, when the Trumaí appeared before our camp, they had no throwing boards with them; the stone balls with which the darts are equipped for serious use were not present in any number among the Auetö and Kamayurá; they, too, had to get them from the Trumaí, and thus, for the Tupí tribes at any rate, if only because of their geographical location, the days of the throwing board are numbered. As a

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●[526]
[535] sporting weapon, however, it still enjoys great esteem and assiduous use; in connection with the dance, I shall also have to mention the throwing-board dance, which portrays being wounded in battle.

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These were noisy affairs. The seller threw his merchandise on the ground and loosed an exultant shout. All the participants cried out in response. Occasionally the goods were offered in the hope of acquiring a desired article from a certain person, but usually they were put up for barter with the general public. In this case, whoever wanted the item went back to his house and brought an article to exchange. He placed this on the floor and picked up his purchase. Often the seller refused the proffered exchange and waited for a better offer. If the trade was consummated, another loud shout was given by the audience. These exchanges went on until the participants lost interest, or until no more goods were offered.

All exchanges were considered to be gift-giving. This was especially true of trade between fellow-Trumaí. When members of other groups were involved, trade was at least formally so considered, although the behavior and attitudes in gift-giving, proper, were quite different. When Quain made exchanges he was always admonished to tell his wife who the donor of the "gift" was.

Within the Trumaí village gift-giving and not trade was the usual form of property distribution, especially between kinsmen. A man might trade with a person whom he called mother's brother, or father's brother, or some other relationship term, but this was almost always a kin bond reckoned by extension, and not a close blood tie.

Women participated little in the men's trade games. In part this was due to the sexual dichotomy that operated in social participation generally, in part to the nature of the goods involved. A woman did not want to buy a man's fish hooks any more than he wanted her cotton. Occasionally a woman might break into the male trade game to buy a particular object, but once this was accomplished she would withdraw. A few women might sit around the house where the trade game was being held, especially if their husbands were participating. Occasionally the women held their own trade games in which cotton and household utensils were commonly bartered. Conventional shouts accompanied their activities, but they were less boisterous than those of the men.

The women were especially eager to trade with Quain, to get his cloth and colored thread in exchange for food, which normally was given away. The chief was also a main instigator of trade games with Quain. At times Quain refused to participate to the great annoyance of the would-be second party.

The trade game reflected the Trumaí attitude towards property, in that it provided more enjoyment and excitement than any other form of social participation, except intertribal festivities. Each exchange was watched with bated breath, and the outcome greeted with happy cries and laughter. There was some indication that the most dominant and forward personalities were also the most energetic traders. It was

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421 437 524 [152] [527] It was significant that Aloari, probably the most aggressive person in the village, was often an organizer and always a main participant in the games. On the other hand, he never cooperated in group work.

This conventionalized form of exchange, which Quain called the trade game, had a strong functional role in Trumaí culture, but there are indications that it was of outside origin. One informant said that it was [177] a Bakairí custom, and Quain thought that the "game" might have been introduced by Bakairí traders bringing goods from the Indian post on the Paranatinga River.[1]

The Household

171 516 622 Among both the Waurá and the Kamayurá the extended family occupied its own house, and the head of the lineage was considered a sub-chief of the village.[2] Such unilocal, co-resident and extended family groupings, which were typical among tribes of the upper Xingú, were absent in the Trumaí village.

592 613 Consanguineally close male relatives usually formed co-resident units, but these nucleii of kinsmen were very small and did not constitute an entire household. Furthermore, they were related to each other through [591] male or female lines. Due to village patrilocality, there was a tendency for patrilineally related males to live together, but this did not result in [165] the establishment of a patrilineal lineage for several reasons. Among them the high death rate was very important.

592 594 Maibu's house illustrates the eclectic nature of the Trumaí household. Four nuclear families, totaling fourteen people, lived in it. Hanging their hammocks from one of the two center posts were Katauka, his son Kamkuti, his brother's son Autsuki, and another brother's son and his wife. At the opposite end of the house were Maibu and his wife, the wife's son by Maibu's deceased brother, Maibu's sister Ayenuke, Makurawa, a classificatory sister's son, and Makurawa's wife and their three children. Although everyone in the household was related, bonds were closer between those people who hung their hammocks from the same post.

589 592 182 Despite the fact that the household, as a unit, had no specific functions, it established the framework within which certain interpersonal dependencies were worked out. Bride-capture, intertribal warfare, divorce, and early death caused a significant proportion of the Trumaí to be temporarily or permanently without mates. This disadvantage was

[1] The trade game was possibly borrowed from the Bakairí, as its existence among this group has been reported by Oberg (1953, p. 72). However, craft specialisation and trade on the upper Xingú predates the Indian post. Cf. von den Steinen 1897, pp. 196, 207. [177]

[2] De Lima (1950, p. 9.) reports this arrangement among the Waurá, and Oberg (1953, p. 45.) adds that the position of house chief tends to pass in the male line in the Kamayurá village.

/297 cont./

B 527 535 773 *[191] According to everything that the natives told us about the festivals, they primarily amounted to what they thought were riotous feasting and drinking bouts. Bakaïrí legend describes the origin to us in the same way. Kame, the tribal ancestor of the Arinos tribes, built the first flute house, carved the first flute, invited his friends to the dance, and served them starch-paste. Keri, the tribal ancestor of the Bakaïrí, who most eagerly competed with Kame in invention, for his part invited Kami to the dance; the legend tells us in what manner the festival took place and speaks of the makanari and the imeo, the straw costumes without face-masks, but with characterizing and partly disguising headdresses, as Keri's invention.

B 527 535 539 "Keri, too, called his people together. Toward evening they went dancing on the village plaza. Then from the house Keri fetched pogu to be drunk. Immediately thereafter they plaited makanari. Keri called Kame. Many people came and Keri was master of the dance. They danced all day. Toward evening they rested. After dark they danced all through the night. Early in the morning they went to the river to bathe. After the bath they came to the flute house. They began with the imeo and danced the whole day. They likewise danced all night. -- Then the festival was at an end."

B T 527 535 628 648 B *[191] A noteworthy feature of the legend is the circumstance that the different tribes united for the dance festival. It is a universal custom that the villages invite one another to the big festivals. Friendly neighboring tribes also send numerous participants. In 1884, when we met the Trumaí and Kamayurá /Camayura/ together (see p. 105), the two tribes had just celebrated a joint festival.

B *191 177 535 For one thing it is understandable under these circumstances that an exchange and leveling out between the customs and dance gear of the tribes takes place. /298/ Each tribe knew the songs of the neighboring tribes, without understanding their content precisely, as we learned in numerous cases; one tribe would also become acquainted with new types of masks from another, and finally the mereschu design, to which I shall come back after describing the masks, gained its general distribution.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Necklaces were made by tying feathers to a cotton cord with *buriti* fibers. Headdresses included one consisting of a ring of cotton threads with colored feathers attached. The front feathers were long and formed a sort of plume. Another headdress, a feather topknot tied to a cotton headnet, was captured in warfare with the Caiabí. A third was a crown woven of bamboo splints traded from the Waurá for arrow feathers. There were probably many other kinds, as intertribal trade in headdresses was lively.

Belts and anklets were also traded between tribes. A few Brazilian type shirts and hats had found their way into the Trumaí village. They had been obtained from travelers in the region, and especially from the missionaries, Thomas Young and his wife.

The men wore their hair cut straight around the head on a line even with the tops of the ears. A small patch on the crown was plucked, but Quain noted that the Trumaí were much less careful about keeping these parts free of new growth than were the neighboring groups. The scissors which Quain gave to one of the men replaced the old method of hair cutting with an instrument made of *piranha* teeth. A composite comb (*kuwau*) was also used. The back was made of two parallel pieces of cane joined by cotton thread and the teeth of splints from the small roots of a palm-like shrub.

The Trumaí used several vegetable paints to decorate their bodies. This method of adornment was always invoked for ceremonies, and often for wrestling, or when there were guests. The paint most commonly used was the red *urucú* (*matdot*) which was grown in the gardens. The *urucú* was made into a paste by mixing it with oil from the visceral fat of a fish. The paste could be rolled into a ball and applied directly, or spread with the fingers or a spatula made from the middle rib of the *buriti* leaf.

Other body paints were *tawariri*, a black tree gum mixed with soot, and a preparation made from *piquí* fruit and fish oil. There was also a dye, *atdot*, which was not described, and one or two other paints which Quain was unable to identify. *Jany*, a non-decorative paste made from the liver of a fish, was used to ward off insects.

Designs included dots, crescents, zig-zags, circles, curves, straight lines, and combinations of these. Quain observed several standard patterns, many of which were symbolic; others were possibly symbolic representations also, but he was unable to learn their meanings.

One man painted crescents on his chest above either nipple which he said represented vaginas. A rattlesnake design consisted of a half ellipse on the flanks with dots in the center. Quain was told that a design of red spots, with two near the nipples ringed in black, was a boa constrictor. Another snake pattern, made by painting zig-zags down the sides and back, was used on one of the posts erected during the *ole* ceremony.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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531 302 Black zig-zags on a grayish background were painted on the body of one of the singers. Many designs were undoubtedly conventionalized, but seemingly not according to rigid standards.

All of these designs were observed on men. The women painted themselves much less often, and their patterns were far simpler. Blackened foreheads and black streaks on the thighs were most common. The latter looked as if the women had merely wiped their hands on their thighs after having painted their husbands.

Children also had their bodies painted. Some of the boys blackened their faces or had black dots put on their chests. One little girl had black angles painted on her cheek by her mother. Children's and women's body designs were simple and required little paint. The men reserved most of the paint for themselves.

A husband's painting was often done by his wife, but men frequently adorned themselves or another man, particularly a younger close relative. There may also have been specialized knowledge of certain designs. Only one man was said to be able to make the zig-zag snake pattern, and he painted it on the bodies of others.

Work Patterns

461 512 Accompanying the low degree of specialization and cooperation in production was a lack of rhythm in the work habits of the Trumaí. The day started at about three or four o'clock in the morning. At this time many persons got out of their hammocks to fan their fires and huddle around them, for these were the chilliest hours. The men might get together at this time and talk while the women prepared food. Not much work was done then. At most, a man might add some thatch to his house. By sunrise everyone was awake, and the women went in a [515] body to a nearby arm of the lagoon to bathe and draw containers of water. The men usually went to bathe a little later in pairs or alone. After bathing, everyone ate, and the work day really began.

Those who intended to garden went out early and labored until ten or eleven o'clock, that is, while it was cool and insects were less troublesome. As a rule, they ate again upon returning and then stayed in the [264] village the rest of the day, working at various crafts as the spirit moved them. Actually a good deal of time was spent loafing and sleeping.

Those who planned to fish started out in the morning, but usually after the gardeners had departed. Unless a two or three day trip was planned, they commonly returned by four o'clock, and always before dark. Occasionally a group of men and women went to the lagoon to [158] spend a day or two making salt.

One of the striking features of Trumaí economic activity was the number of different tasks done by various people on the same day.

/238 cont./

171 411 No. 2 in the accompanying figure or pear-shaped, like No. 3. Only a small part of the stone peeked out of the wax covering; cf. No. 9. The wooden points had different forms, spherical or, corresponding to the stone pear, with a long stem to be shoved into the shaft: No. 1, or (the common form) Nos. 4 and 10, a cylindrical piece that tapered at the bottom for insertion -- in No. 11 also one with a pointed projection, furthermore a knob, No. 12, and a fork, No. 8. In Figure 6 on [531] page 91, the center arrow bears a long, narrow wooden cone which is decorated with a long black linear or dot design on a white background.

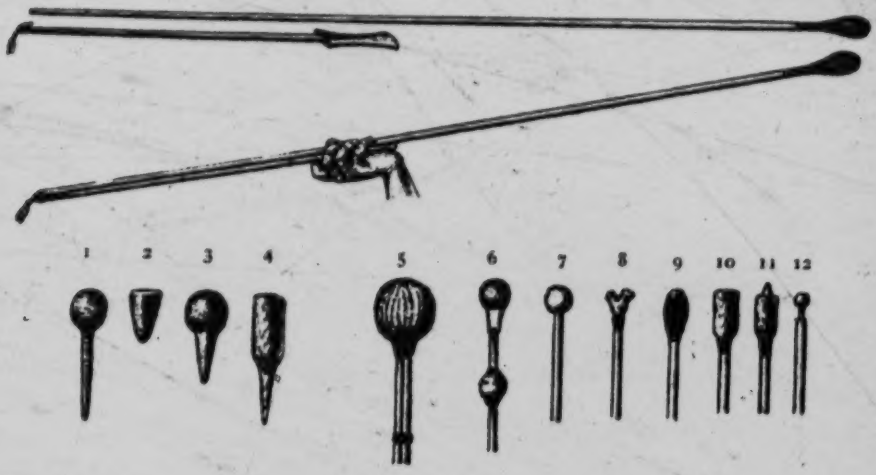

Fig. 28. Throwing board (1/13 nat. size/ as shown in the original illustration./) and the tips of the darts.

already the purely decorative weapon for the dance. Many darts bore [824] only wax knobs. Finally, we see in Nos. 6 and 7 one or two tucum nuts (Astrocaryum) set on in the manner of the noise-making arrows, and in No. 5 a fist-size tucum nut on two reed shafts lashed together.

[192] The throwing board gets its name from the tucum palm: yauarí. It is not unusual for the plant that furnishes the material to provide the name for the implement as well; the Kamayurá added a more specific identification, yauarí amomoáp, which means (amo, far; mo, causative; ap, to break apart, to wound) "tucum shattering far away." Apollo amomoáp, the one hitting far away. In a legend

A 531 825 /267 cont./

No. 3 are armored fish, akará. They have the same shape as the nuki fish of the Bakaïrí, No. 8 on Plate 20 /see p. 280/, so they are perhaps also a species of cascudos. Now, the armored sheatfish do not have a rhomboid form like the mereschu, but are elongated. Since we also see the pakú, likewise not rhomboidal, as a rhombus, and since even Nos. 14 and 15 of Plate 21 /see p. 281/, the non-schematically drawn fish, look slightly more rhomboid than corresponds with reality, we realize that the fish body in any stylization is meant to be a rhombus, whether or not this is appropriate for the species in question, as it actually is only for the mereschu, applied everywhere with quite overwhelming preference. For more detailed characterization there are worked in, in the case of the pakú, the dots, and, in the case of the armored sheatfish, the sharply contrasted, hard scales, which are polygonal, but which in the larger specimens appear as slightly overlapping triangles (cf. Brehm, Fische /Fish/, p. 144, illustration).

A 531 [291] In No. 2 we see the uluri triangles, which among the Auetó, too, are named with the word corresponding to the women's triangle (umpám). It is a great pity that we could not have met the T [291] Trumaí under peaceful circumstances, for they are the only ones [171] whose women wear a bast band; to be sure, they have borrowed [531] so much from their neighbors that they may also have the women's triangle in their ornamentation. In the flute house of the A [345] Auetó there was a rather long frieze under the vault of the roof, where a whole series of umpams or uluris had been painted in black on narrow strips of light wood.

A 531 825 Now for No. 1. Two rows of triangles, one above the other, exactly like the uluris, but above the triangles there runs a zigzag line bordering the upper sides, which never occurs in the case of the uluris. These are suddenly bats, tatsiá of the Auetó, and, to be sure, tatsiá pevú, "level," "flat bats." In like manner, bats in vertical position are the same triangles which horizontally in No. 2 we must acknowledge as uluris; they even lack the accompanying zigzag line of No. 1, but they are designated as hanging bats. The semímo, the bats of the Bakaïrí, on the third back-stick

/122 cont./

All

123 doubts vanished at the end of the trail. Two women there were
192 crossing the path, let out a dreadful scream, and disappeared with lightning speed into the bushes. A chorus of confused, shrill cries and suddenly between the trees figures running excitedly hither and thither everywhere. We were in the midst of the Trumaí!

An unpleasant situation. To go back was, of course, impossible. Therefore, straight ahead. I have never heard more insane noise. In the background women and children dashed
[411] away with ear-splitting howls; the men gathered up their weapons here and there and, swinging bows, arrows, darts, they drew together into a screaming, dancing, raging knot, toward which we resolutely strode, one behind the other. I fixed my eye on a short gentleman who seemed to be the chief, stepped straight up to him, placed my hand on his shoulder, and did what is always best on such occasions, I laughed. Nor did I omit a forcefully expressed "katũ katũ karáiba, kúra kúra karáiba." In fact, I addressed several short sentences to him in a language which he had most probably never heard, but the sounds of which readily spring to my lips at critical moments and then always help to triumph over the gravity of the situation; it is my beloved Düsseldorf dialect, reinforced with a few carnivalistic catchwords that are appropriate for any situation. They had their effect on the Trumaí as well; the little old chief was, to be sure, too horrified to be able to laugh with me, but he nevertheless greeted me as graciously as he could.

[352] Two stools were hastily dragged up and the straw in which
[532] they were packed was torn off; they were bird-shaped, and one, which represented a vulture, was distinguished by two necks and heads, like a double eagle. We sat down in the forest camp, and the company, looking quite wild in their terror, surged and pressed all around us among the trees. When I declared with jovial mien that I wanted to sleep among them, twenty hands moved at once clearing away the brush and making room -- more attentive service could not be imagined. After

/287 cont./

A W 352 532 825 chiefly in their beaks; that of the wood ibis is curved ibis-like. The largest and handsomest birds were preferably portrayed. Thus, among the Mehinakú, we found a magnificent king-vulture, Sarcoramphus papa, or red urubu. The red warts

Fig. 82. Tujujú stool. Kamayurá. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration.

which this splendid predatory bird has between its beak and its eyes were carefully carved. The Trumaí stool illustrated here (Fig. 84 /see p. 326/) is supposed to represent the white urubu; it lacks the warts. Strangely enough, it was given two necks

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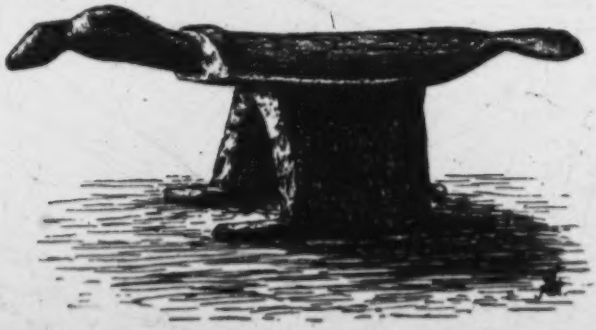

Fig. 83. Wood-ibis stool. Mehinakú. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

T 352 532 825 171 and heads, so we see here the chief's chair in the form of a double eagle; they are supposed to be male and female. By contrast,

T [381] [415] the /288/ the depression in the back-plate is somewhat prosaic; it serves as a bowl for crushing and mixing the dyeing resin. In

[Text continues on P. 329]

Trumai SP23
Yaruma SP25
Nahuqua
Waura SP18
Mehinacu

/288 cont./

T
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Fig. 84. Double-vulture stool. Trumaí.
(1/9 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Y
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Fig. 85. Monkey stool. Nahuquá. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

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Fig. 86. Jaguar stool. Mehinakú. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Truma SP23 SP7 Bacairi SP7 AueTO SP6 Camayura Yaruma SP25 Nahuqua Waupa SP18 Mehinacu

A T W 352 532 825 /288 cont./ In the case of all the birds, the supporting boards /Figs. 84 and 85 appear here/ of the simple stool, provided with rails, have been retained, except that they are now spread farther apart and are set on the center line of the abdomen. The seat-plate and the supporting boards consist of one piece. The upper surface is extremely carefully smoothed. The measurements of the double vulture, which correspond to those of the others, are as follows: 61 centimeters long, 24 centimeters wide, 25 centimeters high.

V 352 532 825 We found two quadrupeds. Here, too, higher types were chosen. The support boards have been transformed into four legs. Among the Nahuquá we acquired a not very handsome monkey, 46 centimeters long, characterized by the ears, nose, and the long horizontal tail. The back had its natural roundness. The animal was /Fig. 86 appears here/ always immediately identified correctly among the other tribes. The most splendid specimen of our collection, however, is the jaguar of the Mehinakú, a chunky creature, 90 centimeters long and 18 centimeters wide, /Plates XXIII and XXIV appear here/ /289/ with a clumsy head and a well worked-out neck, a long plate-like back and a long, slightly raised tail. The cat's ears are excellently reproduced, the nose is limited to a vague elevation, the mouth is a wide cross-furrow, and the eyes are a pair of round Unio-shell pieces with a mother-of-pearl sheen.

W 352 532 825

B * 171 323 Pots. The basic form of the clay bowls (cf. pages 254, 255) with which we are exclusively concerned here is, like that of the gourd bowls, hemispherical to almost the shape of half an egg. The pots drawn on the two plates 23 and 24 /see pp. 328-329/ are all in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde. They come from no particular village, but were made exclusively by Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ women. With the exception of Numbers 25, 26, and 27 of the second plate, all forms are animal motifs. We obtained pot No. 26 among the Mehinakú; it was attributed to the Waurá women, the chief artists of the Nu-Aruak group. It consists of reddish clay, which heightens the similarity to a real gourd bowl, is covered with an attractive mereschu design, and has a string fastened to it. We acquired No. 25, the spiny shell of a forest fruit, from the family of the Yanumakapü-Nahuquá whose

[Text Continues on P. 330]

/317 cont./

illustrations in "Grad' aus dem Wirtshaus... /Just out of the Pub/," in which the houses, the pumps, and the lanterns have exactly the same faces.

A 532 535 [191] Besides the hüvât masks there was also found among the Kamayurá a huge plaiting reminiscent of the kualóhe of the Bakaïrí, which had approximately the form of a mushroom with skin and stem. The upper body of the wearer, approximately to the navel, was in the cap, which was plaited over a large cross-hoop, while the stem of the mushroom was formed by the straw curtain hanging down. One quadrant of the surface of the cap, set off by feeler-like pieces of vine, was painted with the mereschu design; on the top a stem was added, similar to the imeo of the Bakaïrí, but thickly plaited round, painted with mereschus, and ending in a grass tassel. The thing was called turuá; in Guaraní turú means "all kinds of worms living in the water," whereas in Tupí, according to Martius, it means Tenthredo, leaf wasp.

Fig. 115. Wooden mask with fish pictures. Kamayurá. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the originat illustration/.)

T 532 535 Trumaí. Exclusively cotton plaited masks, called hukráke, zarumuká, kuahahá, the various meanings of which I do not know. It should be remembered that we met these people in flight, and that they may have left wooden masks behind. It may also come from the fact that a very large mask without facial parts appears only as an oval frame with cotton plaiting (black, with red center stripe) stretched over it and also provided with an incomplete buriti hood. In spite of the cotton, one cannot speak of "weaving"; the strands were crudely plaited,

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T 532 535 [171] as for straw mats. Some /318/ of the plaited masks are of the same type as among the Auetŏ and Kamayurá, but usually the entire surface of the texture is covered with the black mereschu design on a white background, in one case with horizontal rhombuses and without neck stripe or center stripe, while on others the latter is reduced to a black line. /Figs. 116 and 117 appear here./

Eyes and nose are usually three equal-sized lumps of wax next to one another in a row and knotted on with a piece of buriti fiber. On only one mask is a pair of bright shell disks pressed on the eye-lumps. The mouth is a black wax ring that looks like a pessary and so large that nose and mouth have room in it. All the facial parts are confined to the upper half, in fact the upper third, of the oval.

On a number of masks the painting is simply a black background with a red center stripe or a red background with a black center stripe in which nose and mouth are placed or which extends only to the mouth.

/319/ In the case of three masks, however, there is more. On No. 1: black background, white center stripe accompanied by a white line on either side; touching it is the triangular cheek part which consists of a red and a white stripe, the black background stripe, and a red border triangle. The mask reminds one very much of the first wax mask of the Auetŏ, Fig. 107 /see p. 360/. No. 2: black /Fig. 118 appears here/ background, red center stripe, two white border triangles on either side, outlined by a white zigzag line. No. 3: white background on the outside and top, inside a black background the width of the eyes and to a height to include the eyes, with a red center stripe up to the mouth ring.

B *171 532 535 II. Common Origin of the Masks and the Mereschu Design.

We have no difficulty understanding the Bakaïrí who put on animal figures plaited out of straw and heads of animal skins, but we cannot help but find it strange that there are facial parts of human form on the animal masks. One would expect a dove

[Text Continues on P. 371]

2: Steinen--370E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Trumai SP23

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Fig. 116. Trumaí mask, black and red. (1/4 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 117. Trumaí mask with mereschu design. (1/4 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

/319 cont./

B 171* 532 535

mask, for example, to have a bill and not a nose with a mouth beneath it. On seeing such a dancer, one has the feeling that he is going to call out to us pleasantly: "Don't think that I am really a dove. I am a

T 532 535

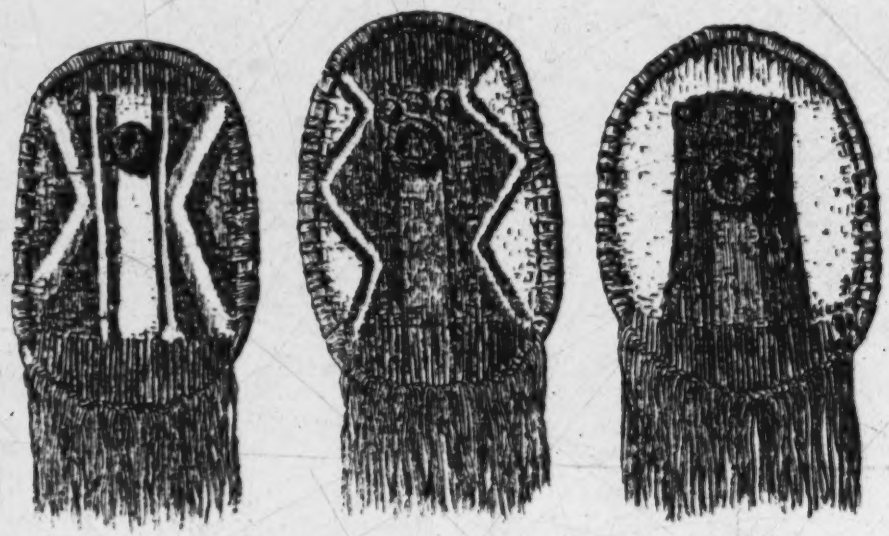

Fig. 118. Trumaí masks, painted black, white, and red. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

B 171* 532 535

human being, like you, and am merely /320/ pretending to be a dove as you can hear by my cooing and can convince yourself by the painted dots on my feathers."

"Know ye, therefore, that I am Hans Schnock, the carpenter
Not a wild lion, forsooth, and not a lion's wife."

In fact, the masks are not by any means merely face masks. Eyes, nose, and mouth are restricted to the upper part of the field, and the center stripe marks the continuation of the body with the neck; wing, fin, side line, neck and shoulder markings appear next to it. On the fish makanari of the Bakaïrí, which is a work made with great care and love, we miss the mouth and see a large fish in the middle of the mereschu design. The Auetŏ, finally, look out from under their masks, through the hood; moreover, a large part of the wooden-mask eyes are made so that the holes are too small and not the proper distance apart to be suitable for looking through; they are for the spectator, not for the wearer.

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/321 cont./

How does the artist arrive at this peculiarity? After all, on the frieze (cf. Plate 21/see p. 281/) the fish are drawn as they swim. Well, on the masks the fish also stand on their tails; one need only look at the fish makanari of the Bakaïrí, page 349, and the black Kamayurá mask, page 368. Indeed, the only time we come across the mereschu fish as a single individual outside the net, on the gull mask of the Bakaïrí, page 289, Fig. 44, it is standing vertically. On the woven masks, however, which are the ones that matter since they are the oldest, the fish was drawn in a position unnatural in itself and for the fish, /322/ because they have the elongated oval position corresponding to the face; if one imagines the piava of the fish makanari, page 349, as horizontal, one will realize, first, that the fish would then be contracted, secondly, that it would look positively unnatural to have the fish swimming across the face because it would be contrary to the main direction. A glance at door and window arrangements shows the same requirement for us.

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Thus, net and fish were painted with upright rhombuses on the elongated oval mask. Look at the great number of the mask illustrations with the mereschu design: the same position everywhere. We saw only one exception and it proves the rule rather than running counter to it. This is a Trumaí mask. The good Trumaí, however, borrowed the masks from the Kamayurá, just as they learned of cotton and the sieve-mat among them, and they designate them with the Tupí name. They did not take part in the developmental process.

We now also understand the close connection between net and mereschu fish and the abundant production of this particular fish. Within each mesh was drawn a fish, which had to be small, because otherwise it would not fit in the space, which also had the same rhomboid shape as the net mesh. Finally, we understand how, with the fine work, the representation of the head, fins, and tail was done by filling in the corners. In short, everything agrees so excellently, both for the design and for the course of development, that I regard the proof as demonstrated, insofar as this is possible.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

zoomorphic benches; the bull roarer; use of the spear-thrower in inter-tribal games; whistling arrows; the mode of hair-cutting and body painting and ornamentation; the use of the *uluri*, or triangular bark pubic cover. The basic subsistence economies of the upper Xingú groups are almost identical, and there are strong similarities in social organization. In the latter sphere, the extended family, bilaterality with some patrilineal emphasis, patrilocality, and the men's cult appear general. The various tribes share many of the same ceremonies and co-participate in some. Insofar as is known, shamanism is much the same among all groups, and there is great similarity in religious beliefs and in mythology.

Trumaí History

Although the linguistic affiliations of the other upper Xingú peoples indicate their origins to be in the north, all available evidence points to a migration of the Trumaí from the southeast. Apparently this move did not occur very long ago, for the Trumaí themselves still tell of it. According to Trumaí tradition they came into their present habitat from a land far to the southeast. There, they say, there is still a Trumaí village. Informants varied as to whether or not the forebears of the Xingú Trumaí knew how to grow manioc. They were said to have had long hair like the Gê-speaking Suyá, to hunt tapir, and to tie up their penes. Matiwana, the old man of the Trumaí, claimed to remember when the Trumaí still treated their genitalia in this way. He also claimed that, when the Trumaí moved into the area and saw the Kamayurá and other tribes, they adopted the customs of hair-cutting and penis freedom. The tale, coupled with the fact that the Trumaí women did not use the true *uluri* pubic cover when von den Steinen first visited them,[5] suggests a fairly recent entry of the Trumaí into the upper Xingú area — perhaps no earlier than the nineteenth century — and due possibly to the pressures of white colonization.

Other evidence also argues for the recency of the present Trumaí habitat. The diffusion of culture traits in the upper Xingú is extensive, and in most cases it is difficult to determine the direction of borrowing. The Trumaí lexicon, however, shows heavy influence from their neighbors, especially the nearby Kamayurá. This influence manifests itself chiefly in names of plants and objects of material culture and in ceremonial songs. The songs of two major Trumaí ceremonies, both of which are practiced also by the Kamayurá, show a preponderance of Kamayurá words and phrases. Carib and Arawakan words are frequent in other songs. Also, the word for bull roarer in both Kamayurá and Trumaí is *uriuri*. The Trumaí words for such typically tropical forest domestica-

[5] Von den Steinen, 1897, p. 188.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

on a man's property, as did also, in the following order, his sister's son and his brother's son. Within the household, food was freely shared, and correspondingly, a co-resident could ask for a material object. These requests, however, were not always granted. A common excuse was to say that the object was promised to someone having a stronger claim. Despite these evasions, the patterns of gift-giving created a constant circulation of food and objects throughout the village.

Inheritance

Transmission of property was accomplished chiefly through trade and gift. There is no information on the disposal of the material possessions of the deceased. The only available data on inheritance concern the office of chief and the possession of certain songs sung at the *ole* (manioc) ceremony. The former was inherited patrilineally and will be discussed later. The ceremonial songs were inherited either through the mother's brother or the mother's father. Thus, old Matiwana would some day teach his *ole* songs to Amanatsin, his daughter's eldest son. Nitvary, another of the three men who knew *ole* songs, learned them from Jawaku's father, who was his mother's brother. Since cross-cousin marriage was practiced, Jawaku might marry Nitvary's sister, and their child would inherit the songs from Nitvary. In this way the *ole* songs returned to the direct patrilineal line every other generation.

In response to careful questioning, Quain was assured that these songs could be obtained only from the mother's brother and mother's father, and not from the father or the father's brother. The combination of this matrilineal trait and patrilineal elements is characteristic of the bilaterality in upper Xingú culture.

The Trade Game

The trade game was a mechanism of inter- and intra-community distribution. Even more importantly it provided a framework for social participation, leisure time relaxation, and general enjoyment. As such it was one of the few integrating factors in Trumaí society.

Afternoons, especially rainy afternoons, were dull times in the Trumaí village. In Quain's words, "These people are bored but don't realize it! Wrestling provides some diversion, but nothing quickens spirits more than a brisk trade game (*kawirxo*). All that is needed is for one of the men to stride through the village with a bundle of goods to trade and suggest a *kawirxo*. Shouts go up on all sides, everybody crowds into one of the houses, and the game is on. Enthusiasm is even greater when there are visitors in the village."

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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but continued at the same pace for about three weeks, and then slowly died down. It would be impossible to say on what day the *ole* ceremony ended.

When the *ole* cycle began it consisted of little except songs and dances. These were usually held shortly before daybreak and at night. About a week afterwards decorated posts were erected in the village center. These "*ole* posts" served as "shrines" to which food offerings were made. In the meantime, dancing and singing went on almost every day. On some days two or three *ole* songs and dances were performed; on others there was little activity.

The intensity of the ritual varied with the number of people in the village and according to whim. The participants changed from day to day, and some took part more often than others. Only certain men knew the songs and dances, and they served as leaders. Other men occasionally joined in and performed an accompanying role, while the women followed the dancers and served as a chorus. The usual procedure was for the men to sing and dance their way from the nearby forest into the plaza, where they were joined by the female chorus. They then made the rounds of all the houses, pausing to sing at each.

Only Matiwana and Nitvary served as leaders of the dance processions, as they had inherited the necessary songs. Makurawa also knew *ole* songs, but his role was always secondary. Nitvary, due to his youth and vigor, was the principal dance leader. Most of the other adult men did not participate in the dances and seemed bored by the activity at times. There was no rule governing female participation in the dance. One of the men initiated the performance without consulting the other men, and the women flocked from their houses of their own will to join the procession, falling in behind the older boys. Quain thought this reflected well the respective roles of the men and women in Trumaí culture. Children always followed in the rear and cried out at the beginning and end of each major sequence in the performance.

There were also *ole* songs for solo performance without choral accompaniment, which were not considered to be the special property of any one man. The soloist made the rounds of all the houses, stopping at each to perform a song and a simple dance. Even the women sang certain *ole* songs, and on one occasion Quain observed two women making the customary rounds together without male accompaniment.

Quain mentioned one song as being quite melodious, and stated that there was greater variation of pitch in songs which were distributed throughout the upper Xingú area. The Trumaí had borrowed songs heavily from their neighbors, and, in fact, had probably borrowed the whole ceremony. Kamayurá verses were most frequently heard, but there was also a significant sprinkling of Cariban words.

The chorus that followed Matiwana and Nitvary gave only the sketchiest accompaniment. The women did not seem to know the songs,

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but the frequent repetitions and the small number of pitches made accompaniment possible, and their voices fell consistently into the fourth interval below those of the men. The women, however, enjoyed their role thoroughly and gave far better support than the men, who made little effort to coordinate their activities. 796 243 533

The songs were arranged in a series of three verses. Each time a new house was entered, the singer started a new series. Matiwana's songs were more elaborate than Nitvary's. Occasionally the old man would make a mistake and have to start the verse over again, but these lapses merely amused him. The only musical instrument used was the tapir hoof rattle. [534]

Quain gives no detailed information on the dances involved, but apparently they were simple, and perhaps partially improvised. Nitvary was the sole person to take special pains with his toilet before leading a dance. At such a time he usually wore a feather headdress and painted his body ornately. [535] [302]

One of the more important parts of the *ole* ceremony was the complex of activities surrounding the *ole* posts. A few days after the ceremony began several poles were brought into the clearing just outside the village, and the bark was peeled from them. They were rubbed with white clay and painted in colored designs. Each man placed the pole he had decorated upon his shoulders and brought it into the village with shouts and singing. With the poles on their shoulders, they danced about the village, finally placing their burdens upright in holes that had been dug previously in the village plaza. The children helped by packing dirt around them. The women then smeared red *urucú* dye on the bases of the poles and just below the upper ends. Tufts of cotton were put on top by both men and women. An offering in the form of fish on *beiju* was placed in front of the posts. Later in the afternoon, and early every afternoon for the next two weeks, the men ate together among these poles. Their attitude in this ceremonial milieu was certainly not one of special reverence, for they draped two blankets Quain had given them over the posts for shade. 796 243 [386] [782]

Nearly every day additional food offerings were placed in front of the posts. One post was given special attention. This was Nukekerehe, which was said to be malignant. However, fear of Nukekerehe was mixed with jokes. Quain was told one night that the men would not go to bed until he did, for if he stayed up long Nukekerehe would surely eat him. Weeks later, when the posts were pulled up and brought into the houses of their owners, the man carrying this pole stamped his feet at the children and pretended anger, much to everyone's amusement. On one occasion Matiwana performed a ritual in which he was apparently acting the part of Nukekerehe. He made wrathful noises and jumped about in front of the post, before which were two bowls of manioc soup. [782] 796 243 522 [247]

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Jakwanari then presented to the dancers as payment. In another part of the ceremony, a gourd of the *piquí* fruit drink was poured on Jakwanari in the same manner that the manioc gruel was poured on Matiwana during the *ole* festival.

The Spear-Throwing Contest

The spear-throwing contest involved intertribal participation and was completely secular. The core of the celebration, which took place at the end of the rainy season, was a duel between rival teams representing the tribes of the area. The purpose of the duel was for a member of the team on the offensive to strike a member of the defending team with a blunt-ended spear propelled by an *atlatl*, or spear-thrower. The defendant held a few sticks vertically, one end resting on the ground, and tried to deflect the oncoming spear with them. The distance between the two was about twenty paces and hits were frequently scored. After each turn, the defender went on the offensive. The games were conducted in a spirit of friendship and festivity. Bruises, some of which must have been severe, were compensated for by gift exchanges.

The participants painted their bodies elaborately for the combat. One informant erroneously stated that the masks for which the area is famous (but which were no longer made by the Trumaí) were worn during one part of the festival.[7] Intertribal wrestling matches were also held at this gathering.

The Bull Roarer

Information on the defunct bull roarer rites, as for other ceremonies, is extremely meagre. As the Trumaí express it, they have "buried the *kuth*" (bull roarer), but most of the adult men knew the ritual connected with it and remembered when it was still in use. The Trumaí formerly went to the Kamayurá village and took part in the ceremony there. One man told Quain that dancing in the Trumaí village preceded the ritual, whereupon they all went to the Kamayurá village and "did things that the women cannot see." Then, he said, there was a great deal of wrestling and copulation. Yati, Maibu, and Tun played a ceremonial role known only to them, while Yati, Oirupa, and Nitvary sang certain songs at night when everyone was asleep. The ceremonial flutes found throughout the upper Xingú are not mentioned in Quain's notes. Apparently, they were no longer used by the Trumaí.

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[157] contestant to concede defeat.[5] The wrestlers were often pushed around considerably, but except for grunts of effort, there were no expressions of pain or anger. However, when Quain tried to teach the Trumaí men to box, even the lightest punch caused them to retire. They claimed that the *karahiba* sport was much too rough.

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B /231 cont./
*171 411 Indians practice on the village plaza and, as a target, plant a shaft which bears at the top a cylindrical or conical piece of cork wood.

T 171 411 The throwing board, in our case, where there is no "board" often called a throwing stick,* is now a rare weapon which was

* For our case the best expression would be "arrow thrower." "Throwing stick" too easily gives rise to confusion with sticks that are thrown.

found among only the two Tupí tribes, the Kamayurá /Camayura/ and Auetö, and among the Trumaí. It was the greatest ethnological surprise of our journey. Ehrenreich then also came across it among the Karayá on the Araguay. Replaced by the bow, it has remained in active use only among the wood-poor Eskimo. The North American Indians, as far as is known, were not familiar with it; among the ancient Mexicans and among the Maya, as well as among the inhabitants of Colombia, it appears in limited use, though a wider distribution in early times may be inferred; it is regarded as the weapon of the Inca warriors; and finally we see individual examples of it among South American primitive peoples, especially Tupís, on the high Amazon as well as in eastern Brazil. Among our tribes, too, the throwing stick had lost its real importance, or at least was on the point of losing it. Nevertheless, in every house there were more throwing boards than bows; the Indians said that they never used the weapon any more for hunting, to be sure, but certainly in war. In 1884, when the Trumaí appeared before our camp, they had no throwing boards with them; the stone balls with which the darts are equipped for serious use were not present in any number among the Auetö and Kamayurá; they, too, had to get them from the Trumaí, and thus, for the Tupí tribes at any rate, if only because of their geographical location, the days of the throwing board are numbered. As a T [526] sporting weapon, however, it still enjoys great esteem and ●[525] assiduous use; in connection with the dance, I shall also have to mention the throwing-board dance, which portrays being wounded in battle.

/297 cont./

B 527 535 773 *[191] According to everything that the natives told us about the festivals, they primarily amounted to what they thought were riotous feasting and drinking bouts. Bakaïrí legend describes the origin to us in the same way. Kame, the tribal ancestor of the Arinos tribes, built the first flute house, carved the first flute, invited his friends to the dance, and served them starch-paste. Keri, the tribal ancestor of the Bakaïrí, who most eagerly competed with Kame in invention, for his part invited Kami to the dance; the legend tells us in what manner the festival took place and speaks of the makanari and the imeo, the straw costumes without face-masks, but with characterizing and partly disguising headdresses, as Keri's invention.

B 527 535 539 "Keri, too, called his people together. Toward evening they went dancing on the village plaza. Then from the house Keri fetched pogu to be drunk. Immediately thereafter they plaited makanari. Keri called Kame. Many people came and Keri was master of the dance. They danced all day. Toward evening they rested. After dark they danced all through the night. Early in the morning they went to the river to bathe. After the bath they came to the flute house. They began with the imeo and danced the whole day. They likewise danced all night. -- Then the festival was at an end."

B T 527 535 628 648 B *[191] A noteworthy feature of the legend is the circumstance that the different tribes united for the dance festival. It is a universal custom that the villages invite one another to the big festivals. Friendly neighboring tribes also send numerous participants. In 1884, when we met the Trumaí and Kamayurá /Camayura/ together (see p. 105), the two tribes had just celebrated a joint festival.

B *191 177 535 For one thing it is understandable under these circumstances that an exchange and leveling out between the customs and dance gear of the tribes takes place. /298/ Each tribe knew the songs of the neighboring tribes, without understanding their content precisely, as we learned in numerous cases; one tribe would also become acquainted with new types of masks from another, and finally the mereschu design, to which I shall come back after describing the masks, gained its general distribution.

/317 cont./

illustrations in "Grad' aus dem Wirtshaus... /Just out of the Pub/," in which the houses, the pumps, and the lanterns have exactly the same faces.

A 532 535 [191] Besides the hüvát masks there was also found among the Kamayurá a huge plaiting reminiscent of the kualóhe of the Bakaírí, which had approximately the form of a mushroom with skin and stem. The upper body of the wearer, approximately to the navel, was in the cap, which was plaited over a large cross-hoop, while the stem of the mushroom was formed by the straw curtain hanging down. One quadrant of the surface of the cap, set off by feeler-like pieces of vine, was painted with the mereschu design; on the top a stem was added, similar to the imeo of the Bakaírí, but thickly plaited round, painted with mereschus, and ending in a grass tassel. The thing was called turuá; in Guaraní turú means "all kinds of worms living in the water," whereas in Tupí, according to Martius, it means Tenthredo, leaf wasp.

Fig. 115. Wooden mask with fish pictures. Kamayurá. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

T 532 535 Trumaí. Exclusively cotton plaited masks, called hukráke, zarumuká, kuahahá, the various meanings of which I do not know. It should be remembered that we met these people in flight, and that they may have left wooden masks behind. It may also come from the fact that a very large mask without facial parts appears only as an oval frame with cotton plaiting (black, with red center stripe) stretched over it and also provided with an incomplete buriti hood. In spite of the cotton, one cannot speak of "weaving"; the strands were crudely plaited,

/317 cont./

I 532 535 [171] as for straw mats. Some /318/ of the plaited masks are of the same type as among the Auetö and Kamayurá, but usually the entire surface of the texture is covered with the black mereschu design on a white background, in one case with horizontal rhombuses and without neck stripe or center stripe, while on others the latter is reduced to a black line. /Figs. 116 and 117 appear here./

Eyes and nose are usually three equal-sized lumps of wax next to one another in a row and knotted on with a piece of buriti fiber. On only one mask is a pair of bright shell disks pressed on the eye-lumps. The mouth is a black wax ring that looks like a pessary and so large that nose and mouth have room in it. All the facial parts are confined to the upper half, in fact the upper third, of the oval.

On a number of masks the painting is simply a black background with a red center stripe or a red background with a black center stripe in which nose and mouth are placed or which extends only to the mouth.

/319/ In the case of three masks, however, there is more. On No. 1: black background, white center stripe accompanied by a white line on either side; touching it is the triangular cheek part which consists of a red and a white stripe, the black background stripe, and a red border triangle. The mask reminds one very much of the first wax mask of the Auetö, Fig. 107 /see p. 360/. No. 2: black /Fig. 118 appears here/ background, red center stripe, two white border triangles on either side, outlined by a white zigzag line. No. 3: white background on the outside and top, inside a black background the width of the eyes and to a height to include the eyes, with a red center stripe up to the mouth ring.

B *171 532 535 II. Common Origin of the Masks and the Mereschu Design.

We have no difficulty understanding the Bakaïrí who put on animal figures plaited out of straw and heads of animal skins, but we cannot help but find it strange that there are facial parts of human form on the animal masks. One would expect a dove

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 371]

2: Steinen--370E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Trumai SP23

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Fig. 116. Trumaí mask, black and red. (1/4 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 117. Trumaí mask with mereschu design. (1/4 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

/319 cont./

B 171* 532 535

mask, for example, to have a bill and not a nose with a mouth beneath it. On seeing such a dancer, one has the feeling that he is going to call out to us pleasantly: "Don't think that I am really a dove. I am a

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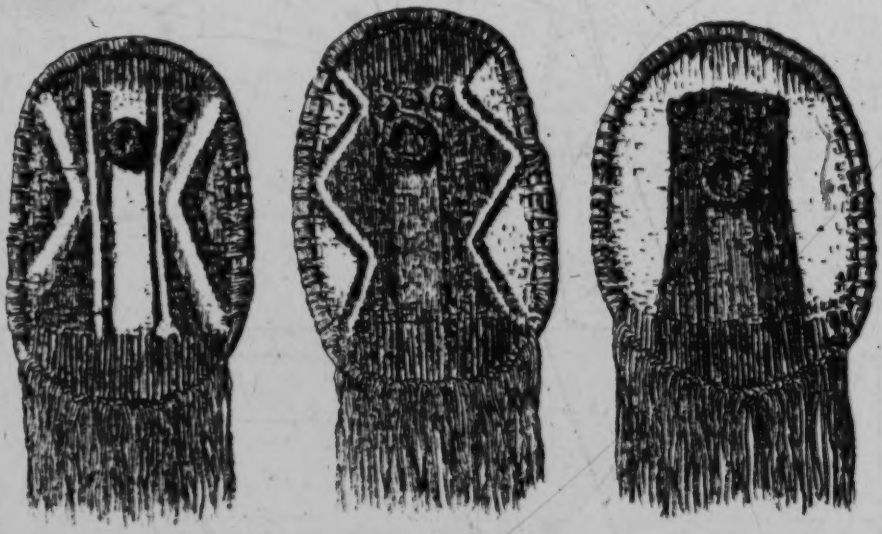

Fig. 118. Trumaí masks, painted black, white, and red. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

B 171* 532 535

human being, like you, and am merely /320/ pretending to be a dove as you can hear by my cooing and can convince yourself by the painted dots on my feathers."

"Know ye, therefore, that I am Hans Schnock, the carpenter
Not a wild lion, forsooth, and not a lion's wife."

In fact, the masks are not by any means merely face masks. Eyes, nose, and mouth are restricted to the upper part of the field, and the center stripe marks the continuation of the body with the neck; wing, fin, side line, neck and shoulder markings appear next to it. On the fish makanari of the Bakaïrí, which is a work made with great care and love, we miss the mouth and see a large fish in the middle of the mereschu design. The Auetö, finally, look out from under their masks, through the hood; moreover, a large part of the wooden-mask eyes are made so that the holes are too small and not the proper distance apart to be suitable for looking through; they are for the spectator, not for the wearer.

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How does the artist arrive at this peculiarity? After all, on the frieze (cf. Plate 21/see p. 281/) the fish are drawn as they swim. Well, on the masks the fish also stand on their tails; one need only look at the fish makanari of the Bakaïrí, page 349, and the black Kamayurá mask, page 368. Indeed, the only time we come across the mereschu fish as a single individual outside the net, on the gull mask of the Bakaïrí, page 289, Fig. 44, it is standing vertically. On the woven masks, however, which are the ones that matter since they are the oldest, the fish was drawn in a position unnatural in itself and for the fish, /322/ because they have the elongated oval position corresponding to the face; if one imagines the piava of the fish makanari, page 349, as horizontal, one will realize, first, that the fish would then be contracted, secondly, that it would look positively unnatural to have the fish swimming across the face because it would be contrary to the main direction. A glance at door and window arrangements shows the same requirement for us.

Thus, net and fish were painted with upright rhombuses on the elongated oval mask. Look at the great number of the mask illustrations with the mereschu design: the same position everywhere. We saw only one exception and it proves the rule rather than running counter to it. This is a Trumaí mask. The good Trumaí, however, borrowed the masks from the Kamayurá, just as they learned of cotton and the sieve-mat among them, and they designate them with the Tupí name. They did not take part in the developmental process.

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We now also understand the close connection between net and mereschu fish and the abundant production of this particular fish. Within each mesh was drawn a fish, which had to be small, because otherwise it would not fit in the space, which also had the same rhomboid shape as the net mesh. Finally, we understand how, with the fine work, the representation of the head, fins, and tail was done by filling in the corners. In short, everything agrees so excellently, both for the design and for the course of development, that I regard the proof as demonstrated, insofar as this is possible.

Trumaí SP23
Aueto SP6
Camayurá

/324 cont./

A 535 "song," and therefore their chief dance was called yauarí-maraká. One man also gave a strange performance by dancing bent over and rubbing two arrows over the ground, a woman behind him: kurukú he.

A [533] The women, kunyá, who are, of course, regarded as the best booty, were often mentioned in the songs. In the dance pantomime, especially during the amurikumá dance, it was often made clear that the women were handing over fish. The dances start early in the morning and last until sunset.

Fig. 120. Dogfish dance-staff. Kamayurá. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

T [171] [535] Dance clubs, similar to the one of the Kamayurá, illustrated, in part with plaiting prettily around them, were also found among the Trumaí. Among the Auetö we obtained a dance ornament, the shape of which was reminiscent of the horsetail of a drum major: from a piece of hoop, on either side and in the center, hung tails of buriti fibers almost half a meter long.

A [412] [237] →

A [237] [412] For the dance with hüvát masks among the Kamayurá there were two staffs, haéaté, 80 centimeters long, at the tip of which the set of teeth of a dogfish was plaited into a /325/ triangular attachment in such a way that the two long pointed teeth, the favorite boring and cutting instruments of the Indian, stuck out at the top.

B #171 535 As may be seen, the dance has its psychological development. It clearly reflects the progress of culture. In the beginning the animal is presented in pantomime, its voice is imitated, and its shape copied in the straw masquerade; the masking art with its fertile motifs for all painting develops from the fish net -- here the implement with its technique has already become the chief focus of interest as over against the animal figure. The throwing

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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551 Only when he was also the brother-in-law was respect given to a cross-
605 cousin or his name avoided. Female cross-cousins, despite affinal con-
607 nections, were never so treated by the men.

Avunculate

604 The maternal uncle in Trumaí society was in no sense a disciplinarian.
522 Only the father and the father's brother were allowed to strike a child.
[861] On the other hand, the gift-giving claims of the sister's son (*deta*) upon
[431] the mother's brother (*wawe*) were strong, and particularly so when they were reinforced by co-residence. A man was expected to be benevolent and tolerant toward his *deta*. This frequently took the form of teasing and jollying the boy, and contrasted with the more serious attitude of the father and his brothers. For instance, Yati told his *deta* that he and Quain were going to eat him, and, as if to carry out the threat, he began to drag him toward the fire. The child cried lustily, and Yati immediately stopped and cajoled him. Also, Katauka said to his *deta*, "When you die, I will not cry." Katauka was greatly amused when this caused tears.

Such teasing ceased by the time a boy reached the age of puberty. Moreover, the *wawe* became a defender of the *deta's* interests in the absence of the boy's father or father's brother, and, in some cases, he supervised his initiation ceremonies. Common to both the Trumaí and
[437] Kamayurá was the traveling partnership of a man and his sister's son.
[171] It was quite usual for a *wawe* to take his *deta* along when he visited another village. Quain noted that on such trips the wife of the older
[835] man was rarely included. This is consistent with the sexual taboo between the nephew and the maternal uncle's wife.

The Chieftaincy

622 The Trumaí had one chieftain (*aek*), Maibu, and two sub-chiefs,
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[988] chiefly prerogative or function. They were not men of especially high status — indeed, Matiwana was looked down upon as an old man. Their main function, Quain was told, was to take over the office of chief when Maibu was away from the village. Due to Matiwana's advanced age, this duty ordinarily fell to Katauka. Otherwise, neither man was particularly influential; nor did they talk more in the men's circle than others.

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● 537 those projects or tasks which were the responsibility of the community as a whole or in its interest, but he frequently exhorted the villagers to

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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pursue their individual affairs. Maibu made speeches in the evening men's circle or in the early morning, telling the men to plant their gardens or urging all to gather *piqui* fruit. Such proddings had little meaning, as they were usually made during the appropriate season for these activities, and most people would have planted or gathered as a matter of course. 622 537

Those who did not choose to do what Maibu suggested went their own way, whether it was to fish or sleep. Maibu was a gadfly; yet he was the conscience of the Trumaí. Perhaps more people would have procrastinated if it had not been for his admonitions. He was truly interested in the good of the village. He asked Quain for presents only for others, never for himself. 622

Cooperative work on the community level was usually organized by Maibu. The decision to perform such work was generally made by common agreement, but it was the chief's function to recruit the necessary labor and see that the task was done. This he did with varying degrees of success, for his power was limited. 622 476

The chief was accorded much more respect by his housemates and close kinsmen than by the rest of the villagers. The people resisted him in varying degrees, depending on their relationship to him and their individual personalities. His control over the women was particularly weak. When Quain first arrived, they refused to carry water for him, despite Maibu's orders. When they realized that they were to be given gifts for their trouble they grudgingly consented to do so, but, in the meantime, the chief had fetched the water, since the performance of such tasks for an outsider was the responsibility of the village as a whole, and no other man would do women's work. 622 592 554 [123] [574] [609]

Referring to the limitations on chiefly powers, Quain noted, "Maibu has to put up with a lot of booing and do a lot of talking. Obedience comes to him only after a long time. He seems to have no 'big stick.'" The Trumaí chief had no coercive power whatsoever. This particular headman was not a powerful shaman, although such a combination was possible and would undoubtedly have enhanced his position. The only act of a supernatural nature that he could perform was curing by sucking and blowing smoke, which was practiced by almost every adult Trumaí male. 622 554 [756] [755]

Maibu was often completely ignored, and some of the men made a point of flouting his authority. The men of Aloari's house were extremely antagonistic toward him and told Quain that he was not a true "*aek*." These men rarely took part in the few group work projects and usually they were also absent from the wrestling matches. Their own prestige motives and individual inclinations brought them into frequent conflict with Maibu, both in his capacity as the man of highest status and as the village goad. Their resentment of authority never resulted in

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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outright rebellion. Despite a great deal of grumbling and non-compliance, they still tacitly recognized Maibu as chief.

One of Maibu's main prerogatives was his talking function. He alone had the role of exhorter of the people. Other men would be "ashamed," he said, to speak so. Most of Maibu's speeches were delivered at night in the men's circle or before work started in the morning. The attitude of his audience ranged from interest to bored indifference and outright ridicule. One morning Maibu lay in his hammock and shouted for everyone to go out to gather fruit. The initial response to this was a shout from some of the houses, telling him to be quiet. Later some people drifted out of the village carrying baskets, and still later others followed, grumbling that they were being driven from the village. This was a common complaint. Because of the tone in which it was said, Quain thought at first that they were actually being exiled.

The chief had no symbols of office outside of the above prerogatives; yet a deference of sorts was shown him. When Maibu entered the men's circle or Quain's house, someone always got up to give him a seat. Tobacco was usually supplied him, and the donor would roll the cigarette and light it before making the presentation. Even the men who told Quain that Maibu was not a "real chief" made these gifts. Maibu himself did not hesitate to send someone across the village through the rain to fetch something. These favors were usually performed by his kinsmen and co-residents, although occasionally more distant persons obliged. On the other hand, Maibu was expected to be generous towards all the other Trumaí. Nearly everything that Quain gave him passed to other hands. Maibu did not even have a bow of his own.

Maibu's poverty was attributable in part to his heavy gift obligations and in part to the fact that he had no garden. He said to Quain that he did not plant because he was a chief. However, he was not completely a non-producer. He went fishing, joined in collective labor, and helped his wife in gathering. At none of these tasks did he occupy himself strenuously. The only articles that he manufactured were arrows and spears. He thus made no trade commodities, relying on others, principally his co-residents, for all his artifacts and food. On most days he did little except talk, sleep, and philander with the unmarried women.

Inheritance of the chieftaincy was nominally patrilineal. Maibu, however, was the son of the daughter of the Trumaí chief whom von den Steinen had met, indicating that the office can pass matrilineally if there are no male heirs available. (Maibu's brother's son, Jawaku, adopted by Maibu through the levirate, was to have been the next Trumaí chief.) But the Trumaí chief reported by Galvão nine years later was Aloari, who was only a distant relative of Maibu.[8] What happened in the years between 1938 and 1947 is not known, but it is apparent that

[8] This information was received verbally from Dr. Eduardo Galvão.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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master at this dead-pan type of humor. When the women attempted to talk to him and Quain, he remained entirely disinterested, occasionally breaking in on them to address himself solely to the ethnographer. Although the women affected exasperation, they really enjoyed this negative attention.

The women were easy to frighten. Aloari teased his wife and sister-in-law by chasing them with a live snake in his hands. The women were also sensitive to touch (few men could resist brushing a hand lightly over an ever-exposed buttock when a crowd was present), and they became nervous when they saw that such teasing was impending. On a day when all the women had crowded into Quain's house, he pulled on the perineal cord of one of them. She immediately loosed a scream and ran out the door followed by the others, who laughed hilariously. Thereafter all the women expected to be teased by Quain, and they identified him somewhat more with the other men than they had before. The men often threatened rape in jest, but even when the women recognized the humorous intent, their basic anxiety was never completely allayed.

Pranks were frequent among the men. It was particularly amusing for a man to inform the others that Quain had given him a gift. Yati went to the trouble of filling a cartridge box with dirt and soberly telling all the men that the box was full of rifle shells. He was among the more popular jokers of the village. And pranks were played on him also. One night, in jest, Aloari shot at Yati's chicken with Quain's rifle on the pretext that it had been crowing. (The noise of the rifle report was also calculated to terrify the village.) Tun and Jakwanari occasionally tried to be funny by sitting alone and talking to themselves rapidly and incoherently. This was considered forced humor, and no one so much as chuckled.

A major source of diversion was gossip about who was cohabiting with whom. While this sometimes led to shouting arguments, it was more often merely playful talk, and it was treated as such. Accusations of sexual intercourse, sometimes true and sometimes false, were tossed back and forth between the men, usually with accompanying leers.

Manners and Morals

The Trumai gossiped about sex, not because it was held to be morally wrong to do so, but because they had a frank and honest interest in it. Sex was considered a part of the "good life," but it was also thought to be a distraction from work. Thus, the chief made lengthy speeches castigating the men for being interested in nothing but sex when they should have been out planting. Similarly, Yanahi should have finished his puberty rites, but, as one of his kinsmen bluntly put it, all he wanted to do was "*tsidi*" (copulate). In reality the men took vicarious enjoyment in watching Yanahi exert his newly found sex prowess.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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APPENDIX

Buell Quain, in a letter to the late Dr. Ruth Benedict written from Brazil on December 21, 1938, summarized several aspects of Trumaí culture which have a direct and immediate bearing on their decline. Following are excerpts of ethnological interest from this letter, which was discovered after this monograph was completed:

"They are a dying culture. Each generation improves its imitation of Kamayurá culture. Everyone in the village knows a few Kamayurá words. Almost all the songs in the manioc fertility ceremony are Kamayurá. Half the people in the village can carry on a conversation in Kamayurá with ease. One household (there are four) uses Kamayurá in preference to Trumaí. The mother of the house owner speaks no Trumaí; she is a Kamayurá woman who has lived with the Trumaí for about twenty-five years. The child of the household, a ten year old girl, confuses Kamayurá kinship terms with Trumaí in classifying the village. All Trumaí women between twenty and forty have been captive wives among the Kamayurá (which puts the Trumaí men in a peculiar position which they fully but fruitlessly resent) .... They have lots of disorganized leisure. They are sleepy (in part because of insects and fear throughout the night). They are ready to imitate not only the Kamayurá, but me, in petty daily habits. No outsider speaks Trumaí.

"There is nobody among them who volunteers information of ethnological value. For three months I dug for structure and got very little... Dullness cannot be attributed to the climate.

"The village is small .... Each of the four households — now five because of a recent split — are organized, or perhaps disorganized, according to different sociological principals. Three of the seventeen women are of foreign birth; one is Kamayurá, one is Mehinaku, and one is Suyá. The first two speak no Trumaí. A fourth woman with ringworm and two sick children is said to be Yaulapití, but she is well set in Trumaí culture. Nobody claims her as a relative (in part because of aversion toward her ringworm); hence she is used as a prostitute by every man in the village — she is the village joke. Among the men, I have found remarkably uniform responses to various 'tests'. (I said 'Draw a picture of a woman and a man.' Every man but one drew the woman first and oriented her in a distinctive way on the paper. The women showed no such regularity. One Kamayurá man tested also lacked this stereotyped response.)

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Recent ethnographic researches have for the most part concentrated upon the Kamayurá (Galvão 1949, 1950, and 1952; Oberg 1953), the Waurá (de Lima 1949, 1950), and the Kuikuru (Robert Carneiro and Gertrude E. Dole, unpublished). Only incidentally have these observers commented upon the Trumaí. Therefore, in 1953 when I had the opportunity to spend a little time in the upper Xingú area, I made a point of remaining a few days with the remants of the Trumaí. They were camped temporarily at Karajaja, the old village site, on a lake about half a mile away from the Kuluene River; their permanent houses were then at Anariatan, near the village site during Quain's visit. It was the dry season and the Trumaí were fishing. There were only 24 persons in the group — six adult males, ten adult females, four boys and four girls. Three of the women were unmarried widows, and there was one unmarried girl just past puberty. The chieftain whose current name was Ilitoari (no doubt the Aloari of Quain's notes), was married to two sisters, and there were four monogamous families. Two of the men were old and unmarried. Thus, the Trumaí were again united as a village (they had disbanded for a while). In 1953, however, there were not even enough men for the Trumaí to participate in the intertribal spear-throwing contests, a sport in which they had once been famous throughout the area.

The process of steady social and cultural disintegration and depopulation, which was already apparent among the Trumaí in 1938, has been a continuing one; and it is only a question of a very short time before these people cease to exist as a separate tribal group. Thus, the information and insights that Robert Murphy has brought together from Buell Quain's field work may be all that we shall ever have on Trumaí life and society.

Columbia University CHARLES WAGLEY
February 1955

[P. x contains no textual material]

1:Murphy and Quain E-4;5 (1938) 1955
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ted plants as beans and gourds and for the flat manioc flour cake, the *beijú*, are almost identical with the corresponding Kamayurá words.

The pre-contact history of the Trumaí is largely inferential and their recent history is poorly documented. The white explorers and scientists who visited the upper Xingú frequently did not encounter the Trumaí, and almost never visited their villages. Historical data indicate that in von den Steinen's time and possibly as late as the 1931 trip of Petrullo the Trumaí lived in two villages. Von den Steinen showed an abandoned Trumaí village, in substantially its present location, and another on the lower end of the Tsahuku, a network of waterways and lagoons west of and parallel to the Kuliseu River.[6] Although Meyer's map did not show this southern village in 1896,[7] it appears in Schmidt's map for 1901.[8] Petrullo encountered Trumaí, most probably of the southern village, on the west bank of the Kuliseu, between the locales of the Nahukwa and Mehinaku villages.[9] M. Moennich, one of a party of American missionaries who descended the Kuliseu in 1937, did not, however, note a Trumaí village near this site.[10] When Quain arrived in 1938 there was only one Trumaí village, which was located at the northern site. This would suggest that the southern village was abandoned in 1937–38, but it is possible that those Trumaí seen by Petrullo and Moennich were the same ones whom Quain visited.

The northern and southern villages mentioned in the literature are the only ones recorded. It is certain that since 1884 there have only been two communities, although each has been located in many different places. Unfortunately, the exact locations of the abandoned sites and their periods of occupation are not well known. Each of the old village locales had a name, and these designations are still known. Among them are Morena, Waniwani, Karajaja, Iakare, Jawpew, and Wahldat. Some of the names, such as Iakare, are obviously of Tupian origin. Jawpew was the name of the northern Trumaí village at the time of von den Steinen's expeditions. Karajaja was the last location before the one in which Quain resided. This site was located near the Kamayurá village on the Tsahuku and appears on Petrullo's map. The Trumaí said that it was a good village, but that they had to move because the Kamayurá and Auetí were practicing sorcery against them. The village to which they moved, and where Quain visited them, was named Anaristan.

People were often referred to by other Trumaí according to the village in which they were born. Thus, a *Wahldat jaxlo* was, literally, a son of Wahldat. Also, garden sites were most commonly named after an abandoned village. The old villages were looked on with reverence as the homes of the ancestors of the Trumaí. They were considered to be places of great interest, and Quain was repeatedly urged to visit them.

[6] *Ibid.*, 1897, p. 93. [7] Meyer 1897, Plate I. [8] Schmidt 1942.
[9] Petrullo 1932, p. 160. [10] Moennich 1942.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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only *ami tarajau*. *Ami tarajau* also took the form of mock name-calling contests between men.

The Trumaí found great amusement in minor accidents that befell others and in humorous gossip, without regard to kinship. Jokes played by one person on another, however, usually occurred between cross-cousins.

Avoidance and Respect

Taboos on the names or persons of affinal relatives were observed by the Trumaí, because, as they said, they felt *valty* (ashamed) toward them. The strongest prohibited a man from speaking the name of his parents-in-law or being in their presence. Thus, a man would not enter a house in which his father-in-law was visiting or join the men's circle if he were there. Parents-in-law were the only affinals whose persons were avoided, and this was most strictly observed between a man and his father-in-law. Due to the short life span, social intercourse was little interrupted by this practice; only one father-in-law and two mothers-in-law lived in the Trumaí village. However, they figured importantly in marital troubles, since parents always took the part of their own offspring in a conflict between mates. Aloari felt bitter about his dead mother-in-law, because she had helped his wife to kill their first two children at birth. The avoidance of a father-in-law's name was so strict that a Trumaí man could not mention his own son's second name, because it was inherited from his wife's father.

Name avoidance was also invoked to some degree with respect to the second ascending generation of affinals. A wife's grandparents could be referred to by name, but only in a whisper, while no such inhibitions were observed when addressing the wife herself by the name.[7]

The Trumaí were ashamed toward the wife's brother and the sister's husband. This was expressed by name avoidance and a respect relation. If there were children, a man could avoid the use of his brother-in-law's name by calling him *deta a'o* (sister's son's father) in the case of a sister's husband, or *apat'awe* (child's mother's brother), if he was the wife's brother. Respect was shown by offering the affinal a chair or by other small courtesies or gift-giving. Since an affinal of the same generation was often a cross-cousin, the joking and respect relationships overlapped rather curiously. While Yati and his cross-cousin and brother-in-law Mayuva played pranks on or feigned anger at one another, they showed great mutual deference at other times. Immediately after Yati told Quain to throw Mayuva out of his house, Mayuva rolled a cigarette for Yati and lit it for him. Manifestly, the two prescribed patterns caused no conflict.

[7] This probably illustrates some overlapping between name avoidance and the taboo on speaking the name of a dead person.

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ted plants as beans and gourds and for the flat manioc flour cake, the *beijú*, are almost identical with the corresponding Kamayurá words.

The pre-contact history of the Trumaí is largely inferential and their recent history is poorly documented. The white explorers and scientists who visited the upper Xingú frequently did not encounter the Trumaí, and almost never visited their villages. Historical data indicate that in von den Steinen's time and possibly as late as the 1931 trip of Petrullo the Trumaí lived in two villages. Von den Steinen showed an abandoned Trumaí village, in substantially its present location, and another on the lower end of the Tsahuku, a network of waterways and lagoons west of and parallel to the Kuliseu River.[6] Although Meyer's map did not show this southern village in 1896,[7] it appears in Schmidt's map for 1901.[8] Petrullo encountered Trumaí, most probably of the southern village, on the west bank of the Kuliseu, between the locales of the Nahukwa and Mehinaku villages.[9] M. Moennich, one of a party of American missionaries who descended the Kuliseu in 1937, did not, however, note a Trumaí village near this site.[10] When Quain arrived in 1938 there was only one Trumaí village, which was located at the northern site. This would suggest that the southern village was abandoned in 1937–38, but it is possible that those Trumaí seen by Petrullo and Moennich were the same ones whom Quain visited.

The northern and southern villages mentioned in the literature are the only ones recorded. It is certain that since 1884 there have only been two communities, although each has been located in many different places. Unfortunately, the exact locations of the abandoned sites and their periods of occupation are not well known. Each of the old village locales had a name, and these designations are still known. Among them are Morena, Waniwani, Karajaja, Iakare, Jawpew, and Wahldat. Some of the names, such as Iakare, are obviously of Tupian origin. Jawpew was the name of the northern Trumaí village at the time of von den Steinen's expeditions. Karajaja was the last location before the one in which Quain resided. This site was located near the Kamayurá village on the Tsahuku and appears on Petrullo's map. The Trumaí said that it was a good village, but that they had to move because the Kamayurá and Auetí were practicing sorcery against them. The village to which they moved, and where Quain visited them, was named Anariatan.

People were often referred to by other Trumaí according to the village in which they were born. Thus, a *Wahldat jaxlo* was, literally, a son of Wahldat. Also, garden sites were most commonly named after an abandoned village. The old villages were looked on with reverence as the homes of the ancestors of the Trumaí. They were considered to be places of great interest, and Quain was repeatedly urged to visit them.

[6] *Ibid.*, 1897, p. 93. [7] Meyer 1897, Plate I. [8] Schmidt 1942.
[9] Petrullo 1932, p. 180. [10] Moennich 1942.

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The fishing grounds and the still productive fruit trees of the old villages were considered to be the domain of the Trumaí, and these rights were apparently respected by others. When the village moved in search of new land, it was usually to one of the old sites, whose name the new village would take.

The Trumaí were once feared by the other tribes of the upper Xingú and were evidently a relatively numerous and vigorous people. However, when Quain visited them in 1938, they numbered only 43, and only ten years later, in 1948, the population had shrunken to a meagre 25.[11] Their small numbers had forced them to abandon village life once since Quain's visit, but they subsequently reunited in a new community.[11a]

Warfare

The topography of the flat upper Xingú Basin encourages considerable contact between tribes. The waterways are extensive and have importance beyond subsistence, as they are the chief avenues of trade and warfare. Communication through the river and flood plain system is the main reason for the high degree of cultural homogeneity that has been achieved by these tribes of diverse origins and languages. Intertribal relations are not confined to trade and warfare, but enter the spheres of social organization, ceremonialism and mythology.

Intertribal bonds within the upper Xingú Basin were based on peaceful relations between the tribes. These tribes formed part of a bounded social system in which groups outside the area did not take part. The Bakairí Indians of the Paranatinga River were on a friendly basis with the headwaters groups only because they had once lived on the Batoví River. Other tribes were uniformly enemies, regardless of cultural or linguistic affinities. Despite this peaceful interaction among the upper Xingú villages, there was considerable mutual fear and hostility between them which was expressed in witchcraft, petty thievery and intimidation. The practice of sorcery upon other villages is especially significant, in that sorcery is used in nearly all cultures only between people who share close interpersonal ties. This illustrates better than anything else the high degree of intervillage integration in the upper Xingú River Basin. The component groups constitute far more than a culture area — they form a society.

Despite the nominal peace within the upper Xingú area, the Trumaí lived in dread of their neighbors, and with good reason.[12] Situated

[11] Oberg 1953, p. 4.

[11a] Latest reports state that a measles epidemic has wrought great havoc, and that the few survivors have all joined other groups.

[12] Although fear of neighboring groups is general in the upper Xingú, de Lima (1949, p. 25) noted it to be especially strong among the numerically weak Trumaí.

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The plaza was the center of Trumaí social life. Here guests were entertained, ceremonials and wrestling matches were held, and the men gathered daily. Although the women might sit in front of their houses and watch these activities, they were not allowed to come near the log bench, even when the men were not there. The plaza of the Trumaí village was also used as the burying ground.

A short distance north of the circle of houses, on the path to the two main garden clearings of the Trumaí, was another smaller clearing used during the *ole*, or manioc, ceremonies. Other paths radiated outward from the village to the other gardens and to nearby groves of *piquí* trees. Quain noticed that the paths leading to the Kamayurá village were much broader and cleaner. The Kamayurá were proud of their paths and kept them in good condition. Their plaza was also clearer of weeds and trash than that of the Trumaí.

Of the four completed houses in the village, two were as large as those of the Kamayurá, but the other two, which were much smaller, were considered by Quain's informants to be genuinely Trumaí in type. Insofar as is known, the details of the construction and shape of all four were substantially the same. They had an elliptical floor plan and were haystack-shaped. Although the side walls were only four feet high, the roof attained a height of fifteen feet. The silhouette of the house was an almost smooth curve from ridge pole to ground. The frame was covered with a grass thatch. There were no windows, and a single entry opened on the plaza.

Each family occupied its own section of the house and had its own fireplace. Personal belongings hung from the walls and ceilings or were placed on small shelves. Hammocks were hung between the side wall posts and the two center posts, the woman's hammock beneath that of her husband. Except for two nuclear families that screened off their sections with blankets and cloth given them by Quain, there was no internal division of the house.

The two largest garden clearings were situated respectively about one mile northeast and one mile northwest of the village. Three small ones were located southeast of the settlement. In order of size, the gardens were named Nariatan, Waniwanitan, Anariatan, Tan Toreake, and Tandatake. Nariatan, the largest, contained, by Quain's rough calculation, approximately seven acres divided into ten plots, representing the gardens of seven men. One plot contained two acres, but the average garden varied between one-fourth and one acre in size. One of the men had erected a temporary thatch shelter in his plot, providing protection from the sun, but not from the rain. Inside there was only a basket of manioc flour, a rack for cooking fish, and a large shallow pot into which manioc was grated. This was the sole garden shelter Quain saw, and, significantly, it belonged to the most industrious horticulturist in the village.

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always used to treat the wounds made by scraping. Jawaku walked away in a hurt and angry mood, his body covered with blood.

A few days later, in recognition of his advancement, Jawaku made the afternoon serving of food to the assembled men, a custom associated with the *ole* (manioc) ceremony. A further sign of his new position was the drinking of an herbaceous emetic before eating the first *piquí* fruit. Only boys who had not yet had their stomachs scraped could eat *piquí* without first taking the medicine.

One important purpose of body-scraping, the Trumaí thought, was to make the boy grow and give him strength. For this reason even the adult males occasionally scraped their arms. The scars themselves were very much admired. Of still greater value was the size of the muscles of the arms, chest, shoulder, and back of the neck, which the Trumaí believed to be the result of the scraping.

Another method of inducing growth was by drinking medicines made from herbs. All of the upper Xingú peoples were said to know of these preparations. The Suyá were said to have learned to make them also, but not the Yuruna. Adults drank these medicines, but they were especially important during the final phase of the puberty rites.

The perforation of the ear lobes was a distinct and separate part of the cycle of puberty rites, and the only one in which the boys went through a prescribed phase as a group. This observance took place during the equinoctial festive period which follows the rainy season and involved intertribal participation. At the next dry season festival, Quain was told, all the boys would have their ears pierced. Jawaku's ears, however, had been pierced before, whereas Autsuki, who was older and had entered the puberty cycle earlier, had not yet had his ears perforated. Manifestly, the time of the first perforation varied.

At the first piercing the young boy added the name of his mother's father to the name of his paternal grandfather, which he had been given previously. This was also an occasion for scarifying the arms.

Quain was informed that ear-piercing was done by all the upper Xingú area tribes. The Suyá, in common with other Gê-speaking peoples, made very large, and to the Trumaí, very unsightly, perforations in the lobes. Two Trumaí men who had been Suyá captives had such perforations and also pierced lower lips. The latter condition explained satisfactorily to the Trumaí why the Suyá "cannot speak properly."

The puberty ceremonies were climaxed by a final series of tests of strength and courage: wrestling with a small anaconda, a subsequent intensive drinking of *okeis*, and further body-scraping. After this the boy was kept in seclusion until his ears were again pierced.

Both Jawaku and Autsuki were at this stage. One day a snake was located in the lagoon, and Jawaku was urged to go after it. He and Makurawa ran through the brush to the lagoon and searched for it along

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level of general anxiety. It was usually the result of several days of rumor, omens, and strange fires in the north.

Late one night during Quain's stay, after most of the village had retired, a near panic occurred when two women shouted that the Suyá were attacking. All the initiated men, even the weak and old, rushed to the village center with their bows and arrows. The women and children from two of the four Trumaí houses hurried with their hammocks to the other two houses. The frightened men milled around in the center of the village with no apparent organization or direction. The chief, who was trembling, did not take command of the situation.

If this had been a real attack, noted Quain, the raiders would have given a loud yell and loosed a volley of arrows. He later made an investigation and found no signs of intruders. One of the women thought that someone had thrown dirt at her. Quain believed this to be a habit of the Suyá, but one that was usually a friendly overture.

The women feared other tribes more than did the men, for one of the main purposes of raids was to capture women. In every upper Xingú community women from other tribes are always found. The dispersal of women takes three forms: capture in warfare (by groups outside the area), open abduction of a woman by intimidation of her fellow-villagers, and peaceful intertribal marriage. According to de Lima, the Suyá raid the Waurá village on the Batoví River for female captives, as the women of the Arawakan tribes are the only potters of the region.[16] The Trumaí lost many young women to the Kamayurá by intimidation, the second of the above means. Most of the women in the Trumaí village were at one time held by the Kamayurá with the result that, in many Trumaí marriages, the woman is several years older than the man. At the time of Quain's visit, Trumaí women were still living among the Kamayurá and other groups. One of them, the sister of the Trumaí chief, ran away from the Kamayurá and returned home because her husband had beaten her, an action that angered the Trumaí greatly. There she picked up the threads of her old life, but after a few weeks a party of Kamayurá took her back to their village. The Trumaí offered no resistance, either physical or verbal, although they outnumbered the visitors, for to have done so would have invited retaliation.

The fact that the Trumaí had lost many women completely, or regained them only after their most fertile years had passed, was probably a contributing factor to the depopulation of the group. The losses were only partially compensated for by the marriage of outside women into the Trumaí village. There were three foreign women in the community in 1938: a Suyá, a Mehinaku, and a Kamayurá. Their status was lower than that of the Trumaí women, and they were at times taunted because of their foreign origin. They did not participate as fully in the

[16] De Lima 1950, p. 5.

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culture as the other women, but their everyday existence was much the same.

Men were also taken as captives, although not to the same extent as were women. Tun and Aloari, two Trumaí men, had lived in captivity among the Yuruna. They had feared their captors at first, but once they had learned the language, they said, they were no longer afraid. Apparently both men had been well treated by the Yuruna, for they were kindly disposed towards that tribe. The older of the two men had a Yuruna wife, whom he left when he returned to his people. How this was accomplished is not known, but escape could not have been very difficult.

Another factor promoting the incorporation of both women and men into other tribes was the depopulation and extinction of their own groups. When the southern Trumaí village was disbanded many of the survivors joined the northern Trumaí, but some moved in with other tribes. Similarly, de Lima reported that the Yaulapití, who disbanded sometime between 1938 and 1945, were to be found among the Kamayurá, Trumaí, and Aueti.[17]

It is possible that more Yaulapití settled with Arawakan speaking groups, but the three above-named tribes were their closest neighbors. The remnants of a disbanded group might also join villages in which they had close kin or personal relationships. A later report by the Srs. Villas Boas, who maintained the recently established airstrip of the Fundação Brasil Central, stated that, as in the case of the Trumaí, the Yaulapití have reconstituted themselves as a group by the establishment of a one-house village.[18] Clearly, except for the peace that has reigned since the airfield was built, a village of some twenty-five people would not be secure from attack. But while the chances of survival are still far from good, the initiation of such a project shows the eagerness of the participants to preserve their social identity.

The main purposes of warfare in the region are to capture women, take loot, and exact revenge. Captive-taking has a clear economic basis in the sporadic warfare between the Suyá and Waurá, as the Suyá capture Waurá women for their knowledge of pottery-making. Among the tribes of the *alto* area proper, however, this is not done. Arawakan women are married, but Quain's notes indicate that they do not practice pottery-making in their new villages.

It is possible that male and female captives are taken by upper Xingú groups from tribes outside the region to bolster their waning numerical strength, but infanticide and abortion are also present in the area. However, captives do not have to be reared from infancy, and do not constitute the same strain on the economy that children do. It is also

[17] De Lima 1949, p. 26.

[18] This information was obtained verbally from Dr. Eduardo Galvão. Cf. Oberg 1953, p. 4.

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Visits might be made to obtain a bride, engage in trade, participate in some intertribal ceremony, or for a combination of any of these reasons. Most visits were ostensibly of a purely social nature, but they were also used to frighten and impress. Stealing was frequent, especially when the host tribe, like the Trumaí, was weak. The Trumaí rarely protested against thefts while the visitors were still in the village, although they vehemently expressed their indignation later. Such discretion was due more to fear than etiquette.

The inferior position of the Trumaí was most evident when visitors were in the village. The Kamayurá, especially, treated the Trumaí with arrogance and contempt. At times they would enter the Trumaí village without having built the customary warning fire. The Trumaí, on the other hand, did everything possible to please their visitors and prove their generosity and good will toward them. Quain was berated by the Trumaí chief for being too niggardly toward the Kamayurá, and he found that greater respect was accorded to the Kamayurá chief than to either himself or the Trumaí chief. The Kamayurá felt slighted that Quain had not visited them instead of the contemptible Trumaí, and, when Quain went to meet the visiting Kamayurá chief, the latter turned away with an air of bored indifference.

The Kamayurá chief was immediately given a stool to sit on and was plied with cigarettes. When he threw one away after a few puffs, he was promptly given another. Deference was also paid to ordinary Kamayurá, although to a lesser degree. Once when such a member came to the Trumaí village alone, the man who received him rushed to Quain's house to borrow a chair in order to reach some tobacco which had been placed on a high shelf. He was in a great hurry, for it would not be good to keep his guest waiting.

This behavior stands in sharp contrast to a visit to the Kamayurá village made by Quain and a party of Trumaí. The chief delegated their reception to his brother. No special attention was paid to them, although the villagers were active and industrious in an apparent effort to impress. The Trumaí were not even asked to sit on the log in the village center.

Due to the extensive intertribal relations, command of a language besides one's own is common in the area generally. But since Trumaí is an independent tongue and the number of Trumaí small, it is probable that multilingual people were more frequent among them than in other tribes. Their "second" language was usually Kamayurá, but few outsiders spoke Trumaí, although more understood it. When Kamayurá came to visit, conversation was ordinarily in their tongue. Of the three foreign women in the Trumaí village, only the Suyá woman could speak even a broken Trumaí. Since the Suyá had no peaceful relations with the tribes of the headwaters, the Gê language was not widely known there. The other two foreign women merely understood Trumaí.

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pursue their individual affairs. Maibu made speeches in the evening men's circle or in the early morning, telling the men to plant their gardens or urging all to gather *piquí* fruit. Such proddings had little meaning, as they were usually made during the appropriate season for these activities, and most people would have planted or gathered as a matter of course. 622 537

Those who did not choose to do what Maibu suggested went their own way, whether it was to fish or sleep. Maibu was a gadfly; yet he was the conscience of the Trumaí. Perhaps more people would have procrastinated if it had not been for his admonitions. He was truly interested in the good of the village. He asked Quain for presents only for others, never for himself. 622

Cooperative work on the community level was usually organized by Maibu. The decision to perform such work was generally made by common agreement, but it was the chief's function to recruit the necessary labor and see that the task was done. This he did with varying degrees of success, for his power was limited. 622 476

The chief was accorded much more respect by his housemates and close kinsmen than by the rest of the villagers. The people resisted him in varying degrees, depending on their relationship to him and their individual personalities. His control over the women was particularly weak. When Quain first arrived, they refused to carry water for him, despite Maibu's orders. When they realized that they were to be given gifts for their trouble they grudgingly consented to do so, but, in the meantime, the chief had fetched the water, since the performance of such tasks for an outsider was the responsibility of the village as a whole, and no other man would do women's work. 622 592 554 [123] [514] [609]

Referring to the limitations on chiefly powers, Quain noted, "Maibu has to put up with a lot of booing and do a lot of talking. Obedience comes to him only after a long time. He seems to have no 'big stick.'" The Trumaí chief had no coercive power whatsoever. This particular headman was not a powerful shaman, although such a combination was possible and would undoubtedly have enhanced his position. The only act of a supernatural nature that he could perform was curing by sucking and blowing smoke, which was practiced by almost every adult Trumaí male. 622 554 [756] [755]

Maibu was often completely ignored, and some of the men made a point of flouting his authority. The men of Aloari's house were extremely antagonistic toward him and told Quain that he was not a true "*aek*." These men rarely took part in the few group work projects and usually they were also absent from the wrestling matches. Their own prestige motives and individual inclinations brought them into frequent conflict with Maibu, both in his capacity as the man of highest status and as the village goad. Their resentment of authority never resulted in

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outright rebellion. Despite a great deal of grumbling and non-compliance, they still tacitly recognized Maibu as chief.

One of Maibu's main prerogatives was his talking function. He alone had the role of exhorter of the people. Other men would be "ashamed," he said, to speak so. Most of Maibu's speeches were delivered at night in the men's circle or before work started in the morning. The attitude of his audience ranged from interest to bored indifference and outright ridicule. One morning Maibu lay in his hammock and shouted for everyone to go out to gather fruit. The initial response to this was a shout from some of the houses, telling him to be quiet. Later some people drifted out of the village carrying baskets, and still later others followed, grumbling that they were being driven from the village. This was a common complaint. Because of the tone in which it was said, Quain thought at first that they were actually being exiled.

The chief had no symbols of office outside of the above prerogatives; yet a deference of sorts was shown him. When Maibu entered the men's circle or Quain's house, someone always got up to give him a seat. Tobacco was usually supplied him, and the donor would roll the cigarette and light it before making the presentation. Even the men who told Quain that Maibu was not a "real chief" made these gifts. Maibu himself did not hesitate to send someone across the village through the rain to fetch something. These favors were usually performed by his kinsmen and co-residents, although occasionally more distant persons obliged. On the other hand, Maibu was expected to be generous towards all the other Trumaí. Nearly everything that Quain gave him passed to other hands. Maibu did not even have a bow of his own.

Maibu's poverty was attributable in part to his heavy gift obligations and in part to the fact that he had no garden. He said to Quain that he did not plant because he was a chief. However, he was not completely a non-producer. He went fishing, joined in collective labor, and helped his wife in gathering. At none of these tasks did he occupy himself strenuously. The only articles that he manufactured were arrows and spears. He thus made no trade commodities, relying on others, principally his co-residents, for all his artifacts and food. On most days he did little except talk, sleep, and philander with the unmarried women.

Inheritance of the chieftaincy was nominally patrilineal. Maibu, however, was the son of the daughter of the Trumaí chief whom von den Steinen had met, indicating that the office can pass matrilineally if there are no male heirs available. (Maibu's brother's son, Jawaku, adopted by Maibu through the levirate, was to have been the next Trumaí chief.) But the Trumaí chief reported by Galvão nine years later was Aloari, who was only a distant relative of Maibu.[8] What happened in the years between 1938 and 1947 is not known, but it is apparent that

[8] This information was received verbally from Dr. Eduardo Galvão.

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575 the group, and they never participated in any of its activities. Occasionally men gathered in the village center during the day, but at night the circle always formed, generally lasting from sundown until about nine [536] o'clock. In the afternoon it was often the scene of wrestling matches. Talk usually went on then also, but the gatherings were smaller than at night.

[521] At night most of the men were present, and conversation ranged over a variety of topics. Of greatest interest were neighboring tribes, past warfare and present threats to peace. Gossip, usually about sex, found ready ears. This was the time when the chief made most of his speeches, and the time when plans for a fishing trip, for salt manufacture, or for a journey to the Waurá for pots were discussed. The men's circle was [156] also the place where the shaman practiced his art, and, as noted above, where grievances were aired.

[626] The social life of the males was centered almost completely in these gatherings, and it was in them that the mechanisms of village authority and social control were expressed. Also, the men's circle underlined the cleavage between the activities of the men and of the women. The women had no formal grouping such as the men's circle, but they showed [562] solidarity when the need arose. While men were dominant, as Quain [578] said, they "look on the women as an ungoverned force," and open group quarrels were not infrequent between the sexes.

Status

554 *Aek*, the Trumaí word for chief, also denoted membership in the
565 upper half of what is nominally a status class. Members of the lower
198 half of this class were loosely referred to as *camara*, a term which,
622 according to Galvão, probably diffused into the region from rural
624 Brazil, where workers are called *camaradas*.[19] There was some uncertainty on the part of Quain's informants as to who were members of the *aek* division. In general, it included the chief, the two sub-chiefs, and their families. But while the status appears to have been hereditary, its transmission was loose and uncertain. For instance, Maibu was an *aek*, but he refused to classify his brothers as such. However, the fathers of both Maibu and Katauka, one of the sub-chiefs, were *aek*. Matiwana's three daughters and his son derived their status from him, further supporting the case for patrilineality. On the other hand, the children of one of the daughters were *aek*, even though their father was a *camara*. The significance of being *aek* had probably declined with the weakening of leadership patterns and the lessened importance of the sub-chiefs. Today, the *aek-camara* division is non-functional, membership is confused, and, except for the chieftainship, it is correlated only vaguely

[19] Galvão 1949, p. 40.

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with prestige. Aloari, who later became chief, was classified as a *camara* at the time of Quain's visit.

At the top of the Trumaí prestige scale was the chief. His authority was limited, but he was more respected than any other man. The two sub-chiefs enjoyed some, but not much, prestige. Matiwana was an old man, and old age decreases status among the Trumaí. He took the lead in group curing ceremonies, however, and was the repository of much Trumaí lore and learning. Nor was Katauka, the other sub-chief, very influential. And neither official had the privilege of "talking" to the people as Maibu did. That Katauka was a shaman and Matiwana the chief curer of the village contributed more to their prestige than did their position as sub-chiefs or their membership in the *aek* class. Tun, the shaman, and Oirupa, the sorcerer, ranked just below the chief in importance. The former enjoyed some standing as his prognostications of enemy movements were relied upon and respected by everybody. Oirupa had added power only because he was feared.

The only other criteria of status were youth and aggressiveness. Property was not a point of prestige, but those whose assertive attitudes gave them some status and influence were also those who manifested an accumulative attitude toward property. Youth and sexual prowess were highly regarded. Boasting about sexual exploits was usually done privately, but great pride was taken in them. This was related to the general esteem in which youth, size and vigor were held. To be a successful wrestler, therefore, enhanced a man's position. The Trumaí were also impressed by Quain's height and wanted to know what kind of medicines white men used to make them so tall. There was no warrior class and no special status for success in combat, except insofar as it was an indication of strength and courage.

As noted above, the status of old men was very low, except when they had special knowledge or office. Yet these attributes did not protect Matiwana from being contemptuously referred to as an old man. Moreover, Quain was severely criticized for giving presents to old Yahu, most of whose property had already been claimed by others, since the Trumaí did not think it proper that one so old should have any possessions beyond fishing and hunting equipment and other necessities. A favorite insult among the Trumaí was to tell someone he was old, and by implication that he no longer bathed or was able to fornicate.

Prestige variations, on the whole, were not great in the Trumaí village. The community had no clearly defined social groupings based on status, nor were there social mechanisms for human exploitation. Variations in wealth were slight, and their only significance was that one man might have more tools and trinkets than another. It is possible, however, that before the Trumaí had declined to their present low estate, prestige and authority were more clearly patterned, as they still were in the Kamayurá village.

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888 [561] [181] grades except in the broadest sense, as the term for "younger" covered everyone from infants to people in the prime of life. The terms, however, indicate a keen consciousness that those who have passed their prime are distinct from those who are still developing or are at the height of their physical powers.

The Trumaí believed that it was good to be young, vigorous, and strong, while advancing years were a stigma. Quain always met with a stout denial whenever he suggested to someone that he was older than someone else. An old person, they said with contempt, was one who did not bathe or shave the crown of his head any more. Mayuva did not [626] bother to bathe one morning and was derided by Kerami, who accused him of being old. A short time later he reappeared freshly bathed.

[162] While several individuals were considered "older," the only ones who fell into the Trumaí category of true old age were Matiwana and Yahu. The latter's status was further lowered by the fact that he was con- [563] sidered to be a Kamayurá; his father was a member of that tribe and he had a son living with them. However, Yahu was still sexually potent and a full participant in the economy.

[195] A person of truly advanced old age was called *dewan*. This term, which has uncomplimentary connotations, was applied only to men "whose penis is dead" or to women past menopause. Matiwana was the only person of either sex who fitted the *dewan* category. The only tasks for which he was suited were light craft work, gathering firewood, and an occasional fishing trip. He was, however, the fount of nearly all Trumaí ceremonial knowledge. Matiwana was well cared for by his son and by his household. The son's affection and loyalty to his father were deep, and he was the old man's constant companion. The rest of the villagers remained aloof from Matiwana.

888 The Trumaí abhorred the thought of their own future old age, and 554 they transferred some of this fear to the persons of the aged. Status [756] declined with age, and Matiwana had his ceremonial lore and shamanistic skill to thank for what position he still maintained.

Death

768 Neither the village site nor the house of the deceased had to be 764 abandoned following death. Burial took place in the village plaza. The corpse was interred lying on its back in an extended position, wrapped and bound in its hammock. Numerous cooking utensils, including a *ja'meo* (ceramic griddle for baking *beijú*) were buried with both male and female deceased.

765 No deaths occurred while Quain was in residence, but mourning was still going on for a man who had recently died. The burden of mourning fell on the female relatives of the deceased. The only observance in-

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possible that more women may be needed for polygamous marriages, but the data do not indicate plural marriage to be of great significance.

Pillage, also, inspires raids. The Kamayurá threatened to descend on the Trumaí, after Quain left, to rob them of all the Western goods they had obtained. The Suyá took all the Trumaí pots in a raid which occurred immediately before von den Steinen's second trip through the region.[19] The desire for goods is undoubtedly a motivating factor in particular raids, and it may also be a contributing factor in warfare generally, but since the material surplus is low throughout the area and retaliation almost certain, it is doubtful that this is a basic cause.

Insults, too, could provoke aggression. The Kamayurá threatened to chastise the Trumaí because the latter were rumored to have made defamatory remarks about them. Continuous fear and insecurity can also lead a tribe to attack. Quain observed that the Trumaí worked themselves up into such a state of terror that they were capable of desperate deeds. Needless to say, revenge expeditions tended to perpetuate hostility.

Among the Trumaí, no special prestige was derived from warfare, and the men did not boast of their prowess as warriors. Trumaí men showed scars of old wounds to Quain, but only to impress him with the brutality of other tribes. To the Trumaí, warfare was an occasion for fear, and not an opportunity to enhance one's status.

Warfare, however, is important in maintaining social cohesion within the communities. Quain noted that intra-social harmony and cooperation was low in the Trumaí village. Leadership was weak, and there was little friendliness between the men. However, when an attack threatened, quarrels were forgotten and aggressions and anxieties were directed toward the outside world. Also, when members of other tribes were in the village, the whole tone and tempo of life changed, and the Trumaí presented a united front.

This was made manifest during a visit of several Kamayurá. Despite their apprehension, the Trumaí treated their guests as long absent brothers. There was much forced and nervous jocularity and talk. The men expressed tremendous affection towards each other and the Kamayurá by embraces and linking of arms. Industry and activity were high. The Trumaí men went to catch fish to feed the guests and, upon returning, marched into the village singing gaily and led by their chief. After the Kamayurá left, the village lapsed with relief into its normal way of life. The men ceased to show affection for their comrades, and old quarrels broke out anew.

[19] Von den Steinen 1897, p. 144.

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CHAPTER THREE

Trumaí Social Organization

Property Ownership

105 Trumaí society was relatively simple. There was no social stratification based on wealth, nor were the mechanisms of social control and cohesion highly developed. This was in accord with the individualization of productive effort and the low level of economic surplus. The political unit was a single community, the sole bearer of Trumaí culture.

All land and productive resources were considered the property of the community, and the right to their exploitation resided with any individual willing to expend the labor. Gardens were individual property, but only in the sense that the man who reclaimed the land from the jungle was entitled to its product. There was no concept of alienable property in land, entailing the right of disposition. The *piquí* trees were said to be owned individually, but the owner exercised exclusive rights only over the first fruits. Other wild food plants were community property and their fruits belonged to the gatherer.

The fishing rights to lagoons and backwaters of the rivers belonged to the tribes in whose territory they were located. There was no individual ownership of fishing sites.

There was property in foods, but as soon as they were cooked they were freely distributed. *Beijú* belonged to the women, but the manioc out of which it was prepared was said to be the property of the man who grew it. Such distinctions were largely academic. Actually, the men grew the vegetable and the women harvested it, prepared it, and cooked it, after which it was distributed and eaten. The same situation prevailed in regard to the products of fishing, hunting, and gathering. Salt was the only exception, as it was prepared and owned by individual men and women. The difference undoubtedly lies in the fact that salt was an important trade item, while the other commodities were not.

Very little property can be said to have belonged to the family. Baskets and gourd containers were made by the men for themselves and for the women, but they were often used by both a man and his wife. Nearly all material objects outside of natural resources were owned by the person who made them or the person to whom an object was given. House ownership was vague, since houses were built and occupied by more than one man, and abandoned when the village moved. The house, however, was often considered the property of the man who put

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the greatest time and effort into its building. Quain was reprimanded for speaking of the house in which Maibu lived as "Maibu's," for his brother-in-law, Mata'wai, had built it. This point of property was confirmed by others, despite the fact that Maibu was the head of the household and acted as host when guests entered. 423

To the Trumaí, the only important property was in the personal possession of transportable, material artifacts. These ranged from tools and weapons to ceremonial objects and trinkets obtained from Quain. The second class of property was probably cherished more than the first, which was viewed as consisting of everyday necessities. The combs, feathers, beads, European novelties, papers, and other such items that all men and women possessed were carefully kept in baskets and gourds near their hammocks. A man and wife would often keep some of their personal belongings in the same containers, but beyond this there was a special category of personal possessions called *wacta*. This highly valued personal property was kept by each individual in separate gourds, where it was safe from the gift claims of kinsmen and reasonably free from the danger of theft. 472 [415]

The privacy of this property was especially observed by opposite sexes, although not as strictly by mates. Quain was told by one man that it was "bad" for a man to look at a woman's *wacta*, although he rummaged at will through the personal belongings of the men. The taboo on male contact with women's *wacta* was due in part to inclusion within it of articles used during menstruation. [841]

Accompanying the stress on personal and private ownership of certain material objects was a strong sense of acquisitiveness. Quain expressed this as follows: "There can be no doubt that property ownership is a paramount drive in this culture. Children are not content to see, as they are in Fiji, but things must be theirs. The possessive pronoun has an importance here which is striking. Once articles are received, they seem to disappear. They are probably carefully guarded among personal belongings." Significantly, the word for "gift-giving," literally translated, also means "to yield to a demand." 181 425 [193]

The Trumaí were tremendously interested in Quain's belongings and made continual attempts to acquire them. Adults as well as children whined in order to obtain objects from him. This attitude was manifested towards useful objects such as knives and axes, but they also pleaded and begged for articles having only curiosity value to them. As Quain said, to be curious about an object was to want it. Possession was desired for its own sake, for only slight prestige was gained by accumulating material objects, and utilitarian articles, such as knives, axes, and pots, were easily borrowed. 123 181 425 [454] [556]

Despite the possessiveness described by Quain, the Trumaí were restricted by strong gift-giving ties. A true brother or a son had a claim 431 602

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with prestige. Aloari, who later became chief, was classified as a *camara* at the time of Quain's visit.

At the top of the Trumaí prestige scale was the chief. His authority was limited, but he was more respected than any other man. The two sub-chiefs enjoyed some, but not much, prestige. Matiwana was an old man, and old age decreases status among the Trumaí. He took the lead in group curing ceremonies, however, and was the repository of much Trumaí lore and learning. Nor was Katauka, the other sub-chief, very influential. And neither official had the privilege of "talking" to the people as Maibu did. That Katauka was a shaman and Matiwana the chief curer of the village contributed more to their prestige than did their position as sub-chiefs or their membership in the *aek* class. Tun, the shaman, and Oirupa, the sorcerer, ranked just below the chief in importance. The former enjoyed some standing as his prognostications of enemy movements were relied upon and respected by everybody. Oirupa had added power only because he was feared.

The only other criteria of status were youth and aggressiveness. Property was not a point of prestige, but those whose assertive attitudes gave them some status and influence were also those who manifested an accumulative attitude toward property. Youth and sexual prowess were highly regarded. Boasting about sexual exploits was usually done privately, but great pride was taken in them. This was related to the general esteem in which youth, size and vigor were held. To be a successful wrestler, therefore, enhanced a man's position. The Trumaí were also impressed by Quain's height and wanted to know what kind of medicines white men used to make them so tall. There was no warrior class and no special status for success in combat, except insofar as it was an indication of strength and courage.

As noted above, the status of old men was very low, except when they had special knowledge or office. Yet these attributes did not protect Matiwana from being contemptuously referred to as an old man. Moreover, Quain was severely criticized for giving presents to old Yahu, most of whose property had already been claimed by others, since the Trumaí did not think it proper that one so old should have any possessions beyond fishing and hunting equipment and other necessities. A favorite insult among the Trumaí was to tell someone he was old, and by implication that he no longer bathed or was able to fornicate.

Prestige variations, on the whole, were not great in the Trumaí village. The community had no clearly defined social groupings based on status, nor were there social mechanisms for human exploitation. Variations in wealth were slight, and their only significance was that one man might have more tools and trinkets than another. It is possible, however, that before the Trumaí had declined to their present low estate, prestige and authority were more clearly patterned, as they still were in the Kamayurá village.

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were the teams always the same. Old Matiwana and his son Yati fished together most of the time, as did Aloári and his true brother Tun. Other true brothers often fished together, but, with the exception of the two above-mentioned steadfast teams, men chose their fishing companions according to their mutual needs or plans for the day. Since such agreements occurred most often between members of the same household, co-residents often cooperated. One man, Jakuma, spent much of his time fishing as the *tau* of different canoe owners or borrowers. He had no wife, and his garden, which he did not till very diligently, was very small. His fishing partners included men from every household, who were related to him in various degrees.

Although the position of *tau* was a temporarily subordinate one, it caused no loss of status. Even the Trumaí chief, since he owned no canoe, went fishing as a *tau*. Occasionally men took their wives along, but fishing was a man's specialty, and the woman's function was restricted to paddling.

Gathering

The two most important food products that the Trumaí gathered were turtle eggs and the fruit of the *piquí* tree, or *tsinon*. Throughout the dry season, turtle eggs were gathered in great quantity on the banks and sandbars of the rivers. By September they were no longer available and, in the following month, *piquí* became the main objective of the gathering parties. The harvest of this fruit was stored and lasted nearly to the end of the rainy season. *Piquí* was an important staple, especially in the period before crops ripened. Most of the *piquí* trees grow wild, but there is a suggestion in Quain's notes that they might also have been transplanted when young. All of the *piquí* trees were individually owned, and proprietary rights of individuals to groups of trees were clearly understood by all. In order to make the fruit ripen fast, the owner of the trees built a slow-burning fire of grass underneath them at night. The early rainy season was a rather lean period, so that there was great joy when the *piquí* was heard falling in the forest. Everyone broke into shouts of "*kaha kaha kaha-a-a*," which was the conventional cry for greeting the first *piquí*. These shouts were slightly different from those welcoming fish brought into the village.

The first fruit was usually gathered by the owner of the trees and his family. However, when the fruit began to fall in great quantity there was a general harvest which was shared without regard for tree ownership.

Piquí gathering started in the middle of October, when the planting season had ended and the men were free to help in the gathering. However, men still fished frequently, and the burden of the gathering fell on the women and older boys. Women from the same household

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always used to treat the wounds made by scraping. Jawaku walked away in a hurt and angry mood, his body covered with blood. 881 304

A few days later, in recognition of his advancement, Jawaku made the afternoon serving of food to the assembled men, a custom associated with the *ole* (manioc) ceremony. A further sign of his new position was the drinking of an herbaceous emetic before eating the first *piquí* fruit. Only boys who had not yet had their stomachs scraped could eat *piquí* without first taking the medicine. [264] [278]

One important purpose of body-scraping, the Trumaí thought, was to make the boy grow and give him strength. For this reason even the adult males occasionally scraped their arms. The scars themselves were very much admired. Of still greater value was the size of the muscles of the arms, chest, shoulder, and back of the neck, which the Trumaí believed to be the result of the scraping. 881 856 304 826

Another method of inducing growth was by drinking medicines made from herbs. All of the upper Xingú peoples were said to know of these preparations. The Suyá were said to have learned to make them also, but not the Yuruna. Adults drank these medicines, but they were especially important during the final phase of the puberty rites. 881 278 856

The perforation of the ear lobes was a distinct and separate part of the cycle of puberty rites, and the only one in which the boys went through a prescribed phase as a group. This observance took place during the equinoctial festive period which follows the rainy season and involved intertribal participation. At the next dry season festival, Quain was told, all the boys would have their ears pierced. Jawaku's ears, however, had been pierced before, whereas Autsuki, who was older and had entered the puberty cycle earlier, had not yet had his ears perforated. Manifestly, the time of the first perforation varied. 881 304 [48] [561]

At the first piercing the young boy added the name of his mother's father to the name of his paternal grandfather, which he had been given previously. This was also an occasion for scarifying the arms. [553]

Quain was informed that ear-piercing was done by all the upper Xingú area tribes. The Suyá, in common with other Gê-speaking peoples, made very large, and to the Trumaí, very unsightly, perforations in the lobes. Two Trumaí men who had been Suyá captives had such perforations and also pierced lower lips. The latter condition explained satisfactorily to the Trumaí why the Suyá "cannot speak properly." [171] [826] [186]

The puberty ceremonies were climaxed by a final series of tests of strength and courage: wrestling with a small anaconda, a subsequent intensive drinking of *okeis*, and further body-scraping. After this the boy was kept in seclusion until his ears were again pierced. [866]

Both Jawaku and Autsuki were at this stage. One day a snake was located in the lagoon, and Jawaku was urged to go after it. He and Makurawa ran through the brush to the lagoon and searched for it along 881 866

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Changes in status and expected behavior were connected with the transition to manhood, and new modes of participation in the culture were open to the young man. It is necessary, however, to differentiate between the transition consequent upon increased age and that which resulted specifically from passage through the life crisis rites. Ideally, such a distinction should not have existed, as the achievement of physical maturity should have been heralded by the socio — religious observances. But there were two young married men, Yanahi and Aloari, who had not completed the ritual — the former because of disinclination, the latter due to the delay caused by his captivity among the Yuruna. Aloari, although both vocal and aggressive, and having the men's haircut, was definitely not one of the men's group yet. His smoking was only of the "lying" kind. He still needed the ritual admittance to the smoking group. Yanahi, on the other hand, still had the youthful haircut, but, for unknown reasons, was already a full-fledged member of the men's group. He was frequently seen with the adolescent boys, however, and his activities were characterized by a youthful lack of gravity. His history shows that there was no sudden break with boyhood among the Trumaí. The puberty rites were spread over a long enough time to allow a slow incorporation into the adult world.

Upon reaching man's estate, the young man became an integral part of the household and village economies. To be sure, property attitudes had been developed early, but he now had a greater opportunity to express them, inasmuch as he was able to participate in the upper Xingú trade system and thus accumulate more personal possessions. His entrance into the men's circle gave him a larger voice in community affairs, but at the same time it involved him in many village squabbles, which were intensified by his search for sexual partners or a wife. Also, among his added responsibilities was the defense of the village.

In short, the status of the newly arrived man brought greater economic independence and a fuller participation in the social and ceremonial life of the community. In return for his heightened importance he was expected to act with sobriety and self-reliance, to show courage and fortitude, and to be more aggressive in asserting his new rights and prerogatives. This last was largely a matter of degree, for Quain had been impressed at the extent to which children asserted themselves and shared the mannerisms and attitudes of adults.

Female Puberty

The only data available on female puberty observances concern the first menses (*wasipanes*), when the girl is confined for a period during which she wears her hair over her face. Rodrigues Ferreira, in commenting on a Trumaí girl in seclusion, states that she must remain in her

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tention of marriage. But an intention of marriage did not insure exclusive sexual rights. The man usually continued to get gratification wherever he could find it. The knowledge of his other liaisons did not particularly disturb his bride-to-be, as she herself may well have been receiving attentions from other lovers. After marriage, such transgressions were not so readily tolerated.

The chief obstacles in the way of the marriage-bent Trumaí swain were the necessity to shout down his rivals and gain the approval and consent of the girl's kinsmen. The woman's consent was not necessary in making the marriage, and she usually remained aloof, waiting to see who won. If, however, she was not pleased with the mate to whom she was awarded, she was free to leave him. And this she often did. While Quain was in the village, there were marriages that lasted only a day or two due to the bride's dissatisfaction.

In addition to the arguments that precede most marriages, the man was expected to go through certain formalities. He went to the girl's mother and stated his intentions. If the girl had no mother, he approached the nearest male relative. In order to gain the favor of her kinsmen, he distributed gifts, the most important to the girl's mother, others to her father, siblings, and her mother's brother. The gift to the latter was especially important, as he was the one who formally gave the woman, or as the Trumaí phrase it, "spreads her legs." Gifts were also given the girl, culminating with a present of fish. In the meantime the girl made an especially fine hammock which she gave to the groom.

If everything was accepted, the man was free to take the girl to his house. The wedding was preceded by a fishing expedition in which nearly all the men participated, and by a wrestling match for which the groom was beautifully painted. The women held a trade game. The actual ceremony consisted of nothing more than the woman's moving into the house of her mate. A male relative carried her hammock to his home.

This was the way weddings should have been conducted in the Trumaí village. Actually, they were even less formal, especially in the case of second wives in polygamous unions. Marriage and sex preoccupied the Trumaí, for there were not enough women to go around; but even the few formal acts involved interested the Trumaí little. If the marriage was durable, the couple settled down and had children. After marriage and the birth of children no great change occurred in their positions in the community until they reached old age.

Old Age

Everyone in the village was classified as "younger" or "older." The men were either *axosek* (younger) or *idakek* (older), while the terms for the women were, respectively, *axosekiss* and *idakits*. These were not age

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888 [561] [181] grades except in the broadest sense, as the term for "younger" covered everyone from infants to people in the prime of life. The terms, however, indicate a keen consciousness that those who have passed their prime are distinct from those who are still developing or are at the height of their physical powers.

The Trumaí believed that it was good to be young, vigorous, and strong, while advancing years were a stigma. Quain always met with a stout denial whenever he suggested to someone that he was older than someone else. An old person, they said with contempt, was one who did not bathe or shave the crown of his head any more. Mayuva did not [626] bother to bathe one morning and was derided by Kerami, who accused him of being old. A short time later he reappeared freshly bathed.

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level of general anxiety. It was usually the result of several days of rumor, omens, and strange fires in the north.

Late one night during Quain's stay, after most of the village had retired, a near panic occurred when two women shouted that the Suyá were attacking. All the initiated men, even the weak and old, rushed to the village center with their bows and arrows. The women and children from two of the four Trumaí houses hurried with their hammocks to the other two houses. The frightened men milled around in the center of the village with no apparent organization or direction. The chief, who was trembling, did not take command of the situation.

If this had been a real attack, noted Quain, the raiders would have given a loud yell and loosed a volley of arrows. He later made an investigation and found no signs of intruders. One of the women thought that someone had thrown dirt at her. Quain believed this to be a habit of the Suyá, but one that was usually a friendly overture.

The women feared other tribes more than did the men, for one of the main purposes of raids was to capture women. In every upper Xingú community women from other tribes are always found. The dispersal of women takes three forms: capture in warfare (by groups outside the area), open abduction of a woman by intimidation of her fellow-villagers, and peaceful intertribal marriage. According to de Lima, the Suyá raid the Waurá village on the Batoví River for female captives, as the women of the Arawakan tribes are the only potters of the region.[16] The Trumaí lost many young women to the Kamayurá by intimidation, the second of the above means. Most of the women in the Trumaí village were at one time held by the Kamayurá with the result that, in many Trumaí marriages, the woman is several years older than the man. At the time of Quain's visit, Trumaí women were still living among the Kamayurá and other groups. One of them, the sister of the Trumaí chief, ran away from the Kamayurá and returned home because her husband had beaten her, an action that angered the Trumaí greatly. There she picked up the threads of her old life, but after a few weeks a party of Kamayurá took her back to their village. The Trumaí offered no resistance, either physical or verbal, although they outnumbered the visitors, for to have done so would have invited retaliation.

The fact that the Trumaí had lost many women completely, or regained them only after their most fertile years had passed, was probably a contributing factor to the depopulation of the group. The losses were only partially compensated for by the marriage of outside women into the Trumaí village. There were three foreign women in the community in 1938: a Suyá, a Mehinaku, and a Kamayurá. Their status was lower than that of the Trumaí women, and they were at times taunted because of their foreign origin. They did not participate as fully in the

[16] De Lima 1950, p. 5.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The plaza was the center of Trumaí social life. Here guests were entertained, ceremonials and wrestling matches were held, and the men gathered daily. Although the women might sit in front of their houses and watch these activities, they were not allowed to come near the log bench, even when the men were not there. The plaza of the Trumaí village was also used as the burying ground.

A short distance north of the circle of houses, on the path to the two main garden clearings of the Trumaí, was another smaller clearing used during the *ole*, or manioc, ceremonies. Other paths radiated outward from the village to the other gardens and to nearby groves of *piqui* trees. Quain noticed that the paths leading to the Kamayurá village were much broader and cleaner. The Kamayurá were proud of their paths and kept them in good condition. Their plaza was also clearer of weeds and trash than that of the Trumaí.

Of the four completed houses in the village, two were as large as those of the Kamayurá, but the other two, which were much smaller, were considered by Quain's informants to be genuinely Trumaí in type. Insofar as is known, the details of the construction and shape of all four were substantially the same. They had an elliptical floor plan and were haystack-shaped. Although the side walls were only four feet high, the roof attained a height of fifteen feet. The silhouette of the house was an almost smooth curve from ridge pole to ground. The frame was covered with a grass thatch. There were no windows, and a single entry opened on the plaza.

Each family occupied its own section of the house and had its own fireplace. Personal belongings hung from the walls and ceilings or were placed on small shelves. Hammocks were hung between the side wall posts and the two center posts, the woman's hammock beneath that of her husband. Except for two nuclear families that screened off their sections with blankets and cloth given them by Quain, there was no internal division of the house.

The two largest garden clearings were situated respectively about one mile northeast and one mile northwest of the village. Three small ones were located southeast of the settlement. In order of size, the gardens were named Naristan, Waniwanitan, Anariatan, Tan Toreake, and Tandatake. Naristan, the largest, contained, by Quain's rough calculation, approximately seven acres divided into ten plots, representing the gardens of seven men. One plot contained two acres, but the average garden varied between one-fourth and one acre in size. One of the men had erected a temporary thatch shelter in his plot, providing protection from the sun, but not from the rain. Inside there was only a basket of manioc flour, a rack for cooking fish, and a large shallow pot into which manioc was grated. This was the sole garden shelter Quain saw, and, significantly, it belonged to the most industrious horticulturist in the village.

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These were noisy affairs. The seller threw his merchandise on the ground and loosed an exultant shout. All the participants cried out in response. Occasionally the goods were offered in the hope of acquiring a desired article from a certain person, but usually they were put up for barter with the general public. In this case, whoever wanted the item went back to his house and brought an article to exchange. He placed this on the floor and picked up his purchase. Often the seller refused the proffered exchange and waited for a better offer. If the trade was consummated, another loud shout was given by the audience. These exchanges went on until the participants lost interest, or until no more goods were offered.

All exchanges were considered to be gift-giving. This was especially true of trade between fellow-Trumaí. When members of other groups were involved, trade was at least formally so considered, although the behavior and attitudes in gift-giving, proper, were quite different. When Quain made exchanges he was always admonished to tell his wife who the donor of the "gift" was.

Within the Trumaí village gift-giving and not trade was the usual form of property distribution, especially between kinsmen. A man might trade with a person whom he called mother's brother, or father's brother, or some other relationship term, but this was almost always a kin bond reckoned by extension, and not a close blood tie.

Women participated little in the men's trade games. In part this was due to the sexual dichotomy that operated in social participation generally, in part to the nature of the goods involved. A woman did not want to buy a man's fish hooks any more than he wanted her cotton. Occasionally a woman might break into the male trade game to buy a particular object, but once this was accomplished she would withdraw. A few women might sit around the house where the trade game was being held, especially if their husbands were participating. Occasionally the women held their own trade games in which cotton and household utensils were commonly bartered. Conventional shouts accompanied their activities, but they were less boisterous than those of the men.

The women were especially eager to trade with Quain, to get his cloth and colored thread in exchange for food, which normally was given away. The chief was also a main instigator of trade games with Quain. At times Quain refused to participate to the great annoyance of the would-be second party.

The trade game reflected the Trumaí attitude towards property, in that it provided more enjoyment and excitement than any other form of social participation, except intertribal festivities. Each exchange was watched with bated breath, and the outcome greeted with happy cries and laughter. There was some indication that the most dominant and forward personalities were also the most energetic traders. It was

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because she was his sister-in-law. Mayuva, however, was afraid of Nitvary, as the latter had close ties with the Kamayurá and had threatened Mayuva with witchcraft at their hands. After Nitvary returned from a trip to the Kamayurá village, Mayuva complained of severe headaches and said he was going to die. Although he denied to Quain that his condition was due to Kamayurá sorcery, the threats against him apparently had the desired result: a short time later Kuyafi moved into Nitvary's house. The union last only two days, for Nitvary's jealous wife drove her out in a fit of anger. The field, it would seem, was clear for Oirupa, the third suitor.

Oirupa, however, had been trying to marry Kuyafi for years. Her father, Matiwana, refused to give his consent and Oirupa, in revenge, was said to have killed two of Matiwana's children by witchcraft. Relations between their families were understandably strained, and they were further aggravated by the marriage of Matiwana's son Yati and Oirupa's sister Kerami, which occurred during Quain's stay. This union was unhappy and short-lived. When Kerami left him, Yati and his father held Oirupa and his co-resident affinals, Tun and Aloari, responsible. Yati bitterly asserted that he (and Matiwana) would go to live among his mother's people, the Kuikuru of the upper Kuluene. There, he said, women were much easier to get.

With this background of conflict and suspicion, it is not surprising that the quarrel again broke out in earnest when Oirupa tried to seduce Kuyafi. Angered by her rejection he threw *piqui* pits at her. In the afternoon Matiwana spoke out against Oirupa from his house. (This was proper behavior, since a parent is expected to take his offspring's part in such disputes.) That evening the two men indulged in the usual loud shouting and wrestled with barely restrained hostility. Kuyafi added her bit from the house as did another of Matiwana's daughters. The other men pretended indifference. Yati remained silent, although he was vitally interested in the dispute; for, besides being Matiwana's son, he was involved in an enduring respect relationship with his former brother-in-law, even after his marriage was dissolved. Public opinion, however, was on the side of Matiwana, for Oirupa had committed an offense by hitting Kuyafi with the pits, and he had also threatened to use witchcraft. To this last Matiwana tauntingly replied that had Oirupa's witchcraft been really effective, he would have been dead long ago. As of the time Quain left the Trumaí, Kuyafi's future was still undecided.

The Men's Circle

The men's circle served a number of functions. It was the place in which initiated males gathered, talked, argued, and smoked. It was not taboo to young boys, as it was to women, but youngsters rarely joined the group, and they never participated in any of its activities.

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the group, and they never participated in any of its activities. Occasionally men gathered in the village center during the day, but at night the circle always formed, generally lasting from sundown until about nine o'clock. In the afternoon it was often the scene of wrestling matches. Talk usually went on then also, but the gatherings were smaller than at night.

At night most of the men were present, and conversation ranged over a variety of topics. Of greatest interest were neighboring tribes, past warfare and present threats to peace. Gossip, usually about sex, found ready ears. This was the time when the chief made most of his speeches, and the time when plans for a fishing trip, for salt manufacture, or for a journey to the Waurá for pots were discussed. The men's circle was also the place where the shaman practiced his art, and, as noted above, where grievances were aired.

The social life of the males was centered almost completely in these gatherings, and it was in them that the mechanisms of village authority and social control were expressed. Also, the men's circle underlined the cleavage between the activities of the men and of the women. The women had no formal grouping such as the men's circle, but they showed solidarity when the need arose. While men were dominant, as Quain said, they "look on the women as an ungoverned force," and open group quarrels were not infrequent between the sexes.

Status

Aek, the Trumai word for chief, also denoted membership in the upper half of what is nominally a *status* class. Members of the lower half of this class were loosely referred to as *camaru*, a term which, according to Galvão, probably diffused into the region from rural Brazil, where workers are called *camaradas*.[39] There was some uncertainty on the part of Quain's informants as to who were members of the *aek* division. In general, it included the chief, the two sub-chiefs, and their families. But while the status appears to have been hereditary, its transmission was loose and uncertain. For instance, Maibu was an *aek*, but he refused to classify his brothers as such. However, the fathers of both Maibu and Katauka, one of the sub-chiefs, were *aek*. Matiwana's three daughters and his son derived their status from him, further supporting the case for patrilineality. On the other hand, the children of one of the daughters were *aek*, even though their father was a *camaru*. The significance of being *aek* had probably declined with the weakening of leadership patterns and the lessened importance of the sub-chiefs. Today, the *aek-camaru* division is non-functional, membership is confused, and, except for the chieftainship, it is correlated only vaguely

[39] Galvão 1949, p. 69.

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of specialist among the Trumaí that is not reported for the Kamayurá, and it is to this type that the term "shaman" is applied in the following description. The Trumaí "shaman," in this sense, is a man who possessed extra-visionary powers through which he could locate enemy war parties and "see" the afterworld.

The source of the visionary shaman's and also the curing shaman's power is revealed nowhere in Quains' notes, nor do we have any information on other aspects of the associated belief system. Oberg's Kamayurá informants told him that personal spirits are acquired during illness, and it is contact with one's spirit which gives the power.[3] This may well be true in Trumaí culture also, but the very fact that Quain did not perceive this, even granting the language barrier, might indicate a decline in the strength of animistic belief.

"Seeing," as Quain translates Trumaí shamanism, took place only at night. (Quain was told that if a shaman inhaled large quantities of tobacco smoke during the day, his temples would pound.) Since one of the main purposes of shamanism was to detect enemies and the fear of attack was greatest at night, it was then that knowledge was felt to be most necessary. Shamanism, it should be stressed, revolved around one of the central themes in Trumaí life, fear of other tribes; the pronouncements of the shaman were almost always that enemies were near and that danger was acute. These were generally believed without question by his audience.

The procedure was simple. When the talk in the men's circle stressed the possibility of a raid, the shaman was called upon to "see." A hushed silence fell over the group. Even Quain was asked to stop speaking and using his typewriter. The shaman turned his back on the assembly, inhaled large amounts of tobacco smoke, his only paraphernalia, and seemed to concentrate deeply. Quain could detect no traces of tobacco narcosis, but it was possible that a mild reaction was produced. After a few minutes of intense concentration, the shaman faced about and announced the results of his activity. This was usually to the effect that he had seen Suyá, or, less often, Bororo, Yuruna, or a tribe of the immediate region. A Trumaí shaman could also find lost articles, but this was secondary to "seeing" the enemy. One shaman claimed to have seen the land of the dead, but there was no suggestion that he had communicated with the deceased.

Only certain older men were visionary shamans. There is no evidence that women were admitted to the practice anywhere in the region. Inheritance of shamanistic power was nominally patrilineal. In 1938 there were three shamans: Yakuma, the chief's oldest biological brother, Aloari's brother Tun, and Matiwana. Tun was the most active practitioner, while Yakuma seldom "saw." Maibu said that the latter was

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

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clouds of tobacco smoke were first blown over the affected area by the curer who then, with noisy inhalations, sucked that part of the body in which the ailment appeared to be localized. Insofar as Quain was able to determine, no foreign objects were "extracted," and he was not given any explanation as to why the treatment worked.

Knowledge of curing was widespread among the men. All the men knew how to use botanicals, and over half, all said to have been taught by Matiwana, knew the art of *jau'kath*. Men cured their wives, children, or other close blood relatives. When Aloari was treating his son's ringworm he was asked by Quain whether he would also treat a young boy who was only indirectly related. Aloari refused because the boy had closer kinsmen who could perform this act. Kayaru developed a swollen breast, and it was Yanahi, her sister's son, who performed *jau'kath* on it. All men treated the members of their biological families with medicines, but those who did not know the shamanistic cure relied on a practitioner from outside the immediate family.

Matiwana treated his son Yati without recompense, but when his daughter's husband became ill, the latter paid him for the cure with a pot. The kinship ties by which curing was free to certain relatives probably corresponded closely to the pattern of gift-giving obligations. Payments for medical treatment were called *okei pop* (medicine gift). Quain was usually given small payments for the many cures he performed for the Trumaí. In no case could it be said that any curer derived a significant income from his services.

Group Curing Ceremony

The only time that Quain witnessed the group curing ceremony (*kevere*) was on an occasion two weeks after his arrival. He noted the formal aspects carefully, but he was unable to ascertain their meanings, since his command of the language at that time was so meagre.

Maibu's wife, Matavitsa, was sick and wasted when Quain arrived in the village. Her husband had been treating her for some time by the shamanistic means of tobacco smoke and sucking, but with little success. It was decided to hold a ceremonial cure, although shamanistic techniques were not ruled out. Nearly all the adult men of the village gathered in Maibu's house for the ritual, which lasted for three hours. No women were admitted, and the door was kept closed. The *kevere* was strictly prohibited to females, and the men would not even talk of it in their presence. The women seemed to regard Quain's status as doubtful, for Maibu's sister told him that he would die if he entered. He refused to be dissuaded, and upon entering was motioned to a seat.

The men were ranged in a broad semi-circle along the side of the house opposite the sick woman's hammock. Matiwana, who was in charge of

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526 would be terminated by mutual consent and without the need for either contestant to concede defeat.[5] The wrestlers were often pushed around [152] considerably, but except for grunts of effort, there were no expressions of pain or anger. However, when Quain tried to teach the Trumaí men to box, even the lightest punch caused them to retire. They claimed that the *karahiba* sport was much too rough.

562 Trumaí women do not "know how" to wrestle, but the Kamayurá 526 women wrestled to entertain guests. It was common opinion in the region 186 that Trumaí women did not compare favorably with Kamayurá women. 648 Even the Trumaí men agreed on this point. After a visit to the Kama- yurá village, the precocious young Yanahi was vociferous in his approval 171 of them. His admiration was due chiefly to the *jamyrikuma*, a Kamayurá female song and dance in which the women flapped their breasts and went through other provocative motions. He also described how they had pushed their twine belts down low on their buttocks, which to him was a very suggestive act. After the dance the women wrestled. Jakwalu, a Mehinaku, was the only woman in the Trumaí village who could wrestle, a fact that suggests that the females of this group also practiced the sport. She demonstrated her ability only on intertribal visits.

574 The Trumaí women did not entertain guests, except insofar as visitors 535 forced their attentions on the unmarried ones. The only occasions on which they were known to sing and dance were at certain ceremonies when they served as a chorus to the men.

533 Except for the use of pan-pipes, which the men played in the morning, [534] all music was connected with religious ceremonial. The pan-pipes con- [196] sisted of a half-dozen hollow reeds of different lengths laced together. Ceremonial singing was melodious, and the Trumaí enjoyed singing. They frequently requested Quain to sing in the men's circle. The requests were always phrased on behalf of the women and children. [123] Visits from members of other tribes always called for a performance by the ethnographer.

522 Humor consisted mostly of practical jokes played at the expense of 571 others. Jokes were always perpetrated by the men; the women served occasionally as butts. This does not mean that the men were gayer or more light-hearted than the women, for the contrary was actually the case. The women enjoyed each other's company more. They gossiped and laughed together, worked together, and generally wore a pleasanter expression. For the men, jokes were important as a means of recognition and assertion. They were always performed for an audience.

Teasing the women was also a popular male diversion. This was often done by ignoring them completely during a conversation. Yati was a

[5] This may be true only of bouts between Trumaí, as Oberg (1953, p. 89) notes that a man is defeated when he is thrown on his back.

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Yanahi was less inhibited than any of the other men, but his behavior was not considered shocking or immoral. Quain had apparently arrived at the village just at the time that Yanahi was on the threshold of sexual experience. He appeared in Quain's house one night to show that he had an erection and announced that he would soon be having coitus. Thereafter, he rarely failed to tell Quain of his exploits. One night quite a crowd, including Yanahi and one of his paramours, Vatsiat, was gathered in Quain's house. The young man suddenly developed a longing for her and, as soon as all the visitors had left, satisfied his craving noisily amidst Quain's pots and pans. He was proud of his virility, as were most of the Trumaí men.

No discredit attached to the male involved in a love affair and very little to the woman. Oirupa merely scolded his sister for having copulated with Yanahi. Only where adultery was involved did promiscuity lower the status of a woman. Chastity before marriage was not expected, and there was not a single virgin in the village over the age of puberty. Older women without husbands or close relatives to protect them were often used for sexual purposes against their will. This was especially the case with unmarried foreign women. Some of them complained that they had to dispense their favors to too many men too often.

This aggressiveness and the danger of bride-capture made the women extremely fearful of being raped, and, as noted above, they were uneasy even when the threats were made in fun. One morning Quain decided to get rid of his numerous female visitors by employing this device. They all fled except one, who, despite her seeming courage, looked worried. Without doubt, the women enjoyed visiting Quain, but a man told him that if he were to have intercourse with any one of them, they would all fear him. Over and above this fear of rape, there was a definite hostility between the sexes, which was usually well controlled, but which on occasion might explode in open quarrels between the men and the women.

No cumbersome taboos surrounded physiological functions. Belching and the release of flatus were common in company, but generally disregarded. However, if an unusually unpleasant odor followed, those nearby spat on the ground as a mark of disgust. The men urinated near their houses or at the edge of the village plaza. The women went to the edge of the village clearing or behind the houses. Both sexes went a short distance into the brush to defecate, but at night elimination was permitted in the village plaza if a hole was first dug for this purpose and covered over.

There was no salacious attitude toward body processes. The Trumaí were puzzled by Quain's desire for privacy in his personal habits and his curiosity about other people's. One woman seriously asked if she could watch him eliminate.

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level of general anxiety. It was usually the result of several days of rumor, omens, and strange fires in the north.

Late one night during Quain's stay, after most of the village had retired, a near panic occurred when two women shouted that the Suyá were attacking. All the initiated men, even the weak and old, rushed to the village center with their bows and arrows. The women and children from two of the four Trumaí houses hurried with their hammocks to the other two houses. The frightened men milled around in the center of the village with no apparent organization or direction. The chief, who was trembling, did not take command of the situation.

If this had been a real attack, noted Quain, the raiders would have given a loud yell and loosed a volley of arrows. He later made an investigation and found no signs of intruders. One of the women thought that someone had thrown dirt at her. Quain believed this to be a habit of the Suyá, but one that was usually a friendly overture.

The women feared other tribes more than did the men, for one of the main purposes of raids was to capture women. In every upper Xingú community women from other tribes are always found. The dispersal of women takes three forms: capture in warfare (by groups outside the area), open abduction of a woman by intimidation of her fellow-villagers, and peaceful intertribal marriage. According to de Lima, the Suyá raid the Waurá village on the Batoví River for female captives, as the women of the Arawakan tribes are the only potters of the region.[18] The Trumaí lost many young women to the Kamayurá by intimidation, the second of the above means. Most of the women in the Trumaí village were at one time held by the Kamayurá with the result that, in many Trumaí marriages, the woman is several years older than the man. At the time of Quain's visit, Trumaí women were still living among the Kamayurá and other groups. One of them, the sister of the Trumaí chief, ran away from the Kamayurá and returned home because her husband had beaten her, an action that angered the Trumaí greatly. There she picked up the threads of her old life, but after a few weeks a party of Kamayurá took her back to their village. The Trumaí offered no resistance, either physical or verbal, although they outnumbered the visitors, for to have done so would have invited retaliation.

The fact that the Trumaí had lost many women completely, or regained them only after their most fertile years had passed, was probably a contributing factor to the depopulation of the group. The losses were only partially compensated for by the marriage of outside women into the Trumaí village. There were three foreign women in the community in 1938: a Suyá, a Mehinaku, and a Kamayurá. Their status was lower than that of the Trumaí women, and they were at times taunted because of their foreign origin. They did not participate as fully in the

[18] De Lima 1960, p. 5.

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culture as the other women, but their everyday existence was much the same.

Men were also taken as captives, although not to the same extent as were women. Tun and Aloari, two Trumaí men, had lived in captivity among the Yuruna. They had feared their captors at first, but once they had learned the language, they said, they were no longer afraid. Apparently both men had been well treated by the Yuruna, for they were kindly disposed towards that tribe. The elder of the two men had a Yuruna wife, whom he left when he returned to his people. How this was accomplished is not known, but escape could not have been very difficult.

Another factor promoting the incorporation of both women and men into other tribes was the depopulation and extinction of their own groups. When the southern Trumaí village was disbanded many of the survivors joined the northern Trumaí, but some moved in with other tribes. Similarly, de Lima reported that the Yaulapiti, who disbanded sometime between 1933 and 1945, were to be found among the Kamayurá, Trumaí, and Aweti.[17]

It is possible that more Yaulapiti settled with Arawakan speaking groups, but the three above-named tribes were their closest neighbors. The remnants of a disbanded group might also join villages in which they had close kin or personal relationships. A later report by the Srs. Villas Boas, who maintained the recently established airstrip of the Fundação Brasil Central, stated that, as in the case of the Trumaí, the Yaulapiti have reconstituted themselves as a group by the establishment of a one-house village.[18] Clearly, except for the peace that has reigned since the airfield was built, a village of some twenty-five people would not be secure from attack. But while the chances of survival are still far from good, the initiation of such a project shows the eagerness of the participants to preserve their social identity.

The main purposes of warfare in the region are to capture women, take loot, and exact revenge. Captive-taking has a clear economic basis in the sporadic warfare between the Suyá and Waurá, as the Suyá capture Waurá women for their knowledge of pottery-making. Among the tribes of the *alto* area proper, however, this is not done. Arawakan women are married, but Quain's notes indicate that they do not practice pottery-making in their new villages.

It is possible that male and female captives are taken by upper Xingú groups from tribes outside the region to bolster their waning numerical strength, but infanticide and abortion are also present in the area. However, captives do not have to be reared from infancy, and do not constitute the same strain on the economy that children do. It is also

[17] De Lima 1949, p. 25.

[18] This information was obtained verbally from Dr. Eduardo Galvão. Cf. Oberg 1953, p. 4.

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Visits might be made to obtain a bride, engage in trade, participate in some intertribal ceremony, or for a combination of any of these reasons. Most visits were ostensibly of a purely social nature, but they were also used to frighten and impress. Stealing was frequent, especially when the host tribe, like the Trumaí, was weak. The Trumaí rarely protested against thefts while the visitors were still in the village, although they vehemently expressed their indignation later. Such discretion was due more to fear than etiquette.

The inferior position of the Trumaí was most evident when visitors were in the village. The Kamayurá, especially, treated the Trumaí with arrogance and contempt. At times they would enter the Trumaí village without having built the customary warning fire. The Trumaí, on the other hand, did everything possible to please their visitors and prove their generosity and good will toward them. Quain was berated by the Trumaí chief for being too niggardly toward the Kamayurá, and he found that greater respect was accorded to the Kamayurá chief than to either himself or the Trumaí chief. The Kamayurá felt slighted that Quain had not visited them instead of the contemptible Trumaí, and, when Quain went to meet the visiting Kamayurá chief, the latter turned away with an air of bored indifference.

The Kamayurá chief was immediately given a stool to sit on and was plied with cigarettes. When he threw one away after a few puffs, he was promptly given another. Deference was also paid to ordinary Kamayurá, although to a lesser degree. Once when such a member came to the Trumaí village alone, the man who received him rushed to Quain's house to borrow a chair in order to reach some tobacco which had been placed on a high shelf. He was in a great hurry, for it would not be good to keep his guest waiting.

This behavior stands in sharp contrast to a visit to the Kamayurá village made by Quain and a party of Trumaí. The chief delegated their reception to his brother. No special attention was paid to them, although the villagers were active and industrious in an apparent effort to impress. The Trumaí were not even asked to sit on the log in the village center.

Due to the extensive intertribal relations, command of a language besides one's own is common in the area generally. But since Trumaí is an independent tongue and the number of Trumaí small, it is probable that multilingual people were more frequent among them than in other tribes. Their "second" language was usually Kamayurá, but few outsiders spoke Trumaí, although more understood it. When Kamayurá came to visit, conversation was ordinarily in their tongue. Of the three foreign women in the Trumaí village, only the Suyá woman could speak even a broken Trumaí. Since the Suyá had no peaceful relations with the tribes of the headwaters, the Gé language was not widely known there. The other two foreign women merely understood Trumaí.

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PLATE III

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Aloari

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[563]

Yanahi

Kokumu, Suyá Woman

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888 [561] [181] grades except in the broadest sense, as the term for "younger" covered everyone from infants to people in the prime of life. The terms, however, indicate a keen consciousness that those who have passed their prime are distinct from those who are still developing or are at the height of their physical powers.

The Trumaí believed that it was good to be young, vigorous, and strong, while advancing years were a stigma. Quain always met with a stout denial whenever he suggested to someone that he was older than someone else. An old person, they said with contempt, was one who did not bathe or shave the crown of his head any more. Mayuva did not [626] bother to bathe one morning and was derided by Kerami, who accused him of being old. A short time later he reappeared freshly bathed.

[162] While several individuals were considered "older," the only ones who fell into the Trumaí category of true old age were Matiwana and Yahu. [563] The latter's status was further lowered by the fact that he was considered to be a Kamayurá; his father was a member of that tribe and he had a son living with them. However, Yahu was still sexually potent and a full participant in the economy.

[195] A person of truly advanced old age was called *dewan*. This term, which has uncomplimentary connotations, was applied only to men "whose penis is dead" or to women past menopause. Matiwana was the only person of either sex who fitted the *dewan* category. The only tasks for which he was suited were light craft work, gathering firewood, and an occasional fishing trip. He was, however, the fount of nearly all Trumaí ceremonial knowledge. Matiwana was well cared for by his son and by his household. The son's affection and loyalty to his father were deep, and he was the old man's constant companion. The rest of the villagers remained aloof from Matiwana.

888 554 [756] The Trumaí abhorred the thought of their own future old age, and they transferred some of this fear to the persons of the aged. Status declined with age, and Matiwana had his ceremonial lore and shamanistic skill to thank for what position he still maintained.

Death

768 764 Neither the village site nor the house of the deceased had to be abandoned following death. Burial took place in the village plaza. The corpse was interred lying on its back in an extended position, wrapped and bound in its hammock. Numerous cooking utensils, including a *ja'meo* (ceramic griddle for baking *beijú*) were buried with both male and female deceased.

765 No deaths occurred while Quain was in residence, but mourning was still going on for a man who had recently died. The burden of mourning fell on the female relatives of the deceased. The only observance in-

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APPENDIX

Buell Quain, in a letter to the late Dr. Ruth Benedict written from Brazil on December 21, 1938, summarized several aspects of Trumaí culture which have a direct and immediate bearing on their decline. Following are excerpts of ethnological interest from this letter, which was discovered after this monograph was completed:

"They are a dying culture. Each generation improves its imitation of Kamayurá culture. Everyone in the village knows a few Kamayurá words. Almost all the songs in the manioc fertility ceremony are Kamayurá. Half the people in the village can carry on a conversation in Kamayurá with ease. One household (there are four) uses Kamayurá in preference to Trumaí. The mother of the house owner speaks no Trumaí; she is a Kamayurá woman who has lived with the Trumaí for about twenty-five years. The child of the household, a ten year old girl, confuses Kamayurá kinship terms with Trumaí in classifying the village. All Trumaí women between twenty and forty have been captive wives among the Kamayurá (which puts the Trumaí men in a peculiar position which they fully but fruitlessly resent) .... They have lots of disorganized leisure. They are sleepy (in part because of insects and fear throughout the night). They are ready to imitate not only the Kamayurá, but me, in petty daily habits. No outsider speaks Trumaí.

"There is nobody among them who volunteers information of ethnological value. For three months I dug for structure and got very little... Dullness cannot be attributed to the climate.

"The village is small .... Each of the four households — now five because of a recent split — are organized, or perhaps disorganized, according to different sociological principals. Three of the seventeen women are of foreign birth; one is Kamayurá, one is Mehinaku, and one is Suyá. The first two speak no Trumaí. A fourth woman with ringworm and two sick children is said to be Yaulapití, but she is well set in Trumaí culture. Nobody claims her as a relative (in part because of aversion toward her ringworm); hence she is used as a prostitute by every man in the village — she is the village joke. Among the men, I have found remarkably uniform responses to various 'tests'. (I said 'Draw a picture of a woman and a man.' Every man but one drew the woman first and oriented her in a distinctive way on the paper. The women showed no such regularity. One Kamayurá man tested also lacked this stereotyped response.)

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the group, and they never participated in any of its activities. Occasionally men gathered in the village center during the day, but at night the circle always formed, generally lasting from sundown until about nine o'clock. In the afternoon it was often the scene of wrestling matches. Talk usually went on then also, but the gatherings were smaller than at night.

At night most of the men were present, and conversation ranged over a variety of topics. Of greatest interest were neighboring tribes, past warfare and present threats to peace. Gossip, usually about sex, found ready ears. This was the time when the chief made most of his speeches, and the time when plans for a fishing trip, for salt manufacture, or for a journey to the Waurá for pots were discussed. The men's circle was also the place where the shaman practiced his art, and, as noted above, where grievances were aired.

The social life of the males was centered almost completely in these gatherings, and it was in them that the mechanisms of village authority and social control were expressed. Also, the men's circle underlined the cleavage between the activities of the men and of the women. The women had no formal grouping such as the men's circle, but they showed solidarity when the need arose. While men were dominant, as Quain said, they "look on the women as an ungoverned force," and open group quarrels were not infrequent between the sexes.

Status

Aek, the Trumaí word for chief, also denoted membership in the upper half of what is nominally a status class. Members of the lower half of this class were loosely referred to as *camara*, a term which, according to Galvão, probably diffused into the region from rural Brazil, where workers are called *camaradas*.[19] There was some uncertainty on the part of Quain's informants as to who were members of the *aek* division. In general, it included the chief, the two sub-chiefs, and their families. But while the status appears to have been hereditary, its transmission was loose and uncertain. For instance, Maibu was an *aek*, but he refused to classify his brothers as such. However, the fathers of both Maibu and Katauka, one of the sub-chiefs, were *aek*. Matiwana's three daughters and his son derived their status from him, further supporting the case for patrilineality. On the other hand, the children of one of the daughters were *aek*, even though their father was a *camara*. The significance of being *aek* had probably declined with the weakening of leadership patterns and the lessened importance of the sub-chiefs. Today, the *aek-camara* division is non-functional, membership is confused, and, except for the chieftainship, it is correlated only vaguely

[19] Galvão 1949, p. 40.

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with prestige. Aloari, who later became chief, was classified as a *camara* at the time of Quain's visit.

At the top of the Trumaí prestige scale was the chief. His authority was limited, but he was more respected than any other man. The two sub-chiefs enjoyed some, but not much, prestige. Matiwana was an old man, and old age decreases status among the Trumaí. He took the lead in group curing ceremonies, however, and was the repository of much Trumaí lore and learning. Nor was Katauka, the other sub-chief, very influential. And neither official had the privilege of "talking" to the people as Maibu did. That Katauka was a shaman and Matiwana the chief curer of the village contributed more to their prestige than did their position as sub-chiefs or their membership in the *aek* class. Tun, the shaman, and Oirupa, the sorcerer, ranked just below the chief in importance. The former enjoyed some standing as his prognostications of enemy movements were relied upon and respected by everybody. Oirupa had added power only because he was feared.

The only other criteria of status were youth and aggressiveness. Property was not a point of prestige, but those whose assertive attitudes gave them some status and influence were also those who manifested an accumulative attitude toward property. Youth and sexual prowess were highly regarded. Boasting about sexual exploits was usually done privately, but great pride was taken in them. This was related to the general esteem in which youth, size and vigor were held. To be a successful wrestler, therefore, enhanced a man's position. The Trumaí were also impressed by Quain's height and wanted to know what kind of medicines white men used to make them so tall. There was no warrior class and no special status for success in combat, except insofar as it was an indication of strength and courage.

As noted above, the status of old men was very low, except when they had special knowledge or office. Yet these attributes did not protect Matiwana from being contemptuously referred to as an old man. Moreover, Quain was severely criticized for giving presents to old Yahu, most of whose property had already been claimed by others, since the Trumaí did not think it proper that one so old should have any possessions beyond fishing and hunting equipment and other necessities. A favorite insult among the Trumaí was to tell someone he was old, and by implication that he no longer bathed or was able to fornicate.

Prestige variations, on the whole, were not great in the Trumaí village. The community had no clearly defined social groupings based on status, nor were there social mechanisms for human exploitation. Variations in wealth were slight, and their only significance was that one man might have more tools and trinkets than another. It is possible, however, that before the Trumaí had declined to their present low estate, prestige and authority were more clearly patterned, as they still were in the Kamayurá village.

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226 although not everyone owned one. Quain also described Trumaí fish nets, but netting must have been a minor technique, as he did not see it practiced during his stay.

[170] Throughout the upper Xingú area it was common practice to construct fish dams across the mouths of lagoons. There were two such fish weirs in the Trumaí lagoon, one near its mouth, the other across a small inlet near the village. Their purpose was to block the fish from escape to the main stream when drugs were placed in the water. They were built by driving upright stakes into the floor of the lagoon, after which a wall of rubbish and branches was built against the fence. One dam was constructed by the village cooperatively, while the other was said to have been built by a single man.

226 The Trumaí lagoon was considered the property of the community,
423 and the Trumaí maintained exclusive fishing rights in it. The water in the lagoon is clear in comparison to the muddy Kuluene, and the fishing excellent. A good proportion of the fishing was done there, especially when traps and poisons were used, but they also had fishing rights in other lagoons within the territory of abandoned Trumaí villages. In addition, they fished in the Kuluene and Kuliseu and ranged as far afield as the Batoví River.

[576] While most fishing trips were carried out within a day, some lasted
[201] two or three days. When the fishermen returned, they were greeted with a conventional shout by all the villagers. The shout was meant to welcome the food rather than the fishermen, and similar cries were heard when well laden gathering parties returned from a short jaunt into the forest.

501 About one-half of the men owned canoes, and according to Quain's
422 informants, only six did not know how to build them. The bark canoes
226 of the upper Xingú are not difficult to make, and it can be assumed that the community did not need more, inasmuch as fishing parties always consisted of two men. Larger groups went out of the village in a body when many fish were needed for a ceremony or to feed guests, but they usually split into pairs. Cooperative fishing groups of more than two men were needed only for drugging and perhaps for netting. On one *kuusi* fishing expedition over half the males of the village went to the lagoon with bundles of shredded bark. Quain noted that this was one of the few examples of group labor transcending the immediate family.

226 Two-man fishing expeditions were composed of the owner or borrower
571 of the canoe and his helper (*tsu*). The *tsu* generally paddled while the owner fished. Only while serving as a helper was he referred to as the *tsu* of that man. Thus, if a person went as the helper of Makurawa, he was referred to as "Makurawatsu." He shared in the catch, but whether he received less than the canoe owner is not indicated by the field notes. There seemed to be no fixed standard for the selection of the *tsu*, nor

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were the teams always the same. Old Matiwana and his son Yati fished together most of the time, as did Aloari and his true brother Tun. Other true brothers often fished together, but, with the exception of the two above-mentioned steadfast teams, men chose their fishing companions according to their mutual needs or plans for the day. Since such agreements occurred most often between members of the same household, co-residents often cooperated. One man, Jakuma, spent much of his time fishing as the *tau* of different canoe owners or borrowers. He had no wife, and his garden, which he did not till very diligently, was very small. His fishing partners included men from every household, who were related to him in various degrees.

Although the position of *tau* was a temporarily subordinate one, it caused no loss of status. Even the Trumaí chief, since he owned no canoe, went fishing as a *tau*. Occasionally men took their wives along, but fishing was a man's specialty, and the woman's function was restricted to paddling.

Gathering

The two most important food products that the Trumaí gathered were turtle eggs and the fruit of the *piquí* tree, or *tsinon*. Throughout the dry season, turtle eggs were gathered in great quantity on the banks and sandbars of the rivers. By September they were no longer available and, in the following month, *piquí* became the main objective of the gathering parties. The harvest of this fruit was stored and lasted nearly to the end of the rainy season. *Piquí* was an important staple, especially in the period before crops ripened. Most of the *piquí* trees grow wild, but there is a suggestion in Quain's notes that they might also have been transplanted when young. All of the *piquí* trees were individually owned, and proprietary rights of individuals to groups of trees were clearly understood by all. In order to make the fruit ripen fast, the owner of the trees built a slow-burning fire of grass underneath them at night. The early rainy season was a rather lean period, so that there was great joy when the *piquí* was heard falling in the forest. Everyone broke into shouts of "*kaha kaha kaha-a-a*," which was the conventional cry for greeting the first *piquí*. These shouts were slightly different from those welcoming fish brought into the village.

The first fruit was usually gathered by the owner of the trees and his family. However, when the fruit began to fall in great quantity there was a general harvest which was shared without regard for tree ownership.

Piquí gathering started in the middle of October, when the planting season had ended and the men were free to help in the gathering. However, men still fished frequently, and the burden of the gathering fell on the women and older boys. Women from the same household

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592 578 friendly terms tended to join in forming a household, and third, it was probably considered desirable to suppress ill feeling within the house.

571 578 592 The unfriendliness between Maibu and the men of Aloari's family existed side by side with close gift-giving obligations between their two houses. According to Aloari's brother Oirupa, he *pans* (gives) to all the people of his own house and also to all the people of Maibu's house. Residence was the crucial factor, for when Yanahi and Mayuva moved from his house, Oirupa no longer gave to them. Similarly, the two other houses had close gift-giving ties. The women united according to this house division when an attack was thought imminent.

114 592 602 Insofar as can be ascertained from Quain's genealogical data, there were no special kin bonds between the households of Maibu and Aloari, on one hand, and Jakwanari and Nitvary, on the other, to explain this moiety-like division. But it is of interest that the houses of both Maibu and Aloari were the large type of domicile, like those of the Kamayurá, whereas the other pair of houses were the smaller "true" Trumaí type. It is possible that the residents of one pair of houses, perhaps the smaller, were the descendants of inhabitants of the southern village.

The Nuclear Family

594 Despite the importance of the household and the bilateral consanguineal group, the nuclear family, consisting of man, wife, and children, was still the basic unit of Trumaí society and economy. The biological family could provide nearly all the necessities of life within the previously outlined framework of individualized production and division of labor between the sexes.

The responsibilities of child-rearing fell largely on the nuclear family. The Trumaí showed a fondness for children, and it was not unusual for other adults in the house to play with them and watch over them; but the chief attention came from the parents, and the dependence of the young upon the father and mother was stronger than upon the rest of the household.

[513] 593 The conjugal group had its own hearth near which its hammocks were strung. Very young children slept with the mother or, if motherless, with the father. Couples were companionable and spent much of their leisure time with each other. It was common for a man and wife to sit in the shade of their house in the afternoon while he made arrows and she worked on a hammock. At other times the couple would go on a short [832] gathering trip, or just idle around the house. Embraces or mild sex play often occurred in public between younger mates.

593 156 Some unions were closer than others. Aloari and his wife Yumunuwa spent more time together and showed more affection than did other couples. They were both young; he was virile and aggressive, and she

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Divorce and Adultery

The polygynous unions were extremely brittle. In two cases observed by Quain, they lasted only a few days. In both instances the first wife was responsible for the break-up. The bonds of the second marriage of a plural mating were loose, for Jakwanari's second wife had sexual relations with several Trumaí men with apparent impunity. Such behavior would have been dealt with severely by a husband had his first wife been involved. Divorces also occurred in monogamous marriages; they entailed little more than telling the wife to leave. After the birth of their son, Oirupa sent his Mehinaku wife back to her village and kept the child. The right of the father's village over the children seems to have been general in the area, for Autu had a son by a Waurá husband, whom the Waurá refused to give to the Trumaí.

There is no recorded instance of adultery precipitating a divorce, although this probably occurred. However, the usual procedure was for the injured husband to beat his wife and make a lengthy and heated speech against the offending suitor. The wife of an adulterous husband showed anger toward his paramour and did not speak to her. Hair pulling resulted in some cases. The husband's behavior was viewed as reprehensible by the wife, but she took no action against him. One wife even chuckled a bit over her husband's adventures, although jealousy is the more usual response.

Due to the threat of punishment, the married women engaged far less in extra-marital relations than did their husbands. Both married and unmarried men sought out unattached women, but instances of married men in such liaisons were less numerous. The younger married men and Maibu, the chief, seemed to have been the chief offenders. The latter complained to Quain that all the women in the village were prohibited to him, as they were his wife's cross-cousins. Neither his genealogy nor his activities bore him out, and he often approached the single women and Jakwanari's second wife when the other men were out of the village. Everyone conceded that, although Maibu's wife had not reached menopause, she was "too old." Thus they rationalized his escapades.

The instability of the nuclear family and the vicissitudes to which it was exposed were alleviated by household and kin distribution and by the interdependence of co-resident relatives of the opposite sex for sexually specialized goods and services. These arrangements made possible the economic workability of Trumaí culture. The conjugal family was basic to the culture, however, and marriage was highly desirable to the Trumaí. Despite the shortage of available women and the conflicts which stemmed from it, sex relations between unmarried persons were free and easy and subject to little or no public censure, except insofar as they encroached on the interests of others. Incest

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796 He then started a song about the post in which he was joined by Nitvary
243 and the women. After two repetitions, the women poured a bowl of the
522 soup on Matiwana's head and shoulders, making a dripping mess of him. He retired amid general laughter. The second bowl of soup was then poured over the pole. A full explanation of the beliefs surrounding the *ole* posts was not obtained.

796 Due to the fact that Quain had only recently arrived in the village
243 when the ceremony was held, there is also a lack of clarity in the system
608 of relationships known as *ole aton*. The word "*aton*" means "pet" in Trumaí, but in the present context it applies to a temporary ceremonial identification between people, and between people and the *ole* posts. The
[571] interpersonal ties set up were only between persons of opposite sex. However, a man could have more than one woman for *aton*, and vice versa.

Kinship may be the determinant of these ties, but the data are inconclusive. Interestingly, the greatest number of *ole aton* relationships existed between people of the previously mentioned pairs of houses, suggesting a ceremonial reinforcement of this moiety-like arrangement.

Except for reciprocal gift-giving obligations, nothing is known of the behavioral roles called for by these connections. The owners of the *ole* posts were said to have their particular posts for *atons*. Their chief
[782] ceremonial duties were to peel and paint the pole, and supply it with
[778] food offerings. It may be hypothesized that the posts represent certain spirits with which individuals are identified, perhaps as the result of shamanistic experiences, as described by Oberg for the Kamayurá.[6]

796 During the *ole* ceremony, as during the cure described above, Quain
829 was impressed by the lack of interest in the proceedings. Those who
181 were not part of the immediate activity sat and smoked, indulging in the usual topics of conversation. The loose patterning and secularity which characterized the ritual bespoke the general lassitude that permeated all aspects of the culture.

The Piquí Ceremony

796 The *piquí (tsinon)* ceremony occurred at the end of the harvest of that fruit, during the first half of the rainy season. It was similar to the *ole* celebration, but not as lengthy nor as important. Quain's information on the festival, obtained from Aloari, is very limited. Jakwanari, the main functionary, occupied a position similar to that of Matiwana and Nitvary in the *ole* ceremony. As Aloari phrased it, "Jakwanari had *tsinon* as *aton*." There was house-to-house dancing by the women, accompanied
[262] by singing of a certain series of songs. At the end of the dancing Jakwanari's wife made a large quantity of *t'ak*, the *piquí* flour cake, which

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

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would be terminated by mutual consent and without the need for either contestant to concede defeat.[6] The wrestlers were often pushed around considerably, but except for grunts of effort, there were no expressions of pain or anger. However, when Quain tried to teach the Trumaí men to box, even the lightest punch caused them to retire. They claimed that the *karahiba* sport was much too rough.

Trumaí women do not "know how" to wrestle, but the Kamayurá women wrestled to entertain guests. It was common opinion in the region that Trumaí women did not compare favorably with Kamayurá women. Even the Trumaí men agreed on this point. After a visit to the Kamayurá village, the precocious young Yanahi was vociferous in his approval of them. His admiration was due chiefly to the *jamyrikuma*, a Kamayurá female song and dance in which the women flapped their breasts and went through other provocative motions. He also described how they had pushed their twine belts down low on their buttocks, which to him was a very suggestive act. After the dance the women wrestled. Jakwalu, a Mehinaku, was the only woman in the Trumaí village who could wrestle, a fact that suggests that the females of this group also practiced the sport. She demonstrated her ability only on intertribal visits.

The Trumaí women did not entertain guests, except insofar as visitors forced their attentions on the unmarried ones. The only occasions on which they were known to sing and dance were at certain ceremonies when they served as a chorus to the men.

Except for the use of pan-pipes, which the men played in the morning, all music was connected with religious ceremonial. The pan-pipes consisted of a half-dozen hollow reeds of different lengths laced together. Ceremonial singing was melodious, and the Trumaí enjoyed singing. They frequently requested Quain to sing in the men's circle. The requests were always phrased on behalf of the women and children. Visits from members of other tribes always called for a performance by the ethnographer.

Humor consisted mostly of practical jokes played at the expense of others. Jokes were always perpetrated by the men; the women served occasionally as butts. This does not mean that the men were gayer or more light-hearted than the women, for the contrary was actually the case. The women enjoyed each other's company more. They gossiped and laughed together, worked together, and generally wore a pleasanter expression. For the men, jokes were important as a means of recognition and assertion. They were always performed for an audience.

Teasing the women was also a popular male diversion. This was often done by ignoring them completely during a conversation. Yati was a

[6] This may be true only of bouts between Trumaí, as Oberg (1953, p. 89) notes that a man is defeated when he is thrown on his back.

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master at this dead-pan type of humor. When the women attempted to talk to him and Quain, he remained entirely disinterested, occasionally breaking in on them to address himself solely to the ethnographer. Although the women affected exasperation, they really enjoyed this negative attention.

The women were easy to frighten. Aloari teased his wife and sister-in-law by chasing them with a live snake in his hands. The women were also sensitive to touch (few men could resist brushing a hand lightly over an ever-exposed buttock when a crowd was present), and they became nervous when they saw that such teasing was impending. On a day when all the women had crowded into Quain's house, he pulled on the perineal cord of one of them. She immediately loosed a scream and ran out the door followed by the others, who laughed hilariously. Thereafter all the women expected to be teased by Quain, and they identified him somewhat more with the other men than they had before. The men often threatened rape in jest, but even when the women recognized the humorous intent, their basic anxiety was never completely allayed.

Pranks were frequent among the men. It was particularly amusing for a man to inform the others that Quain had given him a gift. Yati went to the trouble of filling a cartridge box with dirt and soberly telling all the men that the box was full of rifle shells. He was among the more popular jokers of the village. And pranks were played on him also. One night, in jest, Aloari shot at Yati's chicken with Quain's rifle on the pretext that it had been crowing. (The noise of the rifle report was also calculated to terrify the village.) Tun and Jakwanari occasionally tried to be funny by sitting alone and talking to themselves rapidly and incoherently. This was considered forced humor, and no one so much as chuckled.

A major source of diversion was gossip about who was cohabiting with whom. While this sometimes led to shouting arguments, it was more often merely playful talk, and it was treated as such. Accusations of sexual intercourse, sometimes true and sometimes false, were tossed back and forth between the men, usually with accompanying leers.

Manners and Morals

The Trumai gossiped about sex, not because it was held to be morally wrong to do so, but because they had a frank and honest interest in it. Sex was considered a part of the "good life," but it was also thought to be a distraction from work. Thus, the chief made lengthy speeches castigating the men for being interested in nothing but sex when they should have been out planting. Similarly, Yanahi should have finished his puberty rites, but, as one of his kinsmen bluntly put it, all he wanted to do was "*tsidi*" (copulate). In reality the men took vicarious enjoyment in watching Yanahi exert his newly found sex prowess.

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123 aries, they are unrestrained in physical contact and in the expression of their momentary sentiments. In many instances their motives are kind and helpful. But their complete lack of shyness makes their sometimes bungling efforts troublesome.

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152 They were more reserved among themselves. Body contact and caresses were absent, as such demonstrations of friendship were unnecessary. The Trumaí were different people when outsiders were in the village.

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a certain point at least, the take increases geometrically with the number of persons participating.

In gardening, also, which was not practiced collectively, their small number decreased Trumaí security. It was common for nearly all the village men to plant their gardens in clearings adjacent to those of their neighbors. Obviously, if one part of such a single, extended clearing was improperly fired, or if the crops were destroyed by armadillos or wild pigs, the whole village might be without food. Crop failure for a variety of causes is common in the tropical forests, but most aboriginal communities in South America have several separated garden clearings, each owned by an individual or extended family. If one garden fails, the family can, in a period of emergency, reap from others. Oberg relates that the Trumaí once had to turn for food to the Kamayura,[4] perhaps because of the failure of the village clearing.

It is, of course, possible that in the past the Trumaí organized their gardens along the more rational lines of the Kamayurá;[5] and it is also possible that they never made a proper ecological adaptation subsequent to their arrival in the upper Xingú region. But lacking information on their economy prior to their decimation, we cannot make any firm statement on these points. However, it is certain that, despite their small numbers, the individual Trumaí could have cleared and planted much more land. The average size of the gardens observed by Quain was one-half acre, and this area had to feed up to four people. Many men also had old gardens which were planted only to manioc. According to Quain's calculations, the total acreage of Trumaí gardens was only a little over thirteen. Since yields from forest soils are not high, it is evident that this very small area must have barely met the needs of a population of 43 persons. Manifestly, the Trumaí did not work hard enough; and it seems evident that their lack of application did more to impoverish them than any other single factor.

If the other upper Xingú tribes are used as criteria to establish what Trumaí society was like before its decline, some very serious dysfunctions within Trumaí social structure soon become apparent. To be sure, such a comparison is an arbitrary procedure; and it is only invoked here for its heuristic value. Since village and house patrilocality is the usual mode of residence among the Trumaí, a household similar to that of the Kamayurá, and with like functions, might be expected and might indeed have existed in the past. However, the Trumaí death rate in 1938 was so high that these units disintegrated before they had gone beyond the embryonic stage. House membership was shifting, the number of persons involved small, and leadership nebulous. And since kinship was the principal mechanism for structuring interpersonal relationships in Trumaí society, this lack of a stable, kin-structured unit probably did

[4] Oberg 1953, p. 42. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 45.

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serious damage to the individual personality. Also, many individuals could not enact whole sets of kin-determined roles because they had no relatives of the proper complementary status. For example, parents-in-law normally exerted considerable influence and control over younger married couples, but hardly anyone in the village had such relatives. Similarly, cross-cousin marriage was the preferred union, but cross-cousins were generally unavailable. Moreover, because of the shortage of women, marriage came to be more a cause of conflict than a consolidator of kinship bonds.

Not only was the family world of the Trumaí crumbling, but all lines of authority and social control were weak. The Trumaí seemed unable to unite for such culturally approved purposes as economic cooperation or hospitality. Trumaí leadership, like that of many primitive peoples, was predicated on the existence of strong bonds of kinship, economic interdependence, and a general agreement on goals and policies. These preconditions were no longer found among the Trumaí. In this structural vacuum, the Trumaí chief was less and less able to cope with the growing self-assertiveness of certain men, and was increasingly forced into a neutral role. As the community weakened, his position weakened.

A number of reasons account for the factionalism which developed within the Trumaí village. Some are a function of personality, others of the diminished population. Obviously women were at a premium and many men were compelled to do without mates. The resultant competition was, as we have seen, a festering sore in the body politic. Connected with it, but having further ramifications, the bonds of kinship and the expected behavior between kinsmen underwent attrition and upset what social balance could have been achieved under more normal conditions. Indeed fear of the outside world more than internal forces of cohesion held the Trumaí community together.

Other integrative mechanisms in Trumaí culture were also disappearing. Conspicuous among them was the gradual abandonment of many elements in the Trumaí ceremonial cycle. (Significantly this left the highly individual practice of shamanism as the most active religious expression in Trumaí culture). In part, this loss may have been due to the inability of the Trumaí to amass a sufficiently large food surplus for the feasting that was required when visitors from other tribes were present. Not enough is known about the ritual of the Trumaí to warrant any broad generalizations on the effects of depopulation on ceremonial participation, but their numbers may well have been approaching the minimum necessary to carry out the rites. Only a few men who had depended heavily on one old man for their instruction possessed the requisite ceremonial knowledge. When this old man died, Trumaí culture must have suffered a severe blow. Younger men were little interested in learning the ritual and lore. Moreover, the small number of bearers of

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857 Among the eight boys below the ages of Autsuki and Jawaku there were no clearly organized groups. When outdoors they usually played in small groups of three or four, although nearly all would gather together occasionally for some special activity. The small groups were usually composed of age mates. Tsirikoan, the youngest, spent most of his time in the house, while the oldest boy, Muruta, was already drifting away from the others and spending more time with the men. Tay, an orphan boy of between ten and twelve years of age, was decidedly a misfit and did not join the others often. Of the remaining five, the three oldest were steady companions, while the two youngest either trailed them or stayed near their houses.

[572] Despite the fact that the children were together frequently, there were no fast friendships or strong ties of loyalty and dependence. In this respect they were much like the men. Their play together was sporadic, and participation was fluid and shifting.

857 526 [158] [838] [858] The only organized play in which the children indulged was wrestling. Matches were infrequent and usually broke up within fifteen minutes. All the boys turned out on such occasions except Tay, whose interests were abnormally directed toward homosexual play. The wrestling matches were a complete replica of the adult contests, the boys even sitting on the log in the men's circle (this was one of the few times they were permitted to do so). The adults never interfered. Usually they stood near the houses and watched the grappling with great amusement. When the wrestling involved boys of the village only, it was very informal and few pains were taken with their ornamentation. Each bout consisted of trying out some holds and grunting loudly in imitation of the men. The contests generally ended in a draw by mutual consent without any hostility being shown.

Most of the matches were between the older boys. But they also wrestled with the younger children. Even little Tsirikoan wrestled once. As he did not know what he was expected to do, he merely grunted and fell down. The bigger boys were very gentle with the little ones and tried only to teach them.

648 857 526 [484] 604 [171] Just as the men were excited by the intertribal wrestling matches, the boys welcomed the chance to wrestle with boys from other tribes. This occurred regularly, since it was customary in the upper Xingú for a boy to travel with his maternal uncle. At one such time, a Kamayurá boy came to the Trumaí village and was invited to wrestle. The boys gathered in the men's circle after having carefully painted themselves and put on new arm and leg bands. The older boys wrestled the Kamayurá youngster in turn, but since he was bigger, he threw them easily. The Trumaí men watched from a distance, silently rooting for their own boys, but laughing loudly as each landed on his back, out of politeness to the visitors. [576]

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possible that more women may be needed for polygamous marriages, but the data do not indicate plural marriage to be of great significance.

Pillage, also, inspires raids. The Kamayurá threatened to descend on the Trumaí, after Quain left, to rob them of all the Western goods they had obtained. The Suyá took all the Trumaí pots in a raid which occurred immediately before von den Steinen's second trip through the region.[15] The desire for goods is undoubtedly a motivating factor in particular raids, and it may also be a contributing factor in warfare generally, but since the material surplus is low throughout the area and retaliation almost certain, it is doubtful that this is a basic cause.

Insults, too, could provoke aggression. The Kamayurá threatened to chastise the Trumaí because the latter were rumored to have made defamatory remarks about them. Continuous fear and insecurity can also lead a tribe to attack. Quain observed that the Trumaí worked themselves up into such a state of terror that they were capable of desperate deeds. Needless to say, revenge expeditions tended to perpetuate hostility.

Among the Trumaí, no special prestige was derived from warfare, and the men did not boast of their prowess as warriors. Trumaí men showed scars of old wounds to Quain, but only to impress him with the brutality of other tribes. To the Trumaí, warfare was an occasion for fear, and not an opportunity to enhance one's status.

Warfare, however, is important in maintaining social cohesion within the communities. Quain noted that intra-social harmony and cooperation was low in the Trumaí village. Leadership was weak, and there was little friendliness between the men. However, when an attack threatened, quarrels were forgotten and aggressions and anxieties were directed toward the outside world. Also, when members of other tribes were in the village, the whole tone and tempo of life changed, and the Trumaí presented a united front.

This was made manifest during a visit of several Kamayurá. Despite their apprehension, the Trumaí treated their guests as long absent brothers. There was much forced and nervous jocularity and talk. The men expressed tremendous affection towards each other and the Kamayurá by embraces and linking of arms. Industry and activity were high. The Trumaí men went to catch fish to feed the guests and, upon returning, marched into the village singing gaily and led by their chief. After the Kamayurá left, the village lapsed with relief into its normal way of life. The men ceased to show affection for their comrades, and old quarrels broke out anew.

[15] Von den Steinen 1897, p. 144.

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Intermarriage

648 Despite occasional semi-hostile encounters between the upper Xingú groups, most contacts within the area are peaceful. Intermarriage is [591] common, and, since patrilocality is general, the wives are usually brought back to the village of the groom. There are, however, exceptions to this rule. For instance, if the man has strong enough kinship ties with the bride's village, he may stay there. This was true in the case of a member of the Trumaí village who was half Kamayurá. [167] Friction with one's fellow tribesmen can also lead to a move to another [598] village, as in the case of a Trumaí man and his wife who went to live with the Kamayurá because they believed that someone in their own group was practicing witchcraft against them.

602 One result of this mixing process, in addition to its obvious function 648 as a mechanism of diffusion, is that all of the upper Xingú groups are cross-cut by ties of kinship. Nearly every man on the Kuliseu River knows all others so located, and they are often related. Most of the extra-tribal kin ties of the Trumaí were with the Kamayurá and Mehinaku, but they also extended to many other villages of the area. For reasons not fully explored by Quain, the chief contacts of the Trumaí were with Tupian and Arawakan groups, especially those of the Kuliseu River. Little mention is found in Quain's notes of the Cariban tribes of the Kuluene River.

602 Kinship ties were probably responsible for the preference shown by 648 certain Trumaí men for particular tribes. While most men said that 186 the Kamayurá were "bad," a few claimed that they were really "good" and that the other tribes were the ones to be feared. One day a fire was sighted which, it was decided, had been lit by the Yuruna. A man having kinsmen among them left the village to tell them of his presence there and so prevent an attack. The alarm in this instance proved false.

648 Another basis for preference was past residence with a tribe, even as 186 a captive. However, if there was gossip of an attack by some tribe, even those most kindly disposed toward the potential enemy would become nervous and seek out their bows and arrows.

648 There was a great deal of friendly visiting between villages. The host 574 village was expected to provide food for their guests, but if women were brought, they joined in the women's work of preparing it. In the afternoon the men traded with each other and engaged in wrestling [511] contests. At night, singing, shamanism and speech-making were in order in the men's circle. Tobacco and large quantities of food were passed around at all times. If the visitors were staying overnight, they [602] slept in the house of their closest kinsman. The latter was also expected to greet them upon arrival and act as their host during their stay.

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Visits might be made to obtain a bride, engage in trade, participate in some intertribal ceremony, or for a combination of any of these reasons. Most visits were ostensibly of a purely social nature, but they were also used to frighten and impress. Stealing was frequent, especially when the host tribe, like the Trumaí, was weak. The Trumaí rarely protested against thefts while the visitors were still in the village, although they vehemently expressed their indignation later. Such discretion was due more to fear than etiquette.

The inferior position of the Trumaí was most evident when visitors were in the village. The Kamayurá, especially, treated the Trumaí with arrogance and contempt. At times they would enter the Trumaí village without having built the customary warning fire. The Trumaí, on the other hand, did everything possible to please their visitors and prove their generosity and good will toward them. Quain was berated by the Trumaí chief for being too niggardly toward the Kamayurá, and he found that greater respect was accorded to the Kamayurá chief than to either himself or the Trumaí chief. The Kamayurá felt slighted that Quain had not visited them instead of the contemptible Trumaí, and, when Quain went to meet the visiting Kamayurá chief, the latter turned away with an air of bored indifference.

The Kamayurá chief was immediately given a stool to sit on and was plied with cigarettes. When he threw one away after a few puffs, he was promptly given another. Deference was also paid to ordinary Kamayurá, although to a lesser degree. Once when such a member came to the Trumaí village alone, the man who received him rushed to Quain's house to borrow a chair in order to reach some tobacco which had been placed on a high shelf. He was in a great hurry, for it would not be good to keep his guest waiting.

This behavior stands in sharp contrast to a visit to the Kamayurá village made by Quain and a party of Trumaí. The chief delegated their reception to his brother. No special attention was paid to them, although the villagers were active and industrious in an apparent effort to impress. The Trumaí were not even asked to sit on the log in the village center.

Due to the extensive intertribal relations, command of a language besides one's own is common in the area generally. But since Trumaí is an independent tongue and the number of Trumaí small, it is probable that multilingual people were more frequent among them than in other tribes. Their "second" language was usually Kamayurá, but few outsiders spoke Trumaí, although more understood it. When Kamayurá came to visit, conversation was ordinarily in their tongue. Of the three foreign women in the Trumaí village, only the Suyá woman could speak even a broken Trumaí. Since the Suyá had no peaceful relations with the tribes of the headwaters, the Gé language was not widely known there. The other two foreign women merely understood Trumaí.

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was working on the roof, the other thatched the wall facing the forest, and the house was subsequently occupied while work was still proceeding on that wall. The wall toward the village was temporarily hung with cloth drapes for privacy, although for purposes of protection from enemies the opposite side was thatched first.

Additional thatch was placed on the house at the beginning of the rainy season. At that time light poles were bound to the frame for greater support. The chief's house began to sag from the weight of the thatch, and braces had to be put under the ridge pole. Two posts, as heavy as the center posts, were crossed just below the ridge pole and bound together. A few men got behind each post and pushed so that the poles would assume a more nearly vertical position and give firmer support to the ridge poles. When this had been accomplished, the bases of the posts were set in holes.

Quain had the opportunity to observe two houses being constructed: his own and a fifth dwelling being built by two Trumaí men. His own small house took one week to build. The work started off with a great burst of effort, and in four hours all the wall posts, center posts and the ridge pole were in place. However, every day thereafter progress became increasingly slower.

House styles and construction were not rigidly conventionalized. The Trumaí helped build a house for the missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Young, and they thought that Quain, being a *karahiba* (white man), would like one such as the Youngs had designed for themselves. When they were half finished with the frame, Quain realized what was happening, and asked for a haystack house like theirs. The revision was made easily and the result was a hybrid. This, added to the fact that two of the houses in the village were much larger than the other two, indicated a certain flexibility and willingness to imitate. The Kamayurá classified the different posts and poles that went into house building, but the Trumaí had only very broad terms for the corresponding parts.

The heavy work of raising the ridge pole, stepping in braces, and carrying and inserting center posts was done cooperatively. These joint labors, although brief and infrequent, made for a festive occasion and gave rise to laughter and gaiety, an unusual thing among the men. With the exception of operations requiring the combined efforts of more men, the house was built by the males who were to occupy it. Women took no part in the building. Yanahi and Mayuva, who were building a new house, shared the work unequally, Yanahi doing the larger part. They did not always work at the same time, and, when they did, they worked on separate sections of the house.

Quain's house was built cooperatively because he was an outsider, and it was the obligation of the whole community to accommodate him.

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The situation[1] was comparable to the previously mentioned communal planting of the garden of the Kamayurá, Uluku.

Canoes

The standard bark canoe of the upper Xingú was made and used by the Trumaí.[4] Construction was simple and much less time was required to complete it than the typical dugout canoe of the tropical forest. A long, rectangular piece of bark was cut from the *jatobá* tree by men standing on platforms. The bark was then heated over a fire to soften it. The sides were bent up, and the top end of the bark, which narrowed slightly, was made into the bow by bending it upwards. The center of the stern was bent inwards, allowing the whole stern to be well above the water. Leaks were mended with patches of river mud or clay. Propulsion was by paddle, although occasionally poles were used.

There was also one small dugout in the village which belonged to Aloari, Quain's cook and helper. Aloari had been a Yuruna captive, and it was undoubtedly during this experience that he had learned to make this type craft. He also had a bark canoe and was the only Trumaí to own two canoes.

Basketry

The Trumaí men manufactured baskets that were variously shaped and served several purposes. In general, the Trumaí were less skilled in this art than their upper Xingú neighbors. Among the baskets described by Quain was a deep, round tray made of *buriti* fiber and another which was used to store manioc flour and, when equipped with shoulder and forehead tumplines, to carry loads. The latter was an openwork container made of bark strips. A smaller basket of this type was made of *buriti* fibers. The manioc sieve, or *tuaſi*, was made of stiff *buriti* fronds and was also used to store small articles. It was made by the women. The women also made a bark cloth bag known as the *idesnit*, a term that, in addition, designated the female pubic covering.

All of the baskets and similar containers described by Quain were made by other groups of the area, but the art of manufacturing certain varieties was known to only a few Trumaí. Some baskets were obtained in trade.

Textiles

All work in cotton was the exclusive province of the women. Hammocks of both twined and woven types were made. The loom consisted of two upright posts between which a warp of *buriti* fiber was extended.

[1] [i.e. building Quain's house--Analyst]

[4] Cf. von den Steinen 1897, pp. 222–23.

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on a man's property, as did also, in the following order, his sister's son and his brother's son. Within the household, food was freely shared, and correspondingly, a co-resident could ask for a material object. These requests, however, were not always granted. A common excuse was to say that the object was promised to someone having a stronger claim. Despite these evasions, the patterns of gift-giving created a constant circulation of food and objects throughout the village.

Inheritance

Transmission of property was accomplished chiefly through trade and gift. There is no information on the disposal of the material possessions of the deceased. The only available data on inheritance concern the office of chief and the possession of certain songs sung at the *ole* (manioc) ceremony. The former was inherited patrilineally and will be discussed later. The ceremonial songs were inherited either through the mother's brother or the mother's father. Thus, old Matiwana would some day teach his *ole* songs to Amanatain, his daughter's eldest son. Nitvary, another of the three men who knew *ole* songs, learned them from Jawaku's father, who was his mother's brother. Since cross-cousin marriage was practiced, Jawaku might marry Nitvary's sister, and their child would inherit the songs from Nitvary. In this way the *ole* songs returned to the direct patrilineal line every other generation.

In response to careful questioning, Quain was assured that these songs could be obtained only from the mother's brother and mother's father, and not from the father or the father's brother. The combination of this matrilineal trait and patrilineal elements is characteristic of the bilaterality in upper Xingú culture.

The Trade Game

The trade game was a mechanism of inter- and intra-community distribution. Even more importantly it provided a framework for social participation, leisure time relaxation, and general enjoyment. As such it was one of the few integrating factors in Trumaí society.

Afternoons, especially rainy afternoons, were dull times in the Trumaí village. In Quain's words, "These people are bored but don't realize it! Wrestling provides some diversion, but nothing quickens spirits more than a brisk trade game (*kawirxo*). All that is needed is for one of the men to stride through the village with a bundle of goods to trade and suggest a *kawirxo*. Shouts go up on all sides, everybody crowds into one of the houses, and the game is on. Enthusiasm is even greater when there are visitors in the village."

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pursue their individual affairs. Maibu made speeches in the evening men's circle or in the early morning, telling the men to plant their gardens or urging all to gather *piqui* fruit. Such proddings had little meaning, as they were usually made during the appropriate season for these activities, and most people would have planted or gathered as a matter of course. 622 537

Those who did not choose to do what Maibu suggested went their own way, whether it was to fish or sleep. Maibu was a gadfly; yet he was the conscience of the Trumaí. Perhaps more people would have procrastinated if it had not been for his admonitions. He was truly interested in the good of the village. He asked Quain for presents only for others, never for himself. 622

Cooperative work on the community level was usually organized by Maibu. The decision to perform such work was generally made by common agreement, but it was the chief's function to recruit the necessary labor and see that the task was done. This he did with varying degrees of success, for his power was limited. 622 476

The chief was accorded much more respect by his housemates and close kinsmen than by the rest of the villagers. The people resisted him in varying degrees, depending on their relationship to him and their individual personalities. His control over the women was particularly weak. When Quain first arrived, they refused to carry water for him, despite Maibu's orders. When they realized that they were to be given gifts for their trouble they grudgingly consented to do so, but, in the meantime, the chief had fetched the water, since the performance of such tasks for an outsider was the responsibility of the village as a whole, and no other man would do women's work. 622 591 554 [123] [514] [609]

Referring to the limitations on chiefly powers, Quain noted, "Maibu has to put up with a lot of booing and do a lot of talking. Obedience comes to him only after a long time. He seems to have no 'big stick.'" The Trumaí chief had no coercive power whatsoever. This particular headman was not a powerful shaman, although such a combination was possible and would undoubtedly have enhanced his position. The only act of a supernatural nature that he could perform was curing by sucking and blowing smoke, which was practiced by almost every adult Trumaí male. 622 554 [756] [755]

Maibu was often completely ignored, and some of the men made a point of flouting his authority. The men of Aloari's house were extremely antagonistic toward him and told Quain that he was not a true "*aek*." These men rarely took part in the few group work projects and usually they were also absent from the wrestling matches. Their own prestige motives and individual inclinations brought them into frequent conflict with Maibu, both in his capacity as the man of highest status and as the village goad. Their resentment of authority never resulted in

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526 would be terminated by mutual consent and without the need for either contestant to concede defeat.[6] The wrestlers were often pushed around [152] considerably, but except for grunts of effort, there were no expressions of pain or anger. However, when Quain tried to teach the Trumaí men to box, even the lightest punch caused them to retire. They claimed that the *karahiba* sport was much too rough.

562 Trumaí women do not "know how" to wrestle, but the Kamayurá 526 women wrestled to entertain guests. It was common opinion in the region 186 that Trumaí women did not compare favorably with Kamayurá women. 648 Even the Trumaí men agreed on this point. After a visit to the Kama- 171 yurá village, the precocious young Yanahi was vociferous in his approval of them. His admiration was due chiefly to the *jamyrikuma*, a Kamayurá female song and dance in which the women flapped their breasts and went through other provocative motions. He also described how they had pushed their twine belts down low on their buttocks, which to him was a very suggestive act. After the dance the women wrestled. Jakwalu, a Mehinaku, was the only woman in the Trumaí village who could wrestle, a fact that suggests that the females of this group also practiced the sport. She demonstrated her ability only on intertribal visits.

574 The Trumaí women did not entertain guests, except insofar as visitors 535 forced their attentions on the unmarried ones. The only occasions on which they were known to sing and dance were at certain ceremonies when they served as a chorus to the men.

533 Except for the use of pan-pipes, which the men played in the morning, [534] all music was connected with religious ceremonial. The pan-pipes con- [196] sisted of a half-dozen hollow reeds of different lengths laced together. Ceremonial singing was melodious, and the Trumaí enjoyed singing. They frequently requested Quain to sing in the men's circle. The requests were always phrased on behalf of the women and children. [123] Visits from members of other tribes always called for a performance by the ethnographer.

522 Humor consisted mostly of practical jokes played at the expense of 571 others. Jokes were always perpetrated by the men; the women served occasionally as butts. This does not mean that the men were gayer or more light-hearted than the women, for the contrary was actually the case. The women enjoyed each other's company more. They gossiped and laughed together, worked together, and generally wore a pleasanter expression. For the men, jokes were important as a means of recognition and assertion. They were always performed for an audience.

Teasing the women was also a popular male diversion. This was often done by ignoring them completely during a conversation. Yati was a

[6] This may be true only of bouts between Trumaí, as Oberg (1953, p. 89) notes that a man is defeated when he is thrown on his back.

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The main motivation for going into the brush to defecate was not modesty, but a feeling of revulsion for body products. One did not eliminate in places frequented by people. Yanahi was disgusted when Quain defecated in his garden and claimed that the garden was ruined. Similarly, it was considered repulsive to defecate in the water. When Quain described the great ship that had brought him to Brazil, the only thing that the Trumaí found hard to believe was that the people aboard would have to eliminate in the water.

The rules of etiquette required a person entering or leaving company to make an appropriate statement. The salutation usually consisted of a phrase stating what the person being greeted was doing at the moment. Thus, typical greetings were, "You are eating," "You have returned from fishing," "You are sitting," and so on. When leaving a person or group it was proper to announce, "I am leaving," followed generally by a statement of what one was going to do. If this last was not observed, the departing person was usually asked where he was going. These formalities were not as regularly invoked in the larger gatherings as in house-visiting.

The rules of etiquette also required the emission of conventionalized cries on particular occasions, such as the bringing of food into the village or the offering of tobacco to guests. In the latter case the person making the presentation cried "*aha*," the recipient "*ha-a-a ha ha ha*." These amenities, which were observed between the Trumaí, were always louder when an outsider was involved.

Hospitality was extended to all upper Xingú Indians and white men who visited the village. In part this was inspired by a fear of their neighbors, in part by etiquette. The Trumaí had little reason to fear Quain; yet he was treated with the greatest kindness and consideration, and everyone was eager to converse with him. Indeed, their attentions were so constant that at times he wanted nothing more than to be left alone.

While the men were far more self-assertive than the women, they were also extremely sensitive. They were insulted at the refusal of a request, or at the denial of what they considered to be the recognition due them as individuals. They did not like to be treated as faceless members of a group. During the argument that followed Quain's complaint that some article of his had been stolen, Maibu criticized him for addressing them collectively as "Trumaí," while they always called him "*capitão*" or by his name.

The Trumaí were greatly interested in Western goods and their behavior toward whites was unrestrained. The following quotation from Quain's field notes describes this succinctly:

> The reason why it is so difficult to live with these people is that they are so "impolite." At least in their dealings with me, an outsider, and with the mission-

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105 181 421 [578] 431 [855] "Tremendous interest in property, together with a simple and declining culture, results in my being a seriously disturbing element in their lives. Casual conversation always degenerates into a squabble about gift-giving .... There is intense pleasure in possession. Children get no sympathy when they are hurt, but objects are usually given to them. Every child has the right at least 'to see' anything he desires. In this respect children are pampered. Adults whine for things; withholding a desired object makes them intensely unhappy. Aggressive possession is admired.. Trade games make the exchange of property very fluid. [430] [524] Yet values in trade are well defined, and there is no prestige in giving more than one gets. Within the kinship circle, however, the old lavish [858] property on the young. A father's garden is spoken of as that of his five [431] year old son. There is a deliberate attempt to instill aggressive ownership [865] attitudes in the young. A three year old girl is taught to claim objects in a loud voice. This is done by shouting the possessive pronoun....

105 [361] "These are a settled people who live within the strict limits of their village. Their small number has advantage in the study of individuals. They have no knowledge of the world beyond the Kuluene-Kuliseu. It has no more real existence than the various inhabited regions of the heavens. The half dozen expeditions which have passed down the river have communicated with the natives only with signs. The one important result of such contact was division from peripheral tribes and the rise of [524] metal tools. The disappearance of the stone industry, on which a defunct [182] Trumaí moiety had a monopoly, has occurred within the last generation.[1] The increased leisure which probably resulted is not utilized economically.

105 123 156 "The complete lack of self-consciousness among these people makes behavior observation remarkably easy. Before I knew any of the language, I could sit by the hour in various households and time the actions of people while they paid no attention to me. For instance, one man during twenty minutes of leisure lay down to rest in his hammock fifteen different times, but each time disturbed himself with the remembrance of some petty chore undone....

[867] "The only restriction of behavior that I have seen in casual intra-village personal relations is that the children are told not to litter the 105 floor. The only positive rule is that the head of a household must sit [574] with a guest and converse while the guest is inside his house .... [833] Furthermore, extra-marital sexual intercourse has occurred in a shadowy corner of my house.. This lack of self-consciousness contrasts strongly with the Karajá, who are more prudish than the Fijians....

105 167 831 "Shortage of women, because of theft of young women, polygamy, lack of sexual interest in old wives (of which there are several), and

[618] [1] Quain refers here to the moiety-like division of the Trumaí which has been discussed in Chapter Three. This appears to be rather a result of the merger of the northern and southern Trumaí villages. The latter specialised in axe-making.

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because she was his sister-in-law. Mayuva, however, was afraid of Nitvary, as the latter had close ties with the Kamayurá and had threatened Mayuva with witchcraft at their hands. After Nitvary returned from a trip to the Kamayurá village, Mayuva complained of severe headaches and said he was going to die. Although he denied to Quain that his condition was due to Kamayurá sorcery, the threats against him apparently had the desired result: a short time later Kuyafi moved into Nitvary's house. The union last only two days, for Nitvary's jealous wife drove her out in a fit of anger. The field, it would seem, was clear for Oirupa, the third suitor.

Oirupa, however, had been trying to marry Kuyafi for years. Her father, Matiwana, refused to give his consent and Oirupa, in revenge, was said to have killed two of Matiwana's children by witchcraft. Relations between their families were understandably strained, and they were further aggravated by the marriage of Matiwana's son Yati and Oirupa's sister Kerami, which occurred during Quain's stay. This union was unhappy and short-lived. When Kerami left him, Yati and his father held Oirupa and his co-resident affinals, Tun and Aloari, responsible. Yati bitterly asserted that he (and Matiwana) would go to live among his mother's people, the Kuikuru of the upper Kuluene. There, he said, women were much easier to get.

With this background of conflict and suspicion, it is not surprising that the quarrel again broke out in earnest when Oirupa tried to seduce Kuyafi. Angered by her rejection he threw *piqui* pits at her. In the afternoon Matiwana spoke out against Oirupa from his house. (This was proper behavior, since a parent is expected to take his offspring's part in such disputes.) That evening the two men indulged in the usual loud shouting and wrestled with barely restrained hostility. Kuyafi added her bit from the house as did another of Matiwana's daughters. The other men pretended indifference. Yati remained silent, although he was vitally interested in the dispute; for, besides being Matiwana's son, he was involved in an enduring respect relationship with his former brother-in-law, even after his marriage was dissolved. Public opinion, however, was on the side of Matiwana, for Oirupa had committed an offense by hitting Kuyafi with the pits, and he had also threatened to use witchcraft. To this last Matiwana tauntingly replied that had Oirupa's witchcraft been really effective, he would have been dead long ago. As of the time Quain left the Trumaí, Kuyafi's future was still undecided.

The Men's Circle

The men's circle served a number of functions. It was the place in which initiated males gathered, talked, argued, and smoked. It was not taboo to young boys, as it was to women, but youngsters rarely joined the group, and they never participated in any of its activities.

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575 the group, and they never participated in any of its activities. Occasionally men gathered in the village center during the day, but at night the circle always formed, generally lasting from sundown until about nine [526] o'clock. In the afternoon it was often the scene of wrestling matches. Talk usually went on then also, but the gatherings were smaller than at night.

[521] At night most of the men were present, and conversation ranged over a variety of topics. Of greatest interest were neighboring tribes, past warfare and present threats to peace. Gossip, usually about sex, found ready ears. This was the time when the chief made most of his speeches, and the time when plans for a fishing trip, for salt manufacture, or for a journey to the Waurá for pots were discussed. The men's circle was [156] also the place where the shaman practiced his art, and, as noted above, where grievances were aired.

[626] The social life of the males was centered almost completely in these gatherings, and it was in them that the mechanisms of village authority and social control were expressed. Also, the men's circle underlined the cleavage between the activities of the men and of the women. The women had no formal grouping such as the men's circle, but they showed [562] solidarity when the need arose. While men were dominant, as Quain [578] said, they "look on the women as an ungoverned force," and open group quarrels were not infrequent between the sexes.

Status

554 *Aek*, the Trumaí word for chief, also denoted membership in the
565 upper half of what is nominally a status class. Members of the lower
198 half of this class were loosely referred to as *camara*, a term which,
621 according to Galvão, probably diffused into the region from rural
624 Brazil, where workers are called *camaradas*.[19] There was some uncertainty on the part of Quain's informants as to who were members of the *aek* division. In general, it included the chief, the two sub-chiefs, and their families. But while the status appears to have been hereditary, its transmission was loose and uncertain. For instance, Maibu was an *aek*, but he refused to classify his brothers as such. However, the fathers of both Maibu and Katauka, one of the sub-chiefs, were *aek*. Matiwana's three daughters and his son derived their status from him, further supporting the case for patrilineality. On the other hand, the children of one of the daughters were *aek*, even though their father was a *camara*. The significance of being *aek* had probably declined with the weakening of leadership patterns and the lessened importance of the sub-chiefs. Today, the *aek-camara* division is non-functional, membership is confused, and, except for the chieftainship, it is correlated only vaguely

[19] Galvão 1949, p. 40.

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226 although not everyone owned one. Quain also described Trumaí fish nets, but netting must have been a minor technique, as he did not see it practiced during his stay.

[170] Throughout the upper Xingú area it was common practice to construct fish dams across the mouths of lagoons. There were two such fish weirs in the Trumaí lagoon, one near its mouth, the other across a small inlet near the village. Their purpose was to block the fish from escape to the main stream when drugs were placed in the water. They were built by driving upright stakes into the floor of the lagoon, after which a wall of rubbish and branches was built against the fence. One dam was constructed by the village cooperatively, while the other was said to have been built by a single man.

226 423 The Trumaí lagoon was considered the property of the community, and the Trumaí maintained exclusive fishing rights in it. The water in the lagoon is clear in comparison to the muddy Kuluene, and the fishing excellent. A good proportion of the fishing was done there, especially when traps and poisons were used, but they also had fishing rights in other lagoons within the territory of abandoned Trumaí villages. In addition, they fished in the Kuluene and Kuliseu and ranged as far afield as the Batoví River.

[576] [201] While most fishing trips were carried out within a day, some lasted two or three days. When the fishermen returned, they were greeted with a conventional shout by all the villagers. The shout was meant to welcome the food rather than the fishermen, and similar cries were heard when well laden gathering parties returned from a short jaunt into the forest.

501 422 226 About one-half of the men owned canoes, and according to Quain's informants, only six did not know how to build them. The bark canoes of the upper Xingú are not difficult to make, and it can be assumed that the community did not need more, inasmuch as fishing parties always consisted of two men. Larger groups went out of the village in a body when many fish were needed for a ceremony or to feed guests, but they usually split into pairs. Cooperative fishing groups of more than two men were needed only for drugging and perhaps for netting. On one *tucusi* fishing expedition over half the males of the village went to the lagoon with bundles of shredded bark. Quain noted that this was one of the few examples of group labor transcending the immediate family.

226 571 Two-man fishing expeditions were composed of the owner or borrower of the canoe and his helper (*tau*). The *tau* generally paddled while the owner fished. Only while serving as a helper was he referred to as the *tau* of that man. Thus, if a person went as the helper of Makurawa, he was referred to as "Makurawatau." He shared in the catch, but whether he received less than the canoe owner is not indicated by the field notes. There seemed to be no fixed standard for the selection of the *tau*, nor

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857 Among the eight boys below the ages of Autsuki and Jawaku there were no clearly organized groups. When outdoors they usually played in small groups of three or four, although nearly all would gather together occasionally for some special activity. The small groups were usually composed of age mates. Tsirikoan, the youngest, spent most of his time in the house, while the oldest boy, Muruta, was already drifting away from the others and spending more time with the men. Tay, an orphan boy of between ten and twelve years of age, was decidedly a misfit and did not join the others often. Of the remaining five, the three oldest were steady companions, while the two youngest either trailed them or stayed near their houses.

[572] Despite the fact that the children were together frequently, there were no fast friendships or strong ties of loyalty and dependence. In this respect they were much like the men. Their play together was sporadic, and participation was fluid and shifting.

857 The only organized play in which the children indulged was wrestling. 526 Matches were infrequent and usually broke up within fifteen minutes. [569] All the boys turned out on such occasions except Tay, whose interests [838] were abnormally directed toward homosexual play. The wrestling matches were a complete replica of the adult contests, the boys even [858] sitting on the log in the men's circle (this was one of the few times they were permitted to do so). The adults never interfered. Usually they stood near the houses and watched the grappling with great amusement. When the wrestling involved boys of the village only, it was very informal and few pains were taken with their ornamentation. Each bout consisted of trying out some holds and grunting loudly in imitation of the men. The contests generally ended in a draw by mutual consent without any hostility being shown.

Most of the matches were between the older boys. But they also wrestled with the younger children. Even little Tsirikoan wrestled once. As he did not know what he was expected to do, he merely grunted and fell down. The bigger boys were very gentle with the little ones and tried only to teach them.

648 Just as the men were excited by the intertribal wrestling matches, the 857 boys welcomed the chance to wrestle with boys from other tribes. This 526 occurred regularly, since it was customary in the upper Xingú for a boy [484] to travel with his maternal uncle. At one such time, a Kamayurá boy [604] came to the Trumaí village and was invited to wrestle. The boys gathered [171] in the men's circle after having carefully painted themselves and put on new arm and leg bands. The older boys wrestled the Kamayurá youngster in turn, but since he was bigger, he threw them easily. The Trumaí men watched from a distance, silently rooting for their own [576] boys, but laughing loudly as each landed on his back, out of politeness to the visitors.

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577 831 562 837 No discredit attached to the male involved in a love affair and very little to the woman. Oirupa merely scolded his sister for having copulated with Yanahi. Only where adultery was involved did promiscuity lower the status of a woman. Chastity before marriage was not expected, and there was not a single virgin in the village over the age of puberty. Older women without husbands or close relatives to protect them were often used for sexual purposes against their will. This was especially the case with unmarried foreign women. Some of them complained that they had to dispense their favors to too many men too often.

831 152 583 [123] This aggressiveness and the danger of bride-capture made the women extremely fearful of being raped, and, as noted above, they were uneasy even when the threats were made in fun. One morning Quain decided to get rid of his numerous female visitors by employing this device. They all fled except one, who, despite her seeming courage, looked worried. Without doubt, the women enjoyed visiting Quain, but a man told him that if he were to have intercourse with any one of them, they would all fear him. Over and above this fear of rape, there [578] was a definite hostility between the sexes, which was usually well controlled, but which on occasion might explode in open quarrels between the men and the women.

576 514 827 No cumbersome taboos surrounded physiological functions. Belching and the release of flatus were common in company, but generally disregarded. However, if an unusually unpleasant odor followed, those nearby spat on the ground as a mark of disgust. The men urinated near their houses or at the edge of the village plaza. The women went to the edge of the village clearing or behind the houses. Both sexes went a short distance into the brush to defecate, but at night elimination was permitted in the village plaza if a hole was first dug for this purpose and covered over.

There was no salacious attitude toward body processes. The Trumaí were puzzled by Quain's desire for privacy in his personal habits and his curiosity about other people's. One woman seriously asked if she could watch him eliminate.

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The main motivation for going into the brush to defecate was not modesty, but a feeling of revulsion for body products. One did not eliminate in places frequented by people. Yanahi was disgusted when Quain defecated in his garden and claimed that the garden was ruined. Similarly, it was considered repulsive to defecate in the water. When Quain described the great ship that had brought him to Brazil, the only thing that the Trumaí found hard to believe was that the people aboard would have to eliminate in the water.

The rules of etiquette required a person entering or leaving company to make an appropriate statement. The salutation usually consisted of a phrase stating what the person being greeted was doing at the moment. Thus, typical greetings were, "You are eating," "You have returned from fishing," "You are sitting," and so on. When leaving a person or group it was proper to announce, "I am leaving," followed generally by a statement of what one was going to do. If this last was not observed, the departing person was usually asked where he was going. These formalities were not as regularly invoked in the larger gatherings as in house-visiting.

The rules of etiquette also required the emission of conventionalized cries on particular occasions, such as the bringing of food into the village or the offering of tobacco to guests. In the latter case the person making the presentation cried "*aha*," the recipient "*ha-a-a ha ha ha*." These amenities, which were observed between the Trumaí, were always louder when an outsider was involved.

Hospitality was extended to all upper Xingú Indians and white men who visited the village. In part this was inspired by a fear of their neighbors, in part by etiquette. The Trumaí had little reason to fear Quain; yet he was treated with the greatest kindness and consideration, and everyone was eager to converse with him. Indeed, their attentions were so constant that at times he wanted nothing more than to be left alone.

While the men were far more self-assertive than the women, they were also extremely sensitive. They were insulted at the refusal of a request, or at the denial of what they considered to be the recognition due them as individuals. They did not like to be treated as faceless members of a group. During the argument that followed Quain's complaint that some article of his had been stolen, Maibu criticized him for addressing them collectively as "Trumaí," while they always called him "*capitão*" or by his name.

The Trumaí were greatly interested in Western goods and their behavior toward whites was unrestrained. The following quotation from Quain's field notes describes this succinctly:

> The reason why it is so difficult to live with these people is that they are so "impolite." At least in their dealings with me, an outsider, and with the mission-

/191 cont./

484 In perfect order, as though this were a carefully rehearsed theatri-
501 cal performance /192/ supported by very successful scenery, the
609 long, narrow craft glided silently along, a considerable distance from our praia /sandy shore; see the glossary, p. 172 /, closer to
[291] the opposite wooded shore; no command sounded. Almost all
[302] the naked occupants were painted black and bright red on faces
[289] and bodies, many simply blackened all over with soot; on their heads they wore white feather caps, the hair was cut short all
[141] around, as among the Bakaïrí; the standing ones were overtopped by the bows, almost two and a half meters long, and in the left hand held a thick bundle of colorfully feathered arrows.

609 Gradually they came to a stop and the stillness was followed
● 576 by a dreadful noise, a fanatical howling and bellowing. There
[101] could be no doubt but that they were Trumaí, for they shouted this word incessantly as though their lives depended on it, beat their fists against their chests, and at the same time made bows with their upper bodies all the more violently since their legs had little room for lively gesticulation. Nevertheless, if any of us had behaved half as excitedly in the canoe, we would surely have fallen hopelessly into the water at the very beginning of the imitation. But we were on firm ground, and the example is contagious. We, too, howled; we, too, bellowed; we, too, beat our chests. Everybody shouted whatever he happened to remember of an Indian language: "Katú, hekatú Trumaí, Bakaïrí, Kustenaú," interspersed with an occasional lusty "diavo," heiliges Donnerwetter /hang it all/ in German, "don't these fellows have any sense?"

[123] But far from it! No matter how invitingly we waved to them, how affably we clapped our hands, how graciously we pointed to our campsite, as though we were speaking to the Spaniard, "Sir, this house is your house," it did not help in the least. It was clear that this performance is official on the Schingú; we should be committing a breach of etiquette were we to speak of other things before we had thoroughly introduced ourselves to each other for half an hour.

/193 cont./

123 Most of them proffered a piece of beijú as a present and at
576 the same time said "má." My companion took my hat, but I
609 respectfully demanded it back. Everything seemed to be going smoothly; I was among the last, and in front they had already reached our hammocks.

609 Suddenly I hear a shot behind me; Cousin Wilhelm is
152 standing there, without his hat, gesticulating, his Indian guest
123 is sitting in the sand and kicking and striking with all fours; already he leaps up. What panic! Are they afraid that the earth will open up and swallow them? This is primitive fear; there is no question but that we have thunder and lightning at our command. With a few leaps all are in the canoes; they push off; screaming, they row with all their might and do not begin to calm down a bit until they are in the middle of the river. No pleading, no peace demonstrations -- we put down the guns and walk unarmed across the beach -- can persuade them to return.

609 A boat with four of our men is in their midst, I thought
123 /194/ at first with the intention of calming the excited compadres; but it soon became evident that they wanted some of their things back, Manoel's pistol, the hats of Castro, Wilhelm, and Antonio, Quintilian's gun, the ax used for the soundings -- I don't know what all; it is incredible how they could have taken possession of all this in the short time.

609 The entire fleet is already on the left side of the Kuliseü.
721 Suddenly a Trumaí shoots an arrow toward our canoes, and in a
123 moment the guns of the soldiers are rattling. They assert that they only fired into the air. A wild scene ensues; all the Indians leap head over heels out of the canoes, abandon these and their weapons, swim to the nearby shore, and disappear among the trees. The soldiers, once having been seized by the furor of battle, continue to shoot eagerly, no matter how much Castro, from the shore, tries to order them: rest arms! Finally it is quiet; they rummage and hunt in all the canoes and start coming back. There is not a Trumaí to be seen anywhere in the forest; like peaceful staffage, their canoes lie peacefully along the shore, and only here and there, like a dead bird, a feather ornament floats on the waves.

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master at this dead-pan type of humor. When the women attempted to talk to him and Quain, he remained entirely disinterested, occasionally breaking in on them to address himself solely to the ethnographer. Although the women affected exasperation, they really enjoyed this negative attention.

The women were easy to frighten. Aloari teased his wife and sister-in-law by chasing them with a live snake in his hands. The women were also sensitive to touch (few men could resist brushing a hand lightly over an ever-exposed buttock when a crowd was present), and they became nervous when they saw that such teasing was impending. On a day when all the women had crowded into Quain's house, he pulled on the perineal cord of one of them. She immediately loosed a scream and ran out the door followed by the others, who laughed hilariously. Thereafter all the women expected to be teased by Quain, and they identified him somewhat more with the other men than they had before. The men often threatened rape in jest, but even when the women recognized the humorous intent, their basic anxiety was never completely allayed.

Pranks were frequent among the men. It was particularly amusing for a man to inform the others that Quain had given him a gift. Yati went to the trouble of filling a cartridge box with dirt and soberly telling all the men that the box was full of rifle shells. He was among the more popular jokers of the village. And pranks were played on him also. One night, in jest, Aloari shot at Yati's chicken with Quain's rifle on the pretext that it had been crowing. (The noise of the rifle report was also calculated to terrify the village.) Tun and Jakwanari occasionally tried to be funny by sitting alone and talking to themselves rapidly and incoherently. This was considered forced humor, and no one so much as chuckled.

A major source of diversion was gossip about who was cohabiting with whom. While this sometimes led to shouting arguments, it was more often merely playful talk, and it was treated as such. Accusations of sexual intercourse, sometimes true and sometimes false, were tossed back and forth between the men, usually with accompanying leers.

Manners and Morals

The Trumaí gossiped about sex, not because it was held to be morally wrong to do so, but because they had a frank and honest interest in it. Sex was considered a part of the "good life," but it was also thought to be a distraction from work. Thus, the chief made lengthy speeches castigating the men for being interested in nothing but sex when they should have been out planting. Similarly, Yanahi should have finished his puberty rites, but, as one of his kinsmen bluntly put it, all he wanted to do was "*tsidi*" (copulate). In reality the men took vicarious enjoyment in watching Yanahi exert his newly found sex prowess.

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Intermarriage

648 Despite occasional semi-hostile encounters between the upper Xingú groups, most contacts within the area are peaceful. Intermarriage is [59] common, and, since patrilocality is general, the wives are usually brought back to the village of the groom. There are, however, exceptions to this rule. For instance, if the man has strong enough kinship ties with the bride's village, he may stay there. This was true in the case of a member of the Trumaí village who was half Kamayurá. [67] Friction with one's fellow tribesmen can also lead to a move to another [578] village, as in the case of a Trumaí man and his wife who went to live with the Kamayurá because they believed that someone in their own group was practicing witchcraft against them.

602 One result of this mixing process, in addition to its obvious function 648 as a mechanism of diffusion, is that all of the upper Xingú groups are cross-cut by ties of kinship. Nearly every man on the Kuliseu River knows all others so located, and they are often related. Most of the extra-tribal kin ties of the Trumaí were with the Kamayurá and Mehinaku, but they also extended to many other villages of the area. For reasons not fully explored by Quain, the chief contacts of the Trumaí were with Tupian and Arawakan groups, especially those of the Kuliseu River. Little mention is found in Quain's notes of the Cariban tribes of the Kuluene River.

602 Kinship ties were probably responsible for the preference shown by 648 certain Trumaí men for particular tribes. While most men said that 186 the Kamayurá were "bad," a few claimed that they were really "good" and that the other tribes were the ones to be feared. One day a fire was sighted which, it was decided, had been lit by the Yuruna. A man having kinsmen among them left the village to tell them of his presence there and so prevent an attack. The alarm in this instance proved false.

648 Another basis for preference was past residence with a tribe, even as 186 a captive. However, if there was gossip of an attack by some tribe, even those most kindly disposed toward the potential enemy would become nervous and seek out their bows and arrows.

648 There was a great deal of friendly visiting between villages. The host 507 village was expected to provide food for their guests, but if women were brought, they joined in the women's work of preparing it. In the afternoon the men traded with each other and engaged in wrestling [517] contests. At night, singing, shamanism and speech-making were in order in the men's circle. Tobacco and large quantities of food were passed around at all times. If the visitors were staying overnight, they [607] slept in the house of their closest kinsman. The latter was also expected to greet them upon arrival and act as their host during their stay.

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mitigated by intra-household sharing and the performance of services, normally done by mates, by co-resident relatives of the opposite sex. In this way unmarried persons could be integrated within the Trumai economy.

Among the twenty-eight persons of marriage age in the Trumai village, there were only eight unions involving seventeen persons. The eleven unmarried included one widower with a young child, one divorced man with a child, three widows with children, four unmarried men, and two unmarried women.

One of the widows was married during Quain's sojourn, but the other two were considered too old. One of the unmarried women subsequently took a mate, but the other, who had a clubfoot, was thought to be too old and ugly for marriage, although several men had sexual relations with her. Two of the unmarried men were probably also considered too old for marriage, a third was seeking a wife, and the fourth showed little interest in obtaining one. Neither the widower nor the divorced man were seeking wives at the time.

All these persons had made some sort of adjustment through their relatives. The incorporation of two of the unmarried men and of one of the widows into Nitvary's household shows how a functional interdependence within the household was achieved, despite the lack of a lineage in residence. Living at one end of the house were two old unmarried men, Yahu and Yakuma. At the other end were Nitvary, his wife Kaiti, his widowed mother Fayeru, and his young sister Kayaya. Gift-giving and food-sharing went on between all of the people in the house, but the two single men depended most on Fayeru, whom they called "sister," while Nitvary's needs were provided for by his wife. The members of the household were all dependent on each other, as Kaiti alone would have been hard pressed to do woman's work for two more men. Their presence, however, meant more food for the house.

In Aloari's house his unmarried brother Tun provided food for the cooking pots of Aloari's wife Yumunuwa, while her brother Oirupa exchanged services with his classificatory sister Yawala, the club-footed woman. By this free flow of food and service, which was especially marked between the sexes, each individual was economically fully functional, and everyone in the household was adequately cared for.

Most of the arguments in the village occurred between members of different houses. Aloari, his brother, and his brother-in-law showed considerable personal antipathy toward Maibu and jealousy of his status as chief. When a serious conflict broke out in the village over a marriage, it took the form of verbal quarrels between members of different houses.

The greater amity between co-residents was due to a number of factors. First, closer kinship ties usually prevailed, second, people on

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592 friendly terms tended to join in forming a household, and third, it was
578 probably considered desirable to suppress ill feeling within the house.

The unfriendliness between Maibu and the men of Aloari's family
571 existed side by side with close gift-giving obligations between their two
578 houses. According to Aloari's brother Oirupa, he *pans* (gives) to all the
592 people of his own house and also to all the people of Maibu's house. Residence was the crucial factor, for when Yanahi and Mayuva moved from his house, Oirupa no longer gave to them. Similarly, the two other houses had close gift-giving ties. The women united according to this house division when an attack was thought imminent.

114 Insofar as can be ascertained from Quain's genealogical data, there were no special kin bonds between the households of Maibu and Aloari,
592 on one hand, and Jakwanari and Nitvary, on the other, to explain this
602 moiety-like division. But it is of interest that the houses of both Maibu and Aloari were the large type of domicile, like those of the Kamayurá, whereas the other pair of houses were the smaller "true" Trumaí type. It is possible that the residents of one pair of houses, perhaps the smaller, were the descendants of inhabitants of the southern village.

The Nuclear Family

594 Despite the importance of the household and the bilateral consanguineal group, the nuclear family, consisting of man, wife, and children, was still the basic unit of Trumaí society and economy. The biological family could provide nearly all the necessities of life within the previously outlined framework of individualized production and division of labor between the sexes.

The responsibilities of child-rearing fell largely on the nuclear family. The Trumaí showed a fondness for children, and it was not unusual for other adults in the house to play with them and watch over them; but the chief attention came from the parents, and the dependence of the young upon the father and mother was stronger than upon the rest of the household.

The conjugal group had its own hearth near which its hammocks were
[513] strung. Very young children slept with the mother or, if motherless,
593 with the father. Couples were companionable and spent much of their leisure time with each other. It was common for a man and wife to sit in the shade of their house in the afternoon while he made arrows and she worked on a hammock. At other times the couple would go on a short
[832] gathering trip, or just idle around the house. Embraces or mild sex play often occurred in public between younger mates.

593 Some unions were closer than others. Aloari and his wife Yumunuwa
156 spent more time together and showed more affection than did other couples. They were both young; he was virile and aggressive, and she

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Divorce and Adultery

595 The polygynous unions were extremely brittle. In two cases observed
586 by Quain, they lasted only a few days. In both instances the first wife
was responsible for the break-up. The bonds of the second marriage of a
[837] plural mating were loose, for Jakwanari's second wife had sexual re-
lations with several Trumaí men with apparent impunity. Such behavior
would have been dealt with severely by a husband had his first wife
586 been involved. Divorces also occurred in monogamous marriages; they
entailed little more than telling the wife to leave. After the birth of
their son, Oirupa sent his Mehinaku wife back to her village and kept
the child. The right of the father's village over the children seems to have
been general in the area, for Autu had a son by a Waurá husband,
whom the Waurá refused to give to the Trumaí.

684 There is no recorded instance of adultery precipitating a divorce,
[586] although this probably occurred. However, the usual procedure was for
the injured husband to beat his wife and make a lengthy and heated
speech against the offending suitor. The wife of an adulterous husband
[578] showed anger toward his paramour and did not speak to her. Hair
pulling resulted in some cases. The husband's behavior was viewed as
reprehensible by the wife, but she took no action against him. One
wife even chuckled a bit over her husband's adventures, although
jealousy is the more usual response.

837 Due to the threat of punishment, the married women engaged far less
in extra-marital relations than did their husbands. Both married and
unmarried men sought out unattached women, but instances of married
men in such liaisons were less numerous. The younger married men and
Maibu, the chief, seemed to have been the chief offenders. The latter
[582] complained to Quain that all the women in the village were prohibited
to him, as they were his wife's cross-cousins. Neither his genealogy nor
his activities bore him out, and he often approached the single women
and Jakwanari's second wife when the other men were out of the village.
Everyone conceded that, although Maibu's wife had not reached meno-
pause, she was "too old." Thus they rationalized his escapades.

105 The instability of the nuclear family and the vicissitudes to which it
571 was exposed were alleviated by household and kin distribution and by
594 the interdependence of co-resident relatives of the opposite sex for
591 sexually specialized goods and services. These arrangements made
possible the economic workability of Trumaí culture. The conjugal
family was basic to the culture, however, and marriage was highly
[836] desirable to the Trumaí. Despite the shortage of available women and
[578] the conflicts which stemmed from it, sex relations between unmarried
persons were free and easy and subject to little or no public censure,
000 except insofar as they encroached on the interests of others. Incest

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Aloari took over the post of *aek* by dint of personality and not by regular succession. Even if Jawaku had died, Aloari would not have been a logical heir. Manifestly, patrilineality was very fluid.

Conflict

In cases of interpersonal strife in the village, there was no mediator. The chief usually dissociated himself from these arguments and let the litigants shout it out. Maibu, described by Quain as a happy extrovert and a secure person, was involved in few personal quarrels. He did have occasional difficulties in discharging his office. For instance, Tun and Aloari refused to help build Quain's house on the grounds that he was only a *camara*, or person of low status. There then ensued a loud argument in the village plaza between Aloari and Maibu in which each tried to shout the other down. The men sat around and watched in bored amusement. Finally, to break it up, they tried to get Quain to sing. When Maibu grew weary and retired, Aloari continued to talk, but was greeted with hoots of derision.

Aloari was continually embroiled with the other villagers. He refused to finish thatching his house for the rainy season because he wanted the community to move to an old village site where there were fewer insects. His protests were to no avail. The village remained where it was.

Protests against the chief or the village as a whole did not often result in open conflict. For the most part, they were expressed by grumbling, non-compliance, and threats to leave. No action except ridicule was taken against dissidents. Disputes usually took the form of shouted arguments in the evening men's circle. The closest approximation to the use of force was a mock wrestling match between the disputants, in which light slaps and holds were mixed with talk. During one argument, a club was waved.

Unwarranted use of force was regarded as a serious offense. Quain learned this at first hand after he had been among the Trumaí for two and a half months and had established excellent relations with them. When Autsuki, an adolescent boy, who had been told not to take any flour from a sack in Quain's house, persisted in doing so, Quain knocked the flour from his hand. Autsuki left the house, laughing derisively. Instantly, however, the entire village was astir. The men gathered in the plaza for a serious discussion. The boy's *wawes* (mother's brothers) came to Quain's house to demand an explanation, as did the chief. Fortunately, except for his pride, Autsuki was not hurt, and the matter was allowed to drop. Maibu, however, seeing that Quain was still annoyed, invited him to come into the center of the village and make a speech in his native tongue, the standard Trumaí escape-valve.

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On these occasions the men usually unburdened themselves in the village center. Malice was expressed either by a verbal interchange with the opponent or an angry speech. The substance of the latter type of demonstration often was not related to the cause of the dispute or to the speaker's discontent. Manifestly, the function of the harangue was to provide an emotional outlet rather than a forum. Maibu's suggestion that Quain should make a speech in his own language underlines the fact that the externalization of anger was the paramount purpose.

Emotional release could also be found in contrived performances. Quain, feeling depressed one evening, refused to sing when the Trumaí asked him to. However, when Maibu proposed a mock argument, Quain, being a good ethnologist, complied. Facing each other in the village center, the two men hurled epithets and insults at each other at the top of their voices. When Quain was at a loss for something to say, Maibu suggested that he repeat a speech he had made about the theft of his supplies. At the conclusion Quain reported, "I felt very good when I shouted at him for a while, and I was quite willing to sing."

In cases of physical harm, settlement could be obtained by paying the injured person. Quain was told that after the spear-throwing contest, the Kamayurá and the Trumaí each paid indemnities for bruises inflicted.[9] No case of physical violence was observed by Quain, but when he slapped the flour from the boy's hand, and again when he stepped on a child's foot, the Trumaí suggested that he pay something. The latter case was an obvious attempt at petty extortion, for a week later the same child had his foot stepped on by a Trumaí, but this time the only result was an admonition from his father to be quiet.

Still another alternative to violence was found in witchcraft. Only one or two Trumaí knew the practice of sorcery, and these men were said to have learned it from the Nahukwa, who were much feared because of their dangerous skill. Sorcery was usually invoked covertly, but at least once in an argument its use was openly threatened. This, however, was regarded as a most reprehensible action.

The chief source of conflict in the village was sex. Quarrels over who was to marry the three available women raged throughout Quain's stay. Bride-capture, the large percentage of older women, and polygamy combined to make the allotment of women an extremely sore point. The story of the battle over one woman is worth reporting, as it illustrates both patterned interpersonal relationships and the ways in which anger could be expressed and channeled.

Three men wanted to marry Kuyafi, a widow with a child. They were Oirupa the sorcerer, Mayuva, her sister's husband, and Nitvary. Kuyafi, it was said, had once had a child by Nitvary, so his claim was a strong one. So also was Mayuva's, as he had recognized sexual rights over her

[9] Cf. Galvão 1950, p. 363.

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because she was his sister-in-law. Mayuva, however, was afraid of Nitvary, as the latter had close ties with the Kamayurá and had threatened Mayuva with witchcraft at their hands. After Nitvary returned from a trip to the Kamayurá village, Mayuva complained of severe headaches and said he was going to die. Although he denied to Quain that his condition was due to Kamayurá sorcery, the threats against him apparently had the desired result: a short time later Kuyafi moved into Nitvary's house. The union last only two days, for Nitvary's jealous wife drove her out in a fit of anger. The field, it would seem, was clear for Oirupa, the third suitor.

Oirupa, however, had been trying to marry Kuyafi for years. Her father, Matiwana, refused to give his consent and Oirupa, in revenge, was said to have killed two of Matiwana's children by witchcraft. Relations between their families were understandably strained, and they were further aggravated by the marriage of Matiwana's son Yati and Oirupa's sister Kerami, which occurred during Quain's stay. This union was unhappy and short-lived. When Kerami left him, Yati and his father held Oirupa and his co-resident affinals, Tun and Aloari, responsible. Yati bitterly asserted that he (and Matiwana) would go to live among his mother's people, the Kuikuru of the upper Kuluene. There, he said, women were much easier to get.

With this background of conflict and suspicion, it is not surprising that the quarrel again broke out in earnest when Oirupa tried to seduce Kuyafi. Angered by her rejection he threw *piquí* pits at her. In the afternoon Matiwana spoke out against Oirupa from his house. (This was proper behavior, since a parent is expected to take his offspring's part in such disputes.) That evening the two men indulged in the usual loud shouting and wrestled with barely restrained hostility. Kuyafi added her bit from the house as did another of Matiwana's daughters. The other men pretended indifference. Yati remained silent, although he was vitally interested in the dispute; for, besides being Matiwana's son, he was involved in an enduring respect relationship with his former brother-in-law, even after his marriage was dissolved. Public opinion, however, was on the side of Matiwana, for Oirupa had committed an offense by hitting Kuyafi with the pits, and he had also threatened to use witchcraft. To this last Matiwana tauntingly replied that had Oirupa's witchcraft been really effective, he would have been dead long ago. As of the time Quain left the Trumaí, Kuyafi's future was still undecided.

The Men's Circle

The men's circle served a number of functions. It was the place in which initiated males gathered, talked, argued, and smoked. It was not taboo to young boys, as it was to women, but youngsters rarely joined

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the group, and they never participated in any of its activities. Occasionally men gathered in the village center during the day, but at night the circle always formed, generally lasting from sundown until about nine o'clock. In the afternoon it was often the scene of wrestling matches. Talk usually went on then also, but the gatherings were smaller than at night.

At night most of the men were present, and conversation ranged over a variety of topics. Of greatest interest were neighboring tribes, past warfare and present threats to peace. Gossip, usually about sex, found ready ears. This was the time when the chief made most of his speeches, and the time when plans for a fishing trip, for salt manufacture, or for a journey to the Waurá for pots were discussed. The men's circle was also the place where the shaman practiced his art, and, as noted above, where grievances were aired.

The social life of the males was centered almost completely in these gatherings, and it was in them that the mechanisms of village authority and social control were expressed. Also, the men's circle underlined the cleavage between the activities of the men and of the women. The women had no formal grouping such as the men's circle, but they showed solidarity when the need arose. While men were dominant, as Quain said, they "look on the women as an ungoverned force," and open group quarrels were not infrequent between the sexes.

Status

Aek, the Trumaí word for chief, also denoted membership in the upper half of what is nominally a status class. Members of the lower half of this class were loosely referred to as *camara*, a term which, according to Galvão, probably diffused into the region from rural Brazil, where workers are called *camaradas*.[10] There was some uncertainty on the part of Quain's informants as to who were members of the *aek* division. In general, it included the chief, the two sub-chiefs, and their families. But while the status appears to have been hereditary, its transmission was loose and uncertain. For instance, Maibu was an *aek*, but he refused to classify his brothers as such. However, the fathers of both Maibu and Katauka, one of the sub-chiefs, were *aek*. Matiwana's three daughters and his son derived their status from him, further supporting the case for patrilineality. On the other hand, the children of one of the daughters were *aek*, even though their father was a *camara*. The significance of being *aek* had probably declined with the weakening of leadership patterns and the lessened importance of the sub-chiefs. Today, the *aek-camara* division is non-functional, membership is confused, and, except for the chieftainship, it is correlated only vaguely

[10] Galvão 1949, p. 60.

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with prestige. Aloari, who later became chief, was classified as a *camara* at the time of Quain's visit.

At the top of the Trumaí prestige scale was the chief. His authority was limited, but he was more respected than any other man. The two sub-chiefs enjoyed some, but not much, prestige. Matiwana was an old man, and old age decreases status among the Trumaí. He took the lead in group curing ceremonies, however, and was the repository of much Trumaí lore and learning. Nor was Katauka, the other sub-chief, very influential. And neither official had the privilege of "talking" to the people as Maibu did. That Katauka was a shaman and Matiwana the chief curer of the village contributed more to their prestige than did their position as sub-chiefs or their membership in the *aek* class. Tun, the shaman, and Oirupa, the sorcerer, ranked just below the chief in importance. The former enjoyed some standing as his prognostications of enemy movements were relied upon and respected by everybody. Oirupa had added power only because he was feared.

The only other criteria of status were youth and aggressiveness. Property was not a point of prestige, but those whose assertive attitudes gave them some status and influence were also those who manifested an accumulative attitude toward property. Youth and sexual prowess were highly regarded. Boasting about sexual exploits was usually done privately, but great pride was taken in them. This was related to the general esteem in which youth, size and vigor were held. To be a successful wrestler, therefore, enhanced a man's position. The Trumaí were also impressed by Quain's height and wanted to know what kind of medicines white men used to make them so tall. There was no warrior class and no special status for success in combat, except insofar as it was an indication of strength and courage.

As noted above, the status of old men was very low, except when they had special knowledge or office. Yet these attributes did not protect Matiwana from being contemptuously referred to as an old man. Moreover, Quain was severely criticized for giving presents to old Yahu, most of whose property had already been claimed by others, since the Trumaí did not think it proper that one so old should have any possessions beyond fishing and hunting equipment and other necessities. A favorite insult among the Trumaí was to tell someone he was old, and by implication that he no longer bathed or was able to fornicate.

Prestige variations, on the whole, were not great in the Trumaí village. The community had no clearly defined social groupings based on status, nor were there social mechanisms for human exploitation. Variations in wealth were slight, and their only significance was that one man might have more tools and trinkets than another. It is possible, however, that before the Trumaí had declined to their present low estate, prestige and authority were more clearly patterned, as they still were in the Kamayurá village.

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577 831 833 156 123 Yanahi was less inhibited than any of the other men, but his behavior was not considered shocking or immoral. Quain had apparently arrived at the village just at the time that Yanahi was on the threshold of sexual experience. He appeared in Quain's house one night to show that he had an erection and announced that he would soon be having coitus. Thereafter, he rarely failed to tell Quain of his exploits. One night quite a crowd, including Yanahi and one of his paramours, Vatsiat, was gathered in Quain's house. The young man suddenly developed a longing for her and, as soon as all the visitors had left, satisfied his craving noisily amidst Quain's pots and pans. He was proud of his virility, as were most of the Trumaí men.

577 831 562 837 No discredit attached to the male involved in a love affair and very little to the woman. Oirupa merely scolded his sister for having copulated with Yanahi. Only where adultery was involved did promiscuity lower the status of a woman. Chastity before marriage was not expected, and there was not a single virgin in the village over the age of puberty. Older women without husbands or close relatives to protect them were often used for sexual purposes against their will. This was especially the case with unmarried foreign women. Some of them complained that they had to dispense their favors to too many men too often.

831 152 583 [123] This aggressiveness and the danger of bride-capture made the women extremely fearful of being raped, and, as noted above, they were uneasy even when the threats were made in fun. One morning Quain decided to get rid of his numerous female visitors by employing this device. They all fled except one, who, despite her seeming courage, looked worried. Without doubt, the women enjoyed visiting Quain, but a man told him that if he were to have intercourse with any one of them, they would all fear him. Over and above this fear of rape, there [578] was a definite hostility between the sexes, which was usually well controlled, but which on occasion might explode in open quarrels between the men and the women.

576 514 827 No cumbersome taboos surrounded physiological functions. Belching and the release of flatus were common in company, but generally disregarded. However, if an unusually unpleasant odor followed, those nearby spat on the ground as a mark of disgust. The men urinated near their houses or at the edge of the village plaza. The women went to the edge of the village clearing or behind the houses. Both sexes went a short distance into the brush to defecate, but at night elimination was permitted in the village plaza if a hole was first dug for this purpose and covered over.

There was no salacious attitude toward body processes. The Trumaí were puzzled by Quain's desire for privacy in his personal habits and his curiosity about other people's. One woman seriously asked if she could watch him eliminate.

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105 174 571 602 serious damage to the individual personality. Also, many individuals could not enact whole sets of kin-determined roles because they had no relatives of the proper complementary status. For example, parents-in-law normally exerted considerable influence and control over younger married couples, but hardly anyone in the village had such relatives. [582] Similarly, cross-cousin marriage was the preferred union, but cross-cousins were generally unavailable. Moreover, because of the shortage [598] of women, marriage came to be more a cause of conflict than a consolidator of kinship bonds.

105 182 626 Not only was the family world of the Trumaí crumbling, but all lines of authority and social control were weak. The Trumaí seemed unable to unite for such culturally approved purposes as economic cooperation or hospitality. Trumaí leadership, like that of many primitive peoples, was predicated on the existence of strong bonds of kinship, economic interdependence, and a general agreement on goals and policies. These preconditions were no longer found among the Trumaí. In this struc- [627] tural vacuum, the Trumaí chief was less and less able to cope with the growing self-assertiveness of certain men, and was increasingly forced into a neutral role. As the community weakened, his position weakened.

105 182 578 A number of reasons account for the factionalism which developed within the Trumaí village. Some are a function of personality, others of the diminished population. Obviously women were at a premium and many men were compelled to do without mates. The resultant competition was, as we have seen, a festering sore in the body politic. Connected with it, but having further ramifications, the bonds of kinship and the expected behavior between kinsmen underwent attrition and upset what social balance could have been achieved under more normal conditions. Indeed fear of the outside world more than internal forces of cohesion held the Trumaí community together.

Other integrative mechanisms in Trumaí culture were also disappear- [096] ing. Conspicuous among them was the gradual abandonment of many elements in the Trumaí ceremonial cycle. (Significantly this left the 105 highly individual practice of shamanism as the most active religious 182 expression in Trumaí culture). In part, this loss may have been due to 771 the inability of the Trumaí to amass a sufficiently large food surplus for the feasting that was required when visitors from other tribes were present. Not enough is known about the ritual of the Trumaí to warrant any broad generalizations on the effects of depopulation on ceremonial participation, but their numbers may well have been approaching the minimum necessary to carry out the rites. Only a few men who had depended heavily on one old man for their instruction possessed the requisite ceremonial knowledge. When this old man died, Trumaí culture must have suffered a severe blow. Younger men were little interested in learning the ritual and lore. Moreover, the small number of bearers of

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"Tremendous interest in property, together with a simple and declining culture, results in my being a seriously disturbing element in their lives. Casual conversation always degenerates into a squabble about gift-giving .... There is intense pleasure in possession. Children get no sympathy when they are hurt, but objects are usually given to them. Every child has the right at least 'to see' anything he desires. In this respect children are pampered. Adults whine for things; withholding a desired object makes them intensely unhappy. Aggressive possession is admired.. Trade games make the exchange of property very fluid. Yet values in trade are well defined, and there is no prestige in giving more than one gets. Within the kinship circle, however, the old lavish property on the young. A father's garden is spoken of as that of his five year old son. There is a deliberate attempt to instill aggressive ownership attitudes in the young. A three year old girl is taught to claim objects in a loud voice. This is done by shouting the possessive pronoun....

"These are a settled people who live within the strict limits of their village. Their small number has advantage in the study of individuals. They have no knowledge of the world beyond the Kuluene-Kuliseu. It has no more real existence than the various inhabited regions of the heavens. The half dozen expeditions which have passed down the river have communicated with the natives only with signs. The one important result of such contact was division from peripheral tribes and the rise of metal tools. The disappearance of the stone industry, on which a defunct Trumaí moiety had a monopoly, has occurred within the last generation.[1] The increased leisure which probably resulted is not utilized economically.

"The complete lack of self-consciousness among these people makes behavior observation remarkably easy. Before I knew any of the language, I could sit by the hour in various households and time the actions of people while they paid no attention to me. For instance, one man during twenty minutes of leisure lay down to rest in his hammock fifteen different times, but each time disturbed himself with the remembrance of some petty chore undone....

"The only restriction of behavior that I have seen in casual intra-village personal relations is that the children are told not to litter the floor. The only positive rule is that the head of a household must sit with a guest and converse while the guest is inside his house .... Furthermore, extra-marital sexual intercourse has occurred in a shadowy corner of my house.. This lack of self-consciousness contrasts strongly with the Karajá, who are more prudish than the Fijians....

"Shortage of women, because of theft of young women, polygamy, lack of sexual interest in old wives (of which there are several), and

[1] Quain refers here to the moiety-like division of the Trumaí which has been discussed in Chapter Three. This appears to be rather a result of the merger of the northern and southern Trumaí villages. The latter specialized in axe-making.

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"Angry stylized quarreling is a legal device. The village hoots in derision at him whose argument is poor. The chief must be a master at this kind of argument, but all men and even women participate .... Though everyone makes speeches, it is only the chief who makes executive speeches. Quarrels have always been about women, with the exception of the one which occurred upon my arrival in the village (one party disapproved of me...). The chief does not interfere in personal quarrels. The other men sit quietly in the center of the village smoking and trying to disregard the quarrel, which may be going on over their very heads. When the contenders have retired from the village green, they are perfectly calm. The argument is suspended until it can be carried on publicly. There seem to be no secret alliances among the men.

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"Another thing I must mention is the complete lack of emotional content in religious ceremonies. These are mildly pleasant chores. Although their structure is designed for a public pageant, nobody pays attention."

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level of general anxiety. It was usually the result of several days of rumor, omens, and strange fires in the north.

Late one night during Quain's stay, after most of the village had retired, a near panic occurred when two women shouted that the Suyá were attacking. All the initiated men, even the weak and old, rushed to the village center with their bows and arrows. The women and children from two of the four Trumaí houses hurried with their hammocks to the other two houses. The frightened men milled around in the center of the village with no apparent organization or direction. The chief, who was trembling, did not take command of the situation.

If this had been a real attack, noted Quain, the raiders would have given a loud yell and loosed a volley of arrows. He later made an investigation and found no signs of intruders. One of the women thought that someone had thrown dirt at her. Quain believed this to be a habit of the Suyá, but one that was usually a friendly overture.

The women feared other tribes more than did the men, for one of the main purposes of raids was to capture women. In every upper Xingú community women from other tribes are always found. The dispersal of women takes three forms: capture in warfare (by groups outside the area), open abduction of a woman by intimidation of her fellow-villagers, and peaceful intertribal marriage. According to de Lima, the Suyá raid the Waurá village on the Batoví River for female captives, as the women of the Arawakan tribes are the only potters of the region.[16] The Trumaí lost many young women to the Kamayurá by intimidation, the second of the above means. Most of the women in the Trumaí village were at one time held by the Kamayurá with the result that, in many Trumaí marriages, the woman is several years older than the man. At the time of Quain's visit, Trumaí women were still living among the Kamayurá and other groups. One of them, the sister of the Trumaí chief, ran away from the Kamayurá and returned home because her husband had beaten her, an action that angered the Trumaí greatly. There she picked up the threads of her old life, but after a few weeks a party of Kamayurá took her back to their village. The Trumaí offered no resistance, either physical or verbal, although they outnumbered the visitors, for to have done so would have invited retaliation.

The fact that the Trumaí had lost many women completely, or regained them only after their most fertile years had passed, was probably a contributing factor to the depopulation of the group. The losses were only partially compensated for by the marriage of outside women into the Trumaí village. There were three foreign women in the community in 1938: a Suyá, a Mehinaku, and a Kamayurá. Their status was lower than that of the Trumaí women, and they were at times taunted because of their foreign origin. They did not participate as fully in the

[16] De Lima 1950, p. 8.

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on a man's property, as did also, in the following order, his sister's son and his brother's son. Within the household, food was freely shared, and correspondingly, a co-resident could ask for a material object. These requests, however, were not always granted. A common excuse was to say that the object was promised to someone having a stronger claim. Despite these evasions, the patterns of gift-giving created a constant circulation of food and objects throughout the village.

Inheritance

Transmission of property was accomplished chiefly through trade and gift. There is no information on the disposal of the material possessions of the deceased. The only available data on inheritance concern the office of chief and the possession of certain songs sung at the *ole* (manioc) ceremony. The former was inherited patrilineally and will be discussed later. The ceremonial songs were inherited either through the mother's brother or the mother's father. Thus, old Matiwana would some day teach his *ole* songs to Amanatsin, his daughter's eldest son. Nitvary, another of the three men who knew *ole* songs, learned them from Jawaku's father, who was his mother's brother. Since cross-cousin marriage was practiced, Jawaku might marry Nitvary's sister, and their child would inherit the songs from Nitvary. In this way the *ole* songs returned to the direct patrilineal line every other generation.

In response to careful questioning, Quain was assured that these songs could be obtained only from the mother's brother and mother's father, and not from the father or the father's brother. The combination of this matrilineal trait and patrilineal elements is characteristic of the bilaterality in upper Xingú culture.

The Trade Game

The trade game was a mechanism of inter- and intra-community distribution. Even more importantly it provided a framework for social participation, leisure time relaxation, and general enjoyment. As such it was one of the few integrating factors in Trumaí society.

Afternoons, especially rainy afternoons, were dull times in the Trumaí village. In Quain's words, "These people are bored but don't realize it! Wrestling provides some diversion, but nothing quickens spirits more than a brisk trade game (*kawirxo*). All that is needed is for one of the men to stride through the village with a bundle of goods to trade and suggest a *kawirxo*. Shouts go up on all sides, everybody crowds into one of the houses, and the game is on. Enthusiasm is even greater when there are visitors in the village."

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Divorce and Adultery

595 The polygynous unions were extremely brittle. In two cases observed
586 by Quain, they lasted only a few days. In both instances the first wife
was responsible for the break-up. The bonds of the second marriage of a
[837] plural mating were loose, for Jakwanari's second wife had sexual relations with several Trumaí men with apparent impunity. Such behavior would have been dealt with severely by a husband had his first wife
586 been involved. Divorces also occurred in monogamous marriages; they entailed little more than telling the wife to leave. After the birth of their son, Oirupa sent his Mehinaku wife back to her village and kept the child. The right of the father's village over the children seems to have been general in the area, for Autu had a son by a Waurá husband, whom the Waurá refused to give to the Trumaí.

684 There is no recorded instance of adultery precipitating a divorce,
[586] although this probably occurred. However, the usual procedure was for the injured husband to beat his wife and make a lengthy and heated speech against the offending suitor. The wife of an adulterous husband
[578] showed anger toward his paramour and did not speak to her. Hair pulling resulted in some cases. The husband's behavior was viewed as reprehensible by the wife, but she took no action against him. One wife even chuckled a bit over her husband's adventures, although jealousy is the more usual response.

837 Due to the threat of punishment, the married women engaged far less in extra-marital relations than did their husbands. Both married and unmarried men sought out unattached women, but instances of married men in such liaisons were less numerous. The younger married men and Maibu, the chief, seemed to have been the chief offenders. The latter
[589] complained to Quain that all the women in the village were prohibited to him, as they were his wife's cross-cousins. Neither his genealogy nor his activities bore him out, and he often approached the single women and Jakwanari's second wife when the other men were out of the village. Everyone conceded that, although Maibu's wife had not reached menopause, she was "too old." Thus they rationalized his escapades.

105 The instability of the nuclear family and the vicissitudes to which it
571 was exposed were alleviated by household and kin distribution and by
594 the interdependence of co-resident relatives of the opposite sex for
595 sexually specialized goods and services. These arrangements made possible the economic workability of Trumaí culture. The conjugal family was basic to the culture, however, and marriage was highly
[836] desirable to the Trumaí. Despite the shortage of available women and
[578] the conflicts which stemmed from it, sex relations between unmarried persons were free and easy and subject to little or no public censure, except insofar as they encroached on the interests of others. Incest

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taboos and permissible marriages were a part of kinship-determined behavior and will be treated below.

Kinship Terminology

Everyone within the Trumaí village classified everyone else by a term of relationship. Since the community was small, most of these designations expressed a demonstrable bond of consanguinity or affinity, although even outsiders were placed within the kinship system. This was done by establishing a kin tie with one Trumaí, whereupon the rest of the village could automatically place the outsider in the proper context.

Much of the data on the kinship system is uncertain for a number of reasons. The high death rate of the Trumaí, their lack of interest in tracing genealogies, and, most important, a taboo on the names of the dead made the recounting of family lines difficult. Moreover, there is some indication that the Trumaí system was changing rapidly. Many descriptive categories for classifying collateral kinsmen were falling into disuse and being replaced by classificatory terms. The result is an extreme looseness of nomenclature, as can be seen from the accompanying list of terms collected by three ethnologists.[3]

Term	Quain	Oberg[4]	Wagley[5]
Ego's generation			
sibling	apizi[6]		
younger brother	takwai (v) opat (r)	aheát[6] (m. sp.) takwai (w. sp.)	ha-heát[6] (m. sp.) ha-pisi (w. sp.)
older brother		apisi (m. or w.sp.)	ha-pisi (m. or w. sp.)
sister	hatdifle		ha-dufle (m. sp.)
younger sister	ta'yj	tain (m. sp.) takwai (w. sp.)	ha-takwai (w.sp.)
older sister		apisi (m. or w.sp.)	ha-pisi (w. sp.)

[3] The three lists of Trumaí kinship terms are listed below, since they, in a sense, complete and correct one another. Quain's list is admittedly incomplete and contains several errors. Wagley's terms likewise are incomplete and based on short interviews with informants during his brief stay among the Trumaí. Oberg says nothing about his Trumaí informants, and neither Oberg nor Wagley collected referential terms. The divergencies, then, may reflect misunderstandings on the part of the ethnologists or informants, or they may actually reflect changes that are taking place in Trumaí society.

[4] Oberg 1953, p. 119.

[5] Wagley, personal communication.

[6] The prefix "ha" (Wagley and Quain) or "a" (Oberg and Quain) is the Trumaí first person possessive.

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Term	Quain	Oberg	Wagley
	deta (v., m. sp.)		
sister's daughter	faxio	adák (m. sp.)	ha-dak (m. sp.)
	ta'yj (m. or w. sp.)	ta'ai (w. sp.)	
	tatdienam (w. sp.)		
Second Ascending Generation			
father's father	adjei (v)	ayeí (m. or w.sp.)	ha-doho (m. sp.)
	adjen (r)		ha-yeí (w. sp.)
mother's father	adjei (v)	ayeí (m. or w.sp.)	ha-doho (m. sp.)
	adjen (r)		ha-yeí (w. sp.)
father's mother	atsets (v)	atsetá (m. or w. sp.)	ha-doho
	alen (r)		
mother's mother	atsets (v)	atsetá (m. or w. sp.)	ha-doho
	alen (r)		
Second Descending Generation			
son's son	hadoxo	adohó	ha-doho
son's daughter	"	"	"
daughter's son	"	"	"
daughter's daughter	"	"	"
Affinals			
husband	eee	tekaú	ha-eshé
wife	hatdetsi	adetsí	ha-detsi
brother's wife		adifletsi (m. sp.)	
sister's husband		ashlá (m. sp.)	ha-eshla (m. sp.)
wife's brother		ashlá	ha-tslak

Incest Restrictions

The Trumaí had no rules of group or locality exogamy. Permissible and prohibited sexual or marital relationships were a function of certain kinship ties only. The most acceptable marriage union was between cross-cousins. According to one informant, true cross-cousins should not marry, but Quain's genealogies present a number of cases in which first cousins related through sibling parents of unlike sex have done so. It is doubtful whether these represented violations of a rule, for there was one instance of such cross-cousins, when they were very young children, being pledged in marriage by their parents. Parallel cousins were not acceptable mates, nor were their children or the children of siblings.

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582 [186] Quain was told that the Kamayurá were "bad," because they permitted marriage with a sister's daughter.[6]

582 595 837 Cross-cousin marriage is correlated with sororal polygyny among the Trumaí and with the sexual privileges that a man may take with his wife's sister. No indication was found of the sororate, despite its probable acceptability. There was only one case of the levirate, and that was the 587 marriage of the chief to his dead brother's wife. That the levirate is expected but not compulsory is apparent in the case of Yati and his brother's widow Vatsiat. She resided in Yati's house, and they performed [462] many necessary, sexually specialized functions for each other. Although their hammocks were some distance apart, Vatsiat called him *ece* (husband) and became quite incensed at one of his paramours. However, Yati called her *apizi* (sibling), and apparently felt that there were no [837] marital obligations between them. He had his love-life, which did not include her, and he showed no sign of annoyance at her escapades. It was a standing joke that every man in the village had sexual relations with Vatsiat, except where an incest taboo prohibited it.

582 584 835 Marriage between people of different generations, especially between older women and younger men, was frequent: but the rules governing such unions are obscure. It was specifically frowned upon for a man to marry his mother's brother's widow. However, when one young man did so, he was only mildly ridiculed and censured, and his status in the village was little affected.

Joking Relations

582 602 831 Cross-cousins were not the only acceptable marriage partners, but they were the only ones with whom marriage was expected and especially approved. Also, patterned and expected joking existed only between these kin. Cross-cousins of the same sex, especially males, bantered with each other, but most sexual joking occurred between men and women. Thus, Aloari enjoyed making suggestive remarks to the rather old and ugly Vatsiat and frequently accused her of improprieties with various men. On one occasion, partly for Quain's benefit, he threw her on her back and went through the motions of coitus.

602 605 831 Cross-cousins of the same sex confined their joking to pranks and good-natured raillery, *ami tarajau*, which Quain translates as "cross-cousin talk." Mayuva teased Yati, who had a phobia of frogs, by chasing after him with a frog hanging from a stick. Both men and women made great sport of urging Quain to throw their cross-cousins out of his house. 123 On one occasion, Quain, experimentally, made sexual suggestions to 602 several women who had congregated in his house. They all ran out 831 laughing shrilly, but one came back later to be reassured that it was

[6] Cf. Oberg 1953, p. 44.

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compartment in the house for six months, at the end of which time she is accepted as a young woman.[3]

Menstruation caused no special distress to the Trumaí women. They maintained personal cleanliness with the aid of leaves, going out into the brush behind the house to care for themselves. Although the relevant taboos were observed, the women talked frankly to Quain about menstruation, and were interested in learning what white women did during the period. The men, although expressing a fear of menstrual blood, did not shun the subject either. Most of them knew when women in the village were having their menses.

Everyone was extremely shocked when Quain told them that white people often had intercourse during the menstrual period, for such contact would make a Trumaí man fall ill and die. Aloari said that he would surely die of a cough if he copulated with his wife then. The blood itself was considered malignant, infecting whatever it touched. The whole village became very disturbed when Kuyafi dropped some menstrual blood on the path to the gardens. Aloari averred that he would not go for manioc until the rain washed it away.

Fear of polluting forced a menstruating woman to make frequent trips to the weeds, where nobody walked. The danger also extended to her person. During this time she was not allowed to cook, although she could sit around the fire when food was being prepared. (Quain's departure from the Trumaí village was delayed for a day as both the wife and sister-in-law of Aloari, who was to accompany him, were menstruating, and there was only one woman left in the household to make his *beijú* supply.) Nor could the menstruating woman carry water or take a bath. However, a prohibition on eating fish was the only food taboo that she had to observe.

Marriage

A man was ready to seek a mate within one or two years after his initiation, or at the corresponding age level. Women were suitable prospects soon after their puberty rites. It was common for marriages to be arranged by parents while their children were still infants. These infant betrothals were usually between cross-cousins. It is doubtful, however, whether many such arranged marriages were consummated, both because of the high mortality and the fact that most of the Trumaí women were ultimately fought for and won by verbal battles in the men's circle.

Courtships were neither long nor formalized. When a man developed an interest in a woman, he usually expressed it by attempting to seduce her. In most instances, amorous advances were made without any in-

[3] Rodrigues Ferreira 1948, p. 92.

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105 174 571 602 serious damage to the individual personality. Also, many individuals could not enact whole sets of kin-determined roles because they had no relatives of the proper complementary status. For example, parents-in-law normally exerted considerable influence and control over younger married couples, but hardly anyone in the village had such relatives. Similarly, cross-cousin marriage was the preferred union, but cross-cousins were generally unavailable. Moreover, because of the shortage of women, marriage came to be more a cause of conflict than a consolidator of kinship bonds.

105 182 626 Not only was the family world of the Trumaí crumbling, but all lines of authority and social control were weak. The Trumaí seemed unable to unite for such culturally approved purposes as economic cooperation or hospitality. Trumaí leadership, like that of many primitive peoples, was predicated on the existence of strong bonds of kinship, economic interdependence, and a general agreement on goals and policies. These preconditions were no longer found among the Trumaí. In this structural vacuum, the Trumaí chief was less and less able to cope with the growing self-assertiveness of certain men, and was increasingly forced into a neutral role. As the community weakened, his position weakened.

105 182 578 A number of reasons account for the factionalism which developed within the Trumaí village. Some are a function of personality, others of the diminished population. Obviously women were at a premium and many men were compelled to do without mates. The resultant competition was, as we have seen, a festering sore in the body politic. Connected with it, but having further ramifications, the bonds of kinship and the expected behavior between kinsmen underwent attrition and upset what social balance could have been achieved under more normal conditions. Indeed fear of the outside world more than internal forces of cohesion held the Trumaí community together.

Other integrative mechanisms in Trumaí culture were also disappearing. Conspicuous among them was the gradual abandonment of many elements in the Trumaí ceremonial cycle. (Significantly this left the highly individual practice of shamanism as the most active religious expression in Trumaí culture). In part, this loss may have been due to the inability of the Trumaí to amass a sufficiently large food surplus for the feasting that was required when visitors from other tribes were present. Not enough is known about the ritual of the Trumaí to warrant any broad generalizations on the effects of depopulation on ceremonial participation, but their numbers may well have been approaching the minimum necessary to carry out the rites. Only a few men who had depended heavily on one old man for their instruction possessed the requisite ceremonial knowledge. When this old man died, Trumaí culture must have suffered a severe blow. Younger men were little interested in learning the ritual and lore. Moreover, the small number of bearers of

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level of general anxiety. It was usually the result of several days of rumor, omens, and strange fires in the north.

Late one night during Quain's stay, after most of the village had retired, a near panic occurred when two women shouted that the Suyá were attacking. All the initiated men, even the weak and old, rushed to the village center with their bows and arrows. The women and children from two of the four Trumaí houses hurried with their hammocks to the other two houses. The frightened men milled around in the center of the village with no apparent organization or direction. The chief, who was trembling, did not take command of the situation.

If this had been a real attack, noted Quain, the raiders would have given a loud yell and loosed a volley of arrows. He later made an investigation and found no signs of intruders. One of the women thought that someone had thrown dirt at her. Quain believed this to be a habit of the Suyá, but one that was usually a friendly overture.

The women feared other tribes more than did the men, for one of the main purposes of raids was to capture women. In every upper Xingú community women from other tribes are always found. The dispersal of women takes three forms: capture in warfare (by groups outside the area), open abduction of a woman by intimidation of her fellow-villagers, and peaceful intertribal marriage. According to de Lima, the Suyá raid the Waurá village on the Batoví River for female captives, as the women of the Arawakan tribes are the only potters of the region.[16] The Trumaí lost many young women to the Kamayurá by intimidation, the second of the above means. Most of the women in the Trumaí village were at one time held by the Kamayurá with the result that, in many Trumaí marriages, the woman is several years older than the man. At the time of Quain's visit, Trumaí women were still living among the Kamayurá and other groups. One of them, the sister of the Trumaí chief, ran away from the Kamayurá and returned home because her husband had beaten her, an action that angered the Trumaí greatly. There she picked up the threads of her old life, but after a few weeks a party of Kamayurá took her back to their village. The Trumaí offered no resistance, either physical or verbal, although they outnumbered the visitors, for to have done so would have invited retaliation.

The fact that the Trumaí had lost many women completely, or regained them only after their most fertile years had passed, was probably a contributing factor to the depopulation of the group. The losses were only partially compensated for by the marriage of outside women into the Trumaí village. There were three foreign women in the community in 1938: a Suyá, a Mehinaku, and a Kamayurá. Their status was lower than that of the Trumaí women, and they were at times taunted because of their foreign origin. They did not participate as fully in the

[16] De Lima 1960, p. 5.

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culture as the other women, but their everyday existence was much the same.

Men were also taken as captives, although not to the same extent as were women. Tun and Aloari, two Trumaí men, had lived in captivity among the Yuruna. They had feared their captors at first, but once they had learned the language, they said, they were no longer afraid. Apparently both men had been well treated by the Yuruna, for they were kindly disposed towards that tribe. The elder of the two men had a Yuruna wife, whom he left when he returned to his people. How this was accomplished is not known, but escape could not have been very difficult.

Another factor promoting the incorporation of both women and men into other tribes was the depopulation and extinction of their own groups. When the southern Trumaí village was disbanded many of the survivors joined the northern Trumaí, but some moved in with other tribes. Similarly, de Lima reported that the Yaulapití, who disbanded sometime between 1938 and 1945, were to be found among the Kamayurá, Trumaí, and Aueti.[17]

It is possible that more Yaulapití settled with Arawakan speaking groups, but the three above-named tribes were their closest neighbors. The remnants of a disbanded group might also join villages in which they had close kin or personal relationships. A later report by the Srs. Villas Boas, who maintained the recently established airstrip of the Fundação Brasil Central, stated that, as in the case of the Trumaí, the Yaulapití have reconstituted themselves as a group by the establishment of a one-house village.[18] Clearly, except for the peace that has reigned since the airfield was built, a village of some twenty-five people would not be secure from attack. But while the chances of survival are still far from good, the initiation of such a project shows the eagerness of the participants to preserve their social identity.

The main purposes of warfare in the region are to capture women, take loot, and exact revenge. Captive-taking has a clear economic basis in the sporadic warfare between the Suyá and Waurá, as the Suyá capture Waurá women for their knowledge of pottery-making. Among the tribes of the *uluri* area proper, however, this is not done. Arawakan women are married, but Quain's notes indicate that they do not practice pottery-making in their new villages.

It is possible that male and female captives are taken by upper Xingú groups from tribes outside the region to bolster their waning numerical strength, but infanticide and abortion are also present in the area. However, captives do not have to be reared from infancy, and do not constitute the same strain on the economy that children do. It is also

[17] De Lima 1949, p. 25.

[18] This information was obtained verbally from Dr. Eduardo Galvão. Cf. Oberg 1953, p. 4.

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was one of the most attractive women in the village. Their marital life, however, was not always smooth. She was unusually possessive, and he was said to have thrashed her severely once for infidelity. Also, he felt some resentment for the infanticides she had committed at the birth of two of their children.

Aloari, his wife, and his brother Tun were not typical of the Trumaí. In addition to the closeness of Aloari's marriage there was a strong attachment between the two brothers. None of the three participated fully in the community social life. The small in-group formed by the family probably had much to do with the strength of the marriage.

The usual cause of quarrels was adultery. Wives generally obeyed their husbands, but since each had his or her own clearly understood duties to perform, it was seldom necessary for a husband to exert authority. The women, however, did influence their husbands to some extent. Quain was told by a few men that they would not be able to go to the Indian post with him because their wives wanted them to stay at home.

All but one Trumaí marriage was monogamous. The plural union consisted of Jakwanari and two sisters. A number of men wanted second wives, and Aloari told Quain of a plan to go to the Suyá to capture women. Judging from the Trumaí's fear of the Suyá, this was probably sheer bravado. Several attempts were made by some of the men, however, to take one of the two eligible village women as a second wife. These efforts were all balked by the first wife, who ultimately decided whether her husband might have a second wife and, if so, who it would be. Yumununwa flatly refused to allow Aloari to take her own sister as a wife. Kuyafi had been Nitvary's second bride for only two days, when his first wife drove her from the house in a fit of temper. Wives were obviously jealous of their monogamous position, but if a second wife was suitable, she might be allowed to stay.

Jakwanari's two wives got along well, but the second, Kamiha, accepted a decidedly subordinate role. Jakwanari's closest relationship was with Tsuku, the first wife, who also owned all the family utensils. On one occasion Kamiha had a quarrel with one of the men. She quickly retired from the fray when he called her a "second Tsuku." Jakwanari's hammock hung across those of his wives, but nothing is known of their sexual relations.

Quain was told that in polygamous marriages it was preferable to take two sisters. However, even a sister might not be accepted by the first wife, as Aloari's situation shows, although a man had sexual rights over his wife's sister as long as she remained unmarried. One man beat his wife's sister for refusing him sexual favors, and his action was approved by the other men. Women, however, were jealous of their husbands, and did not approve of these or any other extra-marital connections.

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tention of marriage. But an intention of marriage did not insure exclusive sexual rights. The man usually continued to get gratification wherever he could find it. The knowledge of his other liaisons did not particularly disturb his bride-to-be, as she herself may well have been receiving attentions from other lovers. After marriage, such transgressions were not so readily tolerated.

The chief obstacles in the way of the marriage-bent Trumaí swain were the necessity to shout down his rivals and gain the approval and consent of the girl's kinsmen. The woman's consent was not necessary in making the marriage, and she usually remained aloof, waiting to see who won. If, however, she was not pleased with the mate to whom she was awarded, she was free to leave him. And this she often did. While Quain was in the village, there were marriages that lasted only a day or two due to the bride's dissatisfaction.

In addition to the arguments that precede most marriages, the man was expected to go through certain formalities. He went to the girl's mother and stated his intentions. If the girl had no mother, he approached the nearest male relative. In order to gain the favor of her kinsmen, he distributed gifts, the most important to the girl's mother, others to her father, siblings, and her mother's brother. The gift to the latter was especially important, as he was the one who formally gave the woman, or as the Trumaí phrase it, "spreads her legs." Gifts were also given the girl, culminating with a present of fish. In the meantime the girl made an especially fine hammock which she gave to the groom.

If everything was accepted, the man was free to take the girl to his house. The wedding was preceded by a fishing expedition in which nearly all the men participated, and by a wrestling match for which the groom was beautifully painted. The women held a trade game. The actual ceremony consisted of nothing more than the woman's moving into the house of her mate. A male relative carried her hammock to his home.

This was the way weddings should have been conducted in the Trumaí village. Actually, they were even less formal, especially in the case of second wives in polygamous unions. Marriage and sex preoccupied the Trumaí, for there were not enough women to go around; but even the few formal acts involved interested the Trumaí little. If the marriage was durable, the couple settled down and had children. After marriage and the birth of children no great change occurred in their positions in the community until they reached old age.

Old Age

Everyone in the village was classified as "younger" or "older." The men were either *axosek* (younger) or *tdakek* (older), while the terms for the women were, respectively, *axosektsa* and *tdakits*. These were not age

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577 831 833 156 123 Yanahi was less inhibited than any of the other men, but his behavior was not considered shocking or immoral. Quain had apparently arrived at the village just at the time that Yanahi was on the threshold of sexual experience. He appeared in Quain's house one night to show that he had an erection and announced that he would soon be having coitus. Thereafter, he rarely failed to tell Quain of his exploits. One night quite a crowd, including Yanahi and one of his paramours, Vatsiat, was gathered in Quain's house. The young man suddenly developed a longing for her and, as soon as all the visitors had left, satisfied his craving noisily amidst Quain's pots and pans. He was proud of his virility, as were most of the Trumaí men.

577 831 562 837 No discredit attached to the male involved in a love affair and very little to the woman. Oirupa merely scolded his sister for having copulated with Yanahi. Only where adultery was involved did promiscuity lower the status of a woman. Chastity before marriage was not expected, and there was not a single virgin in the village over the age of puberty. Older women without husbands or close relatives to protect them were often used for sexual purposes against their will. This was especially the case with unmarried foreign women. Some of them complained that they had to dispense their favors to too many men too often.

831 152 583 [123] This aggressiveness and the danger of bride-capture made the women extremely fearful of being raped, and, as noted above, they were uneasy even when the threats were made in fun. One morning Quain decided to get rid of his numerous female visitors by employing this device. They all fled except one, who, despite her seeming courage, looked worried. Without doubt, the women enjoyed visiting Quain, but a man told him that if he were to have intercourse with any one of them, they would all fear him. Over and above this fear of rape, there [578] was a definite hostility between the sexes, which was usually well controlled, but which on occasion might explode in open quarrels between the men and the women.

576 514 827 No cumbersome taboos surrounded physiological functions. Belching and the release of flatus were common in company, but generally disregarded. However, if an unusually unpleasant odor followed, those nearby spat on the ground as a mark of disgust. The men urinated near their houses or at the edge of the village plaza. The women went to the edge of the village clearing or behind the houses. Both sexes went a short distance into the brush to defecate, but at night elimination was permitted in the village plaza if a hole was first dug for this purpose and covered over.

There was no salacious attitude toward body processes. The Trumaí were puzzled by Quain's desire for privacy in his personal habits and his curiosity about other people's. One woman seriously asked if she could watch him eliminate.

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Visits might be made to obtain a bride, engage in trade, participate in some intertribal ceremony, or for a combination of any of these reasons. Most visits were ostensibly of a purely social nature, but they were also used to frighten and impress. Stealing was frequent, especially when the host tribe, like the Trumaí, was weak. The Trumaí rarely protested against thefts while the visitors were still in the village, although they vehemently expressed their indignation later. Such discretion was due more to fear than etiquette.

The inferior position of the Trumaí was most evident when visitors were in the village. The Kamayurá, especially, treated the Trumaí with arrogance and contempt. At times they would enter the Trumaí village without having built the customary warning fire. The Trumaí, on the other hand, did everything possible to please their visitors and prove their generosity and good will toward them. Quain was berated by the Trumaí chief for being too niggardly toward the Kamayurá, and he found that greater respect was accorded to the Kamayurá chief than to either himself or the Trumaí chief. The Kamayurá felt slighted that Quain had not visited them instead of the contemptible Trumaí, and, when Quain went to meet the visiting Kamayurá chief, the latter turned away with an air of bored indifference.

The Kamayurá chief was immediately given a stool to sit on and was plied with cigarettes. When he threw one away after a few puffs, he was promptly given another. Deference was also paid to ordinary Kamayurá, although to a lesser degree. Once when such a member came to the Trumaí village alone, the man who received him rushed to Quain's house to borrow a chair in order to reach some tobacco which had been placed on a high shelf. He was in a great hurry, for it would not be good to keep his guest waiting.

This behavior stands in sharp contrast to a visit to the Kamayurá village made by Quain and a party of Trumaí. The chief delegated their reception to his brother. No special attention was paid to them, although the villagers were active and industrious in an apparent effort to impress. The Trumaí were not even asked to sit on the log in the village center.

Due to the extensive intertribal relations, command of a language besides one's own is common in the area generally. But since Trumaí is an independent tongue and the number of Trumaí small, it is probable that multilingual people were more frequent among them than in other tribes. Their "second" language was usually Kamayurá, but few outsiders spoke Trumaí, although more understood it. When Kamayurá came to visit, conversation was ordinarily in their tongue. Of the three foreign women in the Trumaí village, only the Suyá woman could speak even a broken Trumaí. Since the Suyá had no peaceful relations with the tribes of the headwaters, the Gê language was not widely known there. The other two foreign women merely understood Trumaí.

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626 828 154 On these occasions the men usually unburdened themselves in the village center. Malice was expressed either by a verbal interchange with the opponent or an angry speech. The substance of the latter type of demonstration often was not related to the cause of the dispute or to the speaker's discontent. Manifestly, the function of the harangue was to provide an emotional outlet rather than a forum. Maibu's suggestion that Quain should make a speech in his own language underlines the fact that the externalization of anger was the paramount purpose.

154 626 123 Emotional release could also be found in contrived performances. Quain, feeling depressed one evening, refused to sing when the Trumaí asked him to. However, when Maibu proposed a mock argument, Quain, being a good ethnologist, complied. Facing each other in the village center, the two men hurled epithets and insults at each other at the top of their voices. When Quain was at a loss for something to say, Maibu suggested that he repeat a speech he had made about the theft of his supplies. At the conclusion Quain reported, "I felt very good when I shouted at him for a while, and I was quite willing to sing."

683 692 In cases of physical harm, settlement could be obtained by paying the injured person. Quain was told that after the spear-throwing contest, the Kamayurá and the Trumaí each paid indemnities for bruises inflicted.[9] No case of physical violence was observed by Quain, but when [173] he slapped the flour from the boy's hand, and again when he stepped on a child's foot, the Trumaí suggested that he pay something. The latter case was an obvious attempt at petty extortion, for a week later the same child had his foot stepped on by a Trumaí, but this time the only result was an admonition from his father to be quiet.

626 754 [186] Still another alternative to violence was found in witchcraft. Only one or two Trumaí knew the practice of sorcery, and these men were said to have learned it from the Nahukwa, who were much feared because of their dangerous skill. Sorcery was usually invoked covertly, but at least once in an argument its use was openly threatened. This, however, was regarded as a most reprehensible action.

578 154 The chief source of conflict in the village was sex. Quarrels over who was to marry the three available women raged throughout Quain's stay. Bride-capture, the large percentage of older women, and polygamy combined to make the allotment of women an extremely sore point. The story of the battle over one woman is worth reporting, as it illustrates both patterned interpersonal relationships and the ways in which anger could be expressed and channeled.

578 584 154 Three men wanted to marry Kuyafi, a widow with a child. They were Oirupa the sorcerer, Mayuva, her sister's husband, and Nitvary. Kuyafi, it was said, had once had a child by Nitvary, so his claim was a strong one. So also was Mayuva's, as he had recognized sexual rights over her

[9] Cf. Galvão 1950, p. 363.

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because she was his sister-in-law. Mayuva, however, was afraid of Nitvary, as the latter had close ties with the Kamayurá and had threatened Mayuva with witchcraft at their hands. After Nitvary returned from a trip to the Kamayurá village, Mayuva complained of severe headaches and said he was going to die. Although he denied to Quain that his condition was due to Kamayurá sorcery, the threats against him apparently had the desired result: a short time later Kuyafi moved into Nitvary's house. The union last only two days, for Nitvary's jealous wife drove her out in a fit of anger. The field, it would seem, was clear for Oirupa, the third suitor.

Oirupa, however, had been trying to marry Kuyafi for years. Her father, Matiwana, refused to give his consent and Oirupa, in revenge, was said to have killed two of Matiwana's children by witchcraft. Relations between their families were understandably strained, and they were further aggravated by the marriage of Matiwana's son Yati and Oirupa's sister Kerami, which occurred during Quain's stay. This union was unhappy and short-lived. When Kerami left him, Yati and his father held Oirupa and his co-resident affinals, Tun and Aloari, responsible. Yati bitterly asserted that he (and Matiwana) would go to live among his mother's people, the Kuikuru of the upper Kuluene. There, he said, women were much easier to get.

With this background of conflict and suspicion, it is not surprising that the quarrel again broke out in earnest when Oirupa tried to seduce Kuyafi. Angered by her rejection he threw *piqui* pits at her. In the afternoon Matiwana spoke out against Oirupa from his house. (This was proper behavior, since a parent is expected to take his offspring's part in such disputes.) That evening the two men indulged in the usual loud shouting and wrestled with barely restrained hostility. Kuyafi added her bit from the house as did another of Matiwana's daughters. The other men pretended indifference. Yati remained silent, although he was vitally interested in the dispute; for, besides being Matiwana's son, he was involved in an enduring respect relationship with his former brother-in-law, even after his marriage was dissolved. Public opinion, however, was on the side of Matiwana, for Oirupa had committed an offense by hitting Kuyafi with the pits, and he had also threatened to use witchcraft. To this last Matiwana tauntingly replied that had Oirupa's witchcraft been really effective, he would have been dead long ago. As of the time Quain left the Trumaí, Kuyafi's future was still undecided.

The Men's Circle

The men's circle served a number of functions. It was the place in which initiated males gathered, talked, argued, and smoked. It was not taboo to young boys, as it was to women, but youngsters rarely joined

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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compartment in the house for six months, at the end of which time she is accepted as a young woman.[3]

Menstruation caused no special distress to the Trumaí women. They maintained personal cleanliness with the aid of leaves, going out into the brush behind the house to care for themselves. Although the relevant taboos were observed, the women talked frankly to Quain about menstruation, and were interested in learning what white women did during the period. The men, although expressing a fear of menstrual blood, did not shun the subject either. Most of them knew when women in the village were having their menses.

Everyone was extremely shocked when Quain told them that white people often had intercourse during the menstrual period, for such contact would make a Trumaí man fall ill and die. Aloari said that he would surely die of a cough if he copulated with his wife then. The blood itself was considered malignant, infecting whatever it touched. The whole village became very disturbed when Kuyafi dropped some menstrual blood on the path to the gardens. Aloari averred that he would not go for manioc until the rain washed it away.

Fear of polluting forced a menstruating woman to make frequent trips to the weeds, where nobody walked. The danger also extended to her person. During this time she was not allowed to cook, although she could sit around the fire when food was being prepared. (Quain's departure from the Trumaí village was delayed for a day as both the wife and sister-in-law of Aloari, who was to accompany him, were menstruating, and there was only one woman left in the household to make his *beijú* supply.) Nor could the menstruating woman carry water or take a bath. However, a prohibition on eating fish was the only food taboo that she had to observe.

Marriage

A man was ready to seek a mate within one or two years after his initiation, or at the corresponding age level. Women were suitable prospects soon after their puberty rites. It was common for marriages to be arranged by parents while their children were still infants. These infant betrothals were usually between cross-cousins. It is doubtful, however, whether many such arranged marriages were consummated, both because of the high mortality and the fact that most of the Trumaí women were ultimately fought for and won by verbal battles in the men's circle.

Courtships were neither long nor formalized. When a man developed an interest in a woman, he usually expressed it by attempting to seduce her. In most instances, amorous advances were made without any in-

[3] Rodrigues Ferreira 1946, p. 92.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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tention of marriage. But an intention of marriage did not insure exclusive sexual rights. The man usually continued to get gratification wherever he could find it. The knowledge of his other liaisons did not particularly disturb his bride-to-be, as she herself may well have been receiving attentions from other lovers. After marriage, such transgressions were not so readily tolerated.

The chief obstacles in the way of the marriage-bent Trumaí swain were the necessity to shout down his rivals and gain the approval and consent of the girl's kinsmen. The woman's consent was not necessary in making the marriage, and she usually remained aloof, waiting to see who won. If, however, she was not pleased with the mate to whom she was awarded, she was free to leave him. And this she often did. While Quain was in the village, there were marriages that lasted only a day or two due to the bride's dissatisfaction.

In addition to the arguments that precede most marriages, the man was expected to go through certain formalities. He went to the girl's mother and stated his intentions. If the girl had no mother, he approached the nearest male relative. In order to gain the favor of her kinsmen, he distributed gifts, the most important to the girl's mother, others to her father, siblings, and her mother's brother. The gift to the latter was especially important, as he was the one who formally gave the woman, or as the Trumaí phrase it, "spreads her legs." Gifts were also given the girl, culminating with a present of fish. In the meantime the girl made an especially fine hammock which she gave to the groom.

If everything was accepted, the man was free to take the girl to his house. The wedding was preceded by a fishing expedition in which nearly all the men participated, and by a wrestling match for which the groom was beautifully painted. The women held a trade game. The actual ceremony consisted of nothing more than the woman's moving into the house of her mate. A male relative carried her hammock to his home.

This was the way weddings should have been conducted in the Trumaí village. Actually, they were even less formal, especially in the case of second wives in polygamous unions. Marriage and sex preoccupied the Trumaí, for there were not enough women to go around; but even the few formal acts involved interested the Trumaí little. If the marriage was durable, the couple settled down and had children. After marriage and the birth of children no great change occurred in their positions in the community until they reached old age.

Old Age

Everyone in the village was classified as "younger" or "older." The men were either *axosek* (younger) or *tdakek* (older), while the terms for the women were, respectively, *axosektso* and *tdakits*. These were not age

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Divorce and Adultery

The polygynous unions were extremely brittle. In two cases observed by Quain, they lasted only a few days. In both instances the first wife was responsible for the break-up. The bonds of the second marriage of a plural mating were loose, for Jakwanari's second wife had sexual relations with several Trumaí men with apparent impunity. Such behavior would have been dealt with severely by a husband had his first wife been involved. Divorces also occurred in monogamous marriages; they entailed little more than telling the wife to leave. After the birth of their son, Oirupa sent his Mehinaku wife back to her village and kept the child. The right of the father's village over the children seems to have been general in the area, for Autu had a son by a Waurá husband, whom the Waurá refused to give to the Trumaí.

There is no recorded instance of adultery precipitating a divorce, although this probably occurred. However, the usual procedure was for the injured husband to beat his wife and make a lengthy and heated speech against the offending suitor. The wife of an adulterous husband showed anger toward his paramour and did not speak to her. Hair pulling resulted in some cases. The husband's behavior was viewed as reprehensible by the wife, but she took no action against him. One wife even chuckled a bit over her husband's adventures, although jealousy is the more usual response.

Due to the threat of punishment, the married women engaged far less in extra-marital relations than did their husbands. Both married and unmarried men sought out unattached women, but instances of married men in such liaisons were less numerous. The younger married men and Maibu, the chief, seemed to have been the chief offenders. The latter complained to Quain that all the women in the village were prohibited to him, as they were his wife's cross-cousins. Neither his genealogy nor his activities bore him out, and he often approached the single women and Jakwanari's second wife when the other men were out of the village. Everyone conceded that, although Maibu's wife had not reached menopause, she was "too old." Thus they rationalized his escapades.

The instability of the nuclear family and the vicissitudes to which it was exposed were alleviated by household and kin distribution and by the interdependence of co-resident relatives of the opposite sex for sexually specialized goods and services. These arrangements made possible the economic workability of Trumaí culture. The conjugal family was basic to the culture, however, and marriage was highly desirable to the Trumaí. Despite the shortage of available women and the conflicts which stemmed from it, sex relations between unmarried persons were free and easy and subject to little or no public censure, except insofar as they encroached on the interests of others. Incest

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One of the widows was married during Quain's sojourn, but the other two were considered too old. One of the unmarried women subsequently took a mate, but the other, who had a clubfoot, was thought to be too old and ugly for marriage, although several men had sexual relations with her. Two of the unmarried men were probably also considered too old for marriage, a third was seeking a wife, and the fourth showed little interest in obtaining one. Neither the widower nor the divorced man were seeking wives at the time.

All these persons had made some sort of adjustment through their relatives. The incorporation of two of the unmarried men and of one of the widows into Nitvary's household shows how a functional interdependence within the household was achieved, despite the lack of a lineage in residence. Living at one end of the house were two old unmarried men, Yahu and Yakuma. At the other end were Nitvary, his wife Kaiti, his widowed mother Fayeru, and his young sister Kayaya. Gift-giving and food-sharing went on between all of the people in the house, but the two single men depended most on Fayeru, whom they called "sister," while Nitvary's needs were provided for by his wife. The members of the household were all dependent on each other, as Kaiti alone would have been hard pressed to do woman's work for two more men. Their presence, however, meant more food for the house.

In Aloari's house his unmarried brother Tun provided food for the cooking pots of Aloari's wife Yumununwa, while her brother Oirupa exchanged services with his classificatory sister Yawala, the club-footed woman. By this free flow of food and service, which was especially marked between the sexes, each individual was economically fully functional, and everyone in the household was adequately cared for.

Most of the arguments in the village occurred between members of different houses. Aloari, his brother, and his brother-in-law showed considerable personal antipathy toward Maibu and jealousy of his status as chief. When a serious conflict broke out in the village over a marriage, it took the form of verbal quarrels between members of different houses.

The greater amity between co-residents was due to a number of factors. First, closer kinship ties usually prevailed, second, people on

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582 [186] Quain was told that the Kamayurá were "bad," because they permitted marriage with a sister's daughter.[6]

582 595 837 Cross-cousin marriage is correlated with sororal polygyny among the Trumaí and with the sexual privileges that a man may take with his wife's sister. No indication was found of the sororate, despite its probable acceptability. There was only one case of the levirate, and that was the 587 marriage of the chief to his dead brother's wife. That the levirate is expected but not compulsory is apparent in the case of Yati and his brother's widow Vatsiat. She resided in Yati's house, and they performed [462] many necessary, sexually specialized functions for each other. Although their hammocks were some distance apart, Vatsiat called him *ece* (husband) and became quite incensed at one of his paramours. However, Yati called her *apixi* (sibling), and apparently felt that there were no [831] marital obligations between them. He had his love-life, which did not include her, and he showed no sign of annoyance at her escapades. It was a standing joke that every man in the village had sexual relations with Vatsiat, except where an incest taboo prohibited it.

582 584 835 Marriage between people of different generations, especially between older women and younger men, was frequent; but the rules governing such unions are obscure. It was specifically frowned upon for a man to marry his mother's brother's widow. However, when one young man did so, he was only mildly ridiculed and censured, and his status in the village was little affected.

Joking Relations

587 602 831 Cross-cousins were not the only acceptable marriage partners, but they were the only ones with whom marriage was expected and especially approved. Also, patterned and expected joking existed only between these kin. Cross-cousins of the same sex, especially males, bantered with each other, but most sexual joking occurred between men and women. Thus, Aloari enjoyed making suggestive remarks to the rather old and ugly Vatsiat and frequently accused her of improprieties with various men. On one occasion, partly for Quain's benefit, he threw her on her back and went through the motions of coitus.

602 605 831 Cross-cousins of the same sex confined their joking to pranks and good-natured raillery, *ami tarajau*, which Quain translates as "cross-cousin talk." Mayuva teased Yati, who had a phobia of frogs, by chasing after him with a frog hanging from a stick. Both men and women made great sport of urging Quain to throw their cross-cousins out of his house. 123 602 831 On one occasion, Quain, experimentally, made sexual suggestions to several women who had congregated in his house. They all ran out laughing shrilly, but one came back later to be reassured that it was

[6] Cf. Oberg 1953, p. 44.

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cumbent upon the males was a prohibition against wearing body paint for several months after the death. This ban extended to women, also. In addition, the female mourner could not sing in any of the ceremonies, and she cut her hair immediately after the death. Marriage was also forbidden her during the mourning period. (Autu came under censure as she had married her dead husband's sister's son — which at any time was reprehensible — even though her hair, cut when he died, had not yet grown back.) The woman was also required to wail occasionally for the dead person during the time of mourning, and she made flat mud discs, about one inch high, in the village center. Quain never found out the reason for this, although Kayaru made several of these markers for her dead brother. No special reverence or respect was given to the markers as they were usually demolished during the wrestling matches.

Recreation and Amusement

Trading sessions have been referred to as "games" because they are a form of amusement, but this appellation is in a way misleading, as the economic aspect of the "trade game" is very important. Actually, except for the intertribal spear-throwing contest, the only organized recreation is wrestling, and this is immensely popular throughout the whole upper Xingú area.[4] Wrestling matches were especially frequent during intertribal visits and ceremonials. These occasions aroused keen interest, and competitive spirits ran high, but the onlookers made it a point of etiquette to show no partisanship, and the contestants made every effort to conceal latent intertribal hostility. They were always friendly to each other, and at the end of the match they exchanged a friendly embrace. This was not necessary between fellow Trumaí or close kinsmen of different villages. The most effusive behavior was always shown toward those who were most disliked and mistrusted.

Wrestling matches always took place in the afternoon. All that was needed to start a match was a quorum of four or five men. These small bouts were usually informal and more in the nature of practice than competitive contests. When most of the men were in the village the contests attracted more attention and required more preparation. Bodies were painted and arm and leg bands were worn. The hair was usually combed and plastered down.

The men lined up on the log in the men's circle or brought stools. The women and young boys watched from the periphery. Uninitiated boys were not allowed to take part in the men's wrestling, but the older ones were generally permitted to sit with the men.

Each wrestler tried for a grip by grabbing at the body of the other. A variant of the half-Nelson was frequently attempted. The match

[4] Cf. Galvão 1949, p. 44.

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Recent ethnographic researches have for the most part concentrated upon the Kamayurá (Galvão 1949, 1950, and 1952; Oberg 1953), the Waurá (de Lima 1949, 1950), and the Kuikuru (Robert Carneiro and Gertrude E. Dole, unpublished). Only incidentally have these observers commented upon the Trumaí. Therefore, in 1953 when I had the opportunity to spend a little time in the upper Xingú area, I made a point of remaining a few days with the remants of the Trumaí. They were camped temporarily at Karajaja, the old village site, on a lake about half a mile away from the Kuluene River; their permanent houses were then at Anariatan, near the village site during Quain's visit. It was the dry season and the Trumaí were fishing. There were only 24 persons in the group — six adult males, ten adult females, four boys and four girls. Three of the women were unmarried widows, and there was one unmarried girl just past puberty. The chieftain whose current name was Ilitoari (no doubt the Aloari of Quain's notes), was married to two sisters, and there were four monogamous families. Two of the men were old and unmarried. Thus, the Trumaí were again united as a village (they had disbanded for a while). In 1953, however, there were not even enough men for the Trumaí to participate in the intertribal spear-throwing contests, a sport in which they had once been famous throughout the area.

The process of steady social and cultural disintegration and depopulation, which was already apparent among the Trumaí in 1938, has been a continuing one; and it is only a question of a very short time before these people cease to exist as a separate tribal group. Thus, the information and insights that Robert Murphy has brought together from Buell Quain's field work may be all that we shall ever have on Trumaí life and society.

Columbia University CHARLES WAGLEY
February 1955

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significant that Aloari, probably the most aggressive person in the village, was often an organizer and always a main participant in the games. On the other hand, he never cooperated in group work.

This conventionalized form of exchange, which Quain called the trade game, had a strong functional role in Trumaí culture, but there are indications that it was of outside origin. One informant said that it was a Bakairí custom, and Quain thought that the "game" might have been introduced by Bakairí traders bringing goods from the Indian post on the Paranatinga River.[1]

The Household

Among both the Waurá and the Kamayurá the extended family occupied its own house, and the head of the lineage was considered a sub-chief of the village.[2] Such unilocal, co-resident and extended family groupings, which were typical among tribes of the upper Xingú, were absent in the Trumaí village.

Consanguineally close male relatives usually formed co-resident units, but these nucleii of kinsmen were very small and did not constitute an entire household. Furthermore, they were related to each other through male or female lines. Due to village patrilocality, there was a tendency for patrilineally related males to live together, but this did not result in the establishment of a patrilineal lineage for several reasons. Among them the high death rate was very important.

Maibu's house illustrates the eclectic nature of the Trumaí household. Four nuclear families, totaling fourteen people, lived in it. Hanging their hammocks from one of the two center posts were Katauka, his son Kamkuti, his brother's son Autsuki, and another brother's son and his wife. At the opposite end of the house were Maibu and his wife, the wife's son by Maibu's deceased brother, Maibu's sister Ayenuke, Makurawa, a classificatory sister's son, and Makurawa's wife and their three children. Although everyone in the household was related, bonds were closer between those people who hung their hammocks from the same post.

Despite the fact that the household, as a unit, had no specific functions, it established the framework within which certain interpersonal dependencies were worked out. Bride-capture, intertribal warfare, divorce, and early death caused a significant proportion of the Trumaí to be temporarily or permanently without mates. This disadvantage was

[1] The trade game was possibly borrowed from the Bakairí, as its existence among this group has been reported by Oberg (1953, p. 72). However, craft specialization and trade on the upper Xingú predates the Indian post. Cf. von den Steinen 1897, pp. 166, 207.

[2] De Lima (1950, p. 9.) reports this arrangement among the Waurá, and Oberg (1953, p. 45.) adds that the position of house chief tends to pass in the male line in the Kamayurá village.

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Intermarriage

648 Despite occasional semi-hostile encounters between the upper Xingú groups, most contacts within the area are peaceful. Intermarriage is [591] common, and, since patrilocality is general, the wives are usually brought back to the village of the groom. There are, however, exceptions to this rule. For instance, if the man has strong enough kinship ties with the bride's village, he may stay there. This was true in the case of a member of the Trumaí village who was half Kamayurá. [167] Friction with one's fellow tribesmen can also lead to a move to another [598] village, as in the case of a Trumaí man and his wife who went to live with the Kamayurá because they believed that someone in their own group was practicing witchcraft against them.

602 One result of this mixing process, in addition to its obvious function 648 as a mechanism of diffusion, is that all of the upper Xingú groups are cross-cut by ties of kinship. Nearly every man on the Kuliseu River knows all others so located, and they are often related. Most of the extra-tribal kin ties of the Trumaí were with the Kamayurá and Mehinaku, but they also extended to many other villages of the area. For reasons not fully explored by Quain, the chief contacts of the Trumaí were with Tupian and Arawakan groups, especially those of the Kuliseu River. Little mention is found in Quain's notes of the Cariban tribes of the Kuluene River.

602 Kinship ties were probably responsible for the preference shown by 648 certain Trumaí men for particular tribes. While most men said that 186 the Kamayurá were "bad," a few claimed that they were really "good" and that the other tribes were the ones to be feared. One day a fire was sighted which, it was decided, had been lit by the Yuruna. A man having kinsmen among them left the village to tell them of his presence there and so prevent an attack. The alarm in this instance proved false.

648 Another basis for preference was past residence with a tribe, even as 186 a captive. However, if there was gossip of an attack by some tribe, even those most kindly disposed toward the potential enemy would become nervous and seek out their bows and arrows.

648 There was a great deal of friendly visiting between villages. The host 574 village was expected to provide food for their guests, but if women were brought, they joined in the women's work of preparing it. In the afternoon the men traded with each other and engaged in wrestling [517] contests. At night, singing, shamanism and speech-making were in order in the men's circle. Tobacco and large quantities of food were passed around at all times. If the visitors were staying overnight, they [602] slept in the house of their closest kinsman. The latter was also expected to greet them upon arrival and act as their host during their stay.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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421 437 524 [156] 527 It was

significant that Aloari, probably the most aggressive person in the village, was often an organizer and always a main participant in the games. On the other hand, he never cooperated in group work.

This conventionalized form of exchange, which Quain called the trade game, had a strong functional role in Trumaí culture, but there are indications that it was of outside origin. One informant said that it was [177] a Bakairí custom, and Quain thought that the "game" might have been introduced by Bakairí traders bringing goods from the Indian post on the Paranatinga River.[1]

The Household

171 596 622

Among both the Waurá and the Kamayurá the extended family occupied its own house, and the head of the lineage was considered a sub-chief of the village.[2] Such unilocal, co-resident and extended family groupings, which were typical among tribes of the upper Xingú, were absent in the Trumaí village.

592 613 [591] [165]

Consanguineally close male relatives usually formed co-resident units, but these nuclei of kinsmen were very small and did not constitute an entire household. Furthermore, they were related to each other through male or female lines. Due to village patrilocality, there was a tendency for patrilineally related males to live together, but this did not result in the establishment of a patrilineal lineage for several reasons. Among them the high death rate was very important.

592 594

Maibu's house illustrates the eclectic nature of the Trumaí household. Four nuclear families, totaling fourteen people, lived in it. Hanging their hammocks from one of the two center posts were Katauka, his son Kamkuti, his brother's son Autsuki, and another brother's son and his wife. At the opposite end of the house were Maibu and his wife, the wife's son by Maibu's deceased brother, Maibu's sister Ayenuke, Makurawa, a classificatory sister's son, and Makurawa's wife and their three children. Although everyone in the household was related, bonds were closer between those people who hung their hammocks from the same post.

589 592 182

Despite the fact that the household, as a unit, had no specific functions, it established the framework within which certain interpersonal dependencies were worked out. Bride-capture, intertribal warfare, divorce, and early death caused a significant proportion of the Trumaí to be temporarily or permanently without mates. This disadvantage was

[177] [1] The trade game was possibly borrowed from the Bakairí, as its existence among this group has been reported by Oberg (1953, p. 72). However, craft specialization and trade on the upper Xingú predates the Indian post. Cf. von den Steinen 1897, pp. 198, 207.

[2] De Lima (1950, p. 9.) reports this arrangement among the Waurá, and Oberg (1953, p. 45.) adds that the position of house chief tends to pass in the male line in the Kamayurá village.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The plaza was the center of Trumaí social life. Here guests were entertained, ceremonials and wrestling matches were held, and the men gathered daily. Although the women might sit in front of their houses and watch these activities, they were not allowed to come near the log bench, even when the men were not there. The plaza of the Trumaí village was also used as the burying ground.

A short distance north of the circle of houses, on the path to the two main garden clearings of the Trumaí, was another smaller clearing used during the *ole*, or manioc, ceremonies. Other paths radiated outward from the village to the other gardens and to nearby groves of *piquí* trees. Quain noticed that the paths leading to the Kamayurá village were much broader and cleaner. The Kamayurá were proud of their paths and kept them in good condition. Their plaza was also clearer of weeds and trash than that of the Trumaí.

Of the four completed houses in the village, two were as large as those of the Kamayurá, but the other two, which were much smaller, were considered by Quain's informants to be genuinely Trumaí in type. Insofar as is known, the details of the construction and shape of all four were substantially the same. They had an elliptical floor plan and were haystack-shaped. Although the side walls were only four feet high, the roof attained a height of fifteen feet. The silhouette of the house was an almost smooth curve from ridge pole to ground. The frame was covered with a grass thatch. There were no windows, and a single entry opened on the plaza.

Each family occupied its own section of the house and had its own fireplace. Personal belongings hung from the walls and ceilings or were placed on small shelves. Hammocks were hung between the side wall posts and the two center posts, the woman's hammock beneath that of her husband. Except for two nuclear families that screened off their sections with blankets and cloth given them by Quain, there was no internal division of the house.

The two largest garden clearings were situated respectively about one mile northeast and one mile northwest of the village. Three small ones were located southeast of the settlement. In order of size, the gardens were named Nariatan, Waniwanitan, Anariatan, Tan Toreake, and Tandatake. Nariatan, the largest, contained, by Quain's rough calculation, approximately seven acres divided into ten plots, representing the gardens of seven men. One plot contained two acres, but the average garden varied between one-fourth and one acre in size. One of the men had erected a temporary thatch shelter in his plot, providing protection from the sun, but not from the rain. Inside there was only a basket of manioc flour, a rack for cooking fish, and a large shallow pot into which manioc was grated. This was the sole garden shelter Quain saw, and, significantly, it belonged to the most industrious horticulturist in the village.

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mitigated by intra-household sharing and the performance of services, normally done by mates, by co-resident relatives of the opposite sex. In this way unmarried persons could be integrated within the Trumai economy.

Among the twenty-eight persons of marriage age in the Trumai village, there were only eight unions involving seventeen persons. The eleven unmarried included one widower with a young child, one divorced man with a child, three widows with children, four unmarried men, and two unmarried women.

One of the widows was married during Quain's sojourn, but the other two were considered too old. One of the unmarried women subsequently took a mate, but the other, who had a clubfoot, was thought to be too old and ugly for marriage, although several men had sexual relations with her. Two of the unmarried men were probably also considered too old for marriage, a third was seeking a wife, and the fourth showed little interest in obtaining one. Neither the widower nor the divorced man were seeking wives at the time.

All these persons had made some sort of adjustment through their relatives. The incorporation of two of the unmarried men and of one of the widows into Nitvary's household shows how a functional interdependence within the household was achieved, despite the lack of a lineage in residence. Living at one end of the house were two old unmarried men, Yahu and Yakuma. At the other end were Nitvary, his wife Kaiti, his widowed mother Fayeru, and his young sister Kayaya. Gift-giving and food-sharing went on between all of the people in the house, but the two single men depended most on Fayeru, whom they called "sister," while Nitvary's needs were provided for by his wife. The members of the household were all dependent on each other, as Kaiti alone would have been hard pressed to do woman's work for two more men. Their presence, however, meant more food for the house.

In Aloari's house his unmarried brother Tun provided food for the cooking pots of Aloari's wife Yumunuwa, while her brother Oirupa exchanged services with his classificatory sister Yawala, the club-footed woman. By this free flow of food and service, which was especially marked between the sexes, each individual was economically fully functional, and everyone in the household was adequately cared for.

Most of the arguments in the village occurred between members of different houses. Aloari, his brother, and his brother-in-law showed considerable personal antipathy toward Maibu and jealousy of his status as chief. When a serious conflict broke out in the village over a marriage, it took the form of verbal quarrels between members of different houses.

The greater amity between co-residents was due to a number of factors. First, closer kinship ties usually prevailed, second, people on

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The Nuclear Family

594 Despite the importance of the household and the bilateral consanguineal group, the nuclear family, consisting of man, wife, and children, was still the basic unit of Trumaí society and economy. The biological family could provide nearly all the necessities of life within the previously outlined framework of individualized production and division of labor between the sexes.

The responsibilities of child-rearing fell largely on the nuclear family. The Trumaí showed a fondness for children, and it was not unusual for other adults in the house to play with them and watch over them; but the chief attention came from the parents, and the dependence of the young upon the father and mother was stronger than upon the rest of the household.

[513] 593 The conjugal group had its own hearth near which its hammocks were strung. Very young children slept with the mother or, if motherless, with the father. Couples were companionable and spent much of their leisure time with each other. It was common for a man and wife to sit in the shade of their house in the afternoon while he made arrows and she worked in a hammock. At other times the couple would go on a short gathering trip, or just idle around the house. Embraces or mild sex play [832] often occurred in public between younger mates.

593 156 Some unions were closer than others. Aloari and his wife Yumunuwa spent more time together and showed more affection than did other couples. They were both young; he was virile and aggressive, and she

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Divorce and Adultery

595 The polygynous unions were extremely brittle. In two cases observed
586 by Quain, they lasted only a few days. In both instances the first wife
was responsible for the break-up. The bonds of the second marriage of a
[837] plural mating were loose, for Jakwanari's second wife had sexual re-
lations with several Trumaí men with apparent impunity. Such behavior
would have been dealt with severely by a husband had his first wife
586 been involved. Divorces also occurred in monogamous marriages; they
entailed little more than telling the wife to leave. After the birth of
their son, Oirupa sent his Mehinaku wife back to her village and kept
the child. The right of the father's village over the children seems to have
been general in the area, for Autu had a son by a Waurá husband,
whom the Waurá refused to give to the Trumaí.

684 There is no recorded instance of adultery precipitating a divorce,
[586] although this probably occurred. However, the usual procedure was for
the injured husband to beat his wife and make a lengthy and heated
speech against the offending suitor. The wife of an adulterous husband
[578] showed anger toward his paramour and did not speak to her. Hair
pulling resulted in some cases. The husband's behavior was viewed as
reprehensible by the wife, but she took no action against him. One
wife even chuckled a bit over her husband's adventures, although
jealousy is the more usual response.

837 Due to the threat of punishment, the married women engaged far less
in extra-marital relations than did their husbands. Both married and
unmarried men sought out unattached women, but instances of married
men in such liaisons were less numerous. The younger married men and
Maibu, the chief, seemed to have been the chief offenders. The latter
[582] complained to Quain that all the women in the village were prohibited
to him, as they were his wife's cross-cousins. Neither his genealogy nor
his activities bore him out, and he often approached the single women
and Jakwanari's second wife when the other men were out of the village.
Everyone conceded that, although Maibu's wife had not reached meno-
pause, she was "too old." Thus they rationalized his escapades.

105 The instability of the nuclear family and the vicissitudes to which it
571 was exposed were alleviated by household and kin distribution and by
594 the interdependence of co-resident relatives of the opposite sex for
595 sexually specialized goods and services. These arrangements made
possible the economic workability of Trumaí culture. The conjugal
family was basic to the culture, however, and marriage was highly
[836] desirable to the Trumaí. Despite the shortage of available women and
[578] the conflicts which stemmed from it, sex relations between unmarried
persons were free and easy and subject to little or no public censure,
000 except insofar as they encroached on the interests of others. Incest

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pursue their individual affairs. Maibu made speeches in the evening men's circle or in the early morning, telling the men to plant their gardens or urging all to gather *piqui* fruit. Such proddings had little meaning, as they were usually made during the appropriate season for these activities, and most people would have planted or gathered as a matter of course. 622 537

Those who did not choose to do what Maibu suggested went their own way, whether it was to fish or sleep. Maibu was a gadfly; yet he was the conscience of the Trumaí. Perhaps more people would have procrastinated if it had not been for his admonitions. He was truly interested in the good of the village. He asked Quain for presents only for others, never for himself. 622

Cooperative work on the community level was usually organized by Maibu. The decision to perform such work was generally made by common agreement, but it was the chief's function to recruit the necessary labor and see that the task was done. This he did with varying degrees of success, for his power was limited. 622 476

The chief was accorded much more respect by his housemates and close kinsmen than by the rest of the villagers. The people resisted him in varying degrees, depending on their relationship to him and their individual personalities. His control over the women was particularly weak. When Quain first arrived, they refused to carry water for him, despite Maibu's orders. When they realized that they were to be given gifts for their trouble they grudgingly consented to do so, but, in the meantime, the chief had fetched the water, since the performance of such tasks for an outsider was the responsibility of the village as a whole, and no other man would do women's work. 622 592 554 [123] [574] [609]

Referring to the limitations on chiefly powers, Quain noted, "Maibu has to put up with a lot of booing and do a lot of talking. Obedience comes to him only after a long time. He seems to have no 'big stick.'" 622 554

The Trumaí chief had no coercive power whatsoever. This particular headman was not a powerful shaman, although such a combination was possible and would undoubtedly have enhanced his position. The only act of a supernatural nature that he could perform was curing by sucking and blowing smoke, which was practiced by almost every adult Trumaí male. [756] [755]

Maibu was often completely ignored, and some of the men made a point of flouting his authority. The men of Aloari's house were extremely antagonistic toward him and told Quain that he was not a true "*aek*." These men rarely took part in the few group work projects and usually they were also absent from the wrestling matches. Their own prestige motives and individual inclinations brought them into frequent conflict with Maibu, both in his capacity as the man of highest status and as the village goad. Their resentment of authority never resulted in

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APPENDIX

Buell Quain, in a letter to the late Dr. Ruth Benedict written from Brazil on December 21, 1938, summarized several aspects of Trumaí culture which have a direct and immediate bearing on their decline. Following are excerpts of ethnological interest from this letter, which was discovered after this monograph was completed:

"They are a dying culture. Each generation improves its imitation of Kamayurá culture. Everyone in the village knows a few Kamayurá words. Almost all the songs in the manioc fertility ceremony are Kamayurá. Half the people in the village can carry on a conversation in Kamayurá with ease. One household (there are four) uses Kamayurá in preference to Trumaí. The mother of the house owner speaks no Trumaí; she is a Kamayurá woman who has lived with the Trumaí for about twenty-five years. The child of the household, a ten year old girl, confuses Kamayurá kinship terms with Trumaí in classifying the village. All Trumaí women between twenty and forty have been captive wives among the Kamayurá (which puts the Trumaí men in a peculiar position which they fully but fruitlessly resent) .... They have lots of disorganized leisure. They are sleepy (in part because of insects and fear throughout the night). They are ready to imitate not only the Kamayurá, but me, in petty daily habits. No outsider speaks Trumaí.

"There is nobody among them who volunteers information of ethnological value. For three months I dug for structure and got very little... Dullness cannot be attributed to the climate.

"The village is small .... Each of the four households — now five because of a recent split — are organized, or perhaps disorganized, according to different sociological principals. Three of the seventeen women are of foreign birth; one is Kamayurá, one is Mehinaku, and one is Suyá. The first two speak no Trumaí. A fourth woman with ringworm and two sick children is said to be Yaulapití, but she is well set in Trumaí culture. Nobody claims her as a relative (in part because of aversion toward her ringworm); hence she is used as a prostitute by every man in the village — she is the village joke. Among the men, I have found remarkably uniform responses to various 'tests'. (I said 'Draw a picture of a woman and a man.' Every man but one drew the woman first and oriented her in a distinctive way on the paper. The women showed no such regularity. One Kamayurá man tested also lacked this stereotyped response.)

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156
was one of the most attractive women in the village. Their marital 593
life, however, was not always smooth. She was unusually possessive, [837]
and he was said to have thrashed her severely once for infidelity. Also, [847]
he felt some resentment for the infanticides she had committed at the
birth of two of their children.

Aloarí, his wife, and his brother Tun were not typical of the Trumaí. In addition to the closeness of Aloarí's marriage there was a strong attachment between the two brothers. None of the three participated fully in the community social life. The small in-group formed by the family probably had much to do with the strength of the marriage.

The usual cause of quarrels was adultery. Wives generally obeyed 593
their husbands, but since each had his or her own clearly understood [837]
duties to perform, it was seldom necessary for a husband to exert authority. The women, however, did influence their husbands to some extent. Quain was told by a few men that they would not be able to go to the Indian post with him because their wives wanted them to stay at home.

All but one Trumaí marriage was monogamous. The plural union 595
consisted of Jakwanari and two sisters. A number of men wanted second [583]
wives, and Aloarí told Quain of a plan to go to the Suyá to capture women. Judging from the Trumaí's fear of the Suyá, this was probably sheer bravado. Several attempts were made by some of the men, however, to take one of the two eligible village women as a second wife. These efforts were all balked by the first wife, who ultimately decided whether her husband might have a second wife and, if so, who it would be. Yumunuwa flatly refused to allow Aloarí to take her own sister as a wife. Kuyafi had been Nitvary's second bride for only two days, when his first wife drove her from the house in a fit of temper. Wives were obviously jealous of their monogamous position, but if a second wife was suitable, she might be allowed to stay.

Jakwanari's two wives got along well, but the second, Kamiha, accepted a decidedly subordinate role. Jakwanari's closest relationship was with Tsuku, the first wife, who also owned all the family utensils. On one occasion Kamiha had a quarrel with one of the men. She quickly retired from the fray when he called her a "second Tsuku." Jakwanari's hammock hung across those of his wives, but nothing is known of their sexual relations.

Quain was told that in polygamous marriages it was preferable to 595
take two sisters. However, even a sister might not be accepted by the 837
first wife, as Aloarí's situation shows, although a man had sexual rights over his wife's sister as long as she remained unmarried. One man beat his wife's sister for refusing him sexual favors, and his action was approved by the other men. Women, however, were jealous of their husbands, and did not approve of these or any other extra-marital connections.

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because she was his sister-in-law. Mayuva, however, was afraid of Nitvary, as the latter had close ties with the Kamayurá and had threatened Mayuva with witchcraft at their hands. After Nitvary returned from a trip to the Kamayurá village, Mayuva complained of severe headaches and said he was going to die. Although he denied to Quain that his condition was due to Kamayurá sorcery, the threats against him apparently had the desired result: a short time later Kuyafi moved into Nitvary's house. The union last only two days, for Nitvary's jealous wife drove her out in a fit of anger. The field, it would seem, was clear for Oirupa, the third suitor.

Oirupa, however, had been trying to marry Kuyafi for years. Her father, Matiwana, refused to give his consent and Oirupa, in revenge, was said to have killed two of Matiwana's children by witchcraft. Relations between their families were understandably strained, and they were further aggravated by the marriage of Matiwana's son Yati and Oirupa's sister Kerami, which occurred during Quain's stay. This union was unhappy and short-lived. When Kerami left him, Yati and his father held Oirupa and his co-resident affinals, Tun and Aloari, responsible. Yati bitterly asserted that he (and Matiwana) would go to live among his mother's people, the Kuikuru of the upper Kuluene. There, he said, women were much easier to get.

With this background of conflict and suspicion, it is not surprising that the quarrel again broke out in earnest when Oirupa tried to seduce Kuyafi. Angered by her rejection he threw *piqui* pits at her. In the afternoon Matiwana spoke out against Oirupa from his house. (This was proper behavior, since a parent is expected to take his offspring's part in such disputes.) That evening the two men indulged in the usual loud shouting and wrestled with barely restrained hostility. Kuyafi added her bit from the house as did another of Matiwana's daughters. The other men pretended indifference. Yati remained silent, although he was vitally interested in the dispute; for, besides being Matiwana's son, he was involved in an enduring respect relationship with his former brother-in-law, even after his marriage was dissolved. Public opinion, however, was on the side of Matiwana, for Oirupa had committed an offense by hitting Kuyafi with the pits, and he had also threatened to use witchcraft. To this last Matiwana tauntingly replied that had Oirupa's witchcraft been really effective, he would have been dead long ago. As of the time Quain left the Trumaí, Kuyafi's future was still undecided.

The Men's Circle

The men's circle served a number of functions. It was the place in which initiated males gathered, talked, argued, and smoked. It was not taboo to young boys, as it was to women, but youngsters rarely joined

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four, three between five and seven, two between seven and ten, and the other two between ten and twelve. The little girl could not as yet walk alone. The two youngest boys could, although occasionally they still suckled at their mother's breasts.

The Trumaí infant was subjected to very little training. Rarely was the very young child told not to do anything. However, all the children except for Katsits, the infant girl, knew that they should defecate in the bush and urinate away from the village plaza. Katsits very often eliminated in the house, or while she was in her mother's arms. X'utsi, the mother, merely scraped a bit of dirt over the wet spot. She gave no indication to the child that this was an undesirable act, and the child took no note of her own activity. Exactly how a child learned to exert self-control is not clear, but it was probably by emulating older children and adults, whose toilet habits were hardly a secret.

The child suckled until it was five or six years of age, although it began to partake of the ordinary diet by the end of the first year. Yumunuwa said that she suckled Tairikoan three times a day: morning, noon, and evening. This was not a strict regimen, for the boy often crawled into her lap or straddled her waist and suckled at odd hours. Until about five years old, the child slept in the mother's hammock, or if motherless, with the father. Often it slept with the mother's breast in its mouth, and if it awoke during the night, it suckled until it fell asleep again.

The nursing of older children is a perpetuation of the infantile pattern, and it is indicative of the lack of stress on weaning. Also, because of infanticide and the low birth rate, there is little cause for sibling rivalry among the Trumaí.

Help was given the child in learning to walk and talk. The men appeared to devote more attention to this phase of upbringing than the women. Katsits was often walked about by her father, and sometimes by Maibu or other men who lived in the same house. Her father was eager to have her walk by herself so that he would not need to coach her, but nevertheless he and the other adults showed the greatest indulgence and patience in this task.

Part of the father's anxiety was doubtless due to the taboos which restricted his activity until his child had learned to walk. The most important of these was a ban on sexual intercourse. When Katsits developed colic, it was generally thought to be the outcome of coitus between the parents. Certain foods were also forbidden the father, one being seasoned fish hash, which was a great favorite. It is not known whether the mother was also required to observe food taboos.

More emphasis was placed on teaching the child to speak. The adults and older children made repeated attempts to put words into the mouths of the very young, saying the same phrases over and over again. In this

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868 867 way the child was taught the kinship terms applying to his immediate family and age mates. He did not, however, learn to classify the whole village until much later.

Pre-Pubescence

593 866 A good deal of a youngster's time was spent around his house, and his attachment to his parents first, and then to other members of his household, was very strong. Dependence on the parent was expressed in a variety of ways. When the motherless Matsiripi's father, Oirupa, left the village for a few days, the boy was dispirited. When someone approached from the canoe landing, he would run anxiously to see who it was. His joy was obvious as he clung to the hand of his returned father. This pattern was repeated, but with less intensity, by children having both a father and mother.

152 855 Night terrors were common among the children. They were afraid of the dark and, if they awakened in the night, sought immediately for their father or mother, or howled if both were absent. The early pattern of sleeping with a parent undoubtedly had much to do with these fears, but ample justification for them can be found in other aspects of the culture. Adults communicated to the children their own nocturnal anxieties, which were stimulated by fears of enemy attack. The young made [186] frequent references to the Suyá. One little boy, after an especially uneasy night, marched around the village chanting the word "Suyá" in a deep, serious voice. A frightened child's cries were immediately answered by his parents, who recognized it by tone. Tay, an orphan boy, often awakened with loud howls, but the people of his house paid little attention, and listened instead for their own children.

857 The children played and lolled about in the house, and had closer ties with co-residents than with others bearing the same kin relationships. When Kuyafi shifted her hammock to the house of her new spouse, her child cried lustily at the change of residence. The boys frequently visited in other houses, and there were no restrictions on lying in the nearest hammock, no matter to whom it belonged. This liberty was [123] taken by the adults also. To keep visitors out of his hammock, Quain had to tell everyone that his "wife would be angry" if anyone used it. This was the standard excuse for turning down such requests.

867 Children were given considerable freedom. Adults were interested in them, but made little effort to direct their activities. Encouragement was given, but the child was never forced to do anything. There were few "do nots." However, the child learned that he did not have an unlimited claim to all property, and sometimes he was punished for his transgressions. He also learned that he should not disturb older people unduly. The adults had a high tolerance for the noises of children, but

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All other play was more spontaneous and uncoordinated. Amusement and education were derived from using small bows and arrows which all boys possessed and the older ones knew how to make. Much of their time was spent shooting at insects and other targets in the village, but three or four children might occasionally go together to the lagoon and shoot fish from the banks. Sometimes they would wander off to the clearings when planting was in progress, or travel through the woods to gather guava. Few restraints were placed on their movements.

Nor was the sex play of children greatly inhibited by their elders. Actually there was no heterosexual activity between children, for there were no girls of appropriate age in the village. Thus, pre-pubescent sexual relations occurred between boys or between boys and men, and almost always it was the boys who were the instigators. Quain felt certain that Tay was the only member of the village who might be considered a homosexual. He was an orphan, and although he was fed and housed, he was identified with no family, and no one took any special interest in him. Tay, more than any boy, remained aloof from other children. His sexual advances were directed to a large extent toward the older males, who often cooperated with him. For example, he often wrapped his legs around Jakuma's hips, going through sexual motions. The older man would giggle when he did this and show signs of being mildly stimulated. Mayuva, among others, was less receptive, but his only mode of resistance was to arch his body away from the boy.

The sexual play of a young child might even include his father. Quain observed little Tsirikoan tugging at his father's penis. The father showed some annoyance, but only because he did not want to be bothered. Although children were rarely manipulated in this way by the men, Quain saw Yanahi, a young married man, amusing himself and some boys by pulling Tsirikoan's penis until the child had an erection. The boys whispered to Yanahi that Quain was watching, but this apparently made no difference to him, for he continued his activity.

The minor homosexual engagements that took place between the boys themselves were likewise in the nature of play. Quain saw no homosexuality between adults, and, contrary to Levi-Strauss' inference from Quain's notes, there was no kinship tie that implied permissible homosexual relations.[1]

The facts of sex were certainly no secret to the children. Living in undivided houses and sleeping with or adjacent to their parents, they were aware at an early age of the sexual activities of their elders. No effort was made to keep sexual knowledge from them, and they derived considerable amusement from the sexual affairs of the adults. Tsirikoan and some other boys raised a great hue and cry when they happened

[1] Levi-Strauss 1948, p. 337.

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post-natal sexual taboos is a serious social problem. A large group of not very pretty bachelors must use the woman with ringworm or the Suyá captive, whose present marriage is considered dishonorable. These women have no brothers or fathers. In contrast with Karajá, there is no stylized homosexuality. Yet the complete freedom of sexual play results in activities which might be considered overt homosexuality. But to the Trumaí such activity has little emotional content. It does not seem to set up special personal relationships.

"Women are in constant fear of attack. Yet a wife tyrannizes her husband by withholding her favors and pulling the hair of anyone whom she suspects her husband has used sexually. Between married people, sex occurs at night — preferably when everyone else is asleep — or while going to the forest on various gathering tasks. A man and his wife engage in many things together, such as afternoon relaxation, fishing, and gardening. There is companionship even between those spouses among whom the wife is much older and no longer of interest to the man sexually.

"Between themselves, the men are extremely individualistic. Cooperation rarely exceeds kin limits even at the explicit order of the chief. Only when outsiders are present do men band together in a mock display of solid cooperation.... There is only one old man, who is about seventy — all others are under 45 ..... All death is murder. Nobody expects to live longer than the next rainy season. Men always carry bows and arrows for protection. Shamans keep the village in constant fear of attack from the Suyá or Kamayurá.... There are imaginary attacks quite often. Men gather in terror at the center of the village — the most exposed spot — and wait to be shot at from the dark bushes at the margin of the village....

"Authority is lax. The patrilineally hereditary chief does no work and is a parasite on his household. He is self-conscious of the rank of his wife whose marriage has elevated her. He lounges in his hammock, but it is his duty to orate from the center of the village at night and sometimes in the morning, urging the men to undertake group projects. He is the only man who has the courage to be an executive. This contrasts with the Kamayurá where there are several chiefs who, uniquely in their culture, are shy and ashamed to speak and whose orders must be referred through special talkers. It also contrasts with the Karajá where the chief is the best worker .... When the season changes, the Trumaí chief urges the people to engage in the new work, which they would do anyway. An example of the complete independence of spirit is illustrated by the two brothers who would not help the brother-in-law of one build the house in which they all were living, because they thought the mosquitoes would be bad in that location during the rainy season. The brother-in-law built the tremendous house all by himself — the two brothers lived comfortably in it.

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The plaza was the center of Trumaí social life. Here guests were entertained, ceremonials and wrestling matches were held, and the men gathered daily. Although the women might sit in front of their houses and watch these activities, they were not allowed to come near the log bench, even when the men were not there. The plaza of the Trumaí village was also used as the burying ground.

A short distance north of the circle of houses, on the path to the two main garden clearings of the Trumaí, was another smaller clearing used during the *ole*, or manioc, ceremonies. Other paths radiated outward from the village to the other gardens and to nearby groves of *piquí* trees. Quain noticed that the paths leading to the Kamayurá village were much broader and cleaner. The Kamayurá were proud of their paths and kept them in good condition. Their plaza was also clearer of weeds and trash than that of the Trumaí.

Of the four completed houses in the village, two were as large as those of the Kamayurá, but the other two, which were much smaller, were considered by Quain's informants to be genuinely Trumaí in type. Insofar as is known, the details of the construction and shape of all four were substantially the same. They had an elliptical floor plan and were haystack-shaped. Although the side walls were only four feet high, the roof attained a height of fifteen feet. The silhouette of the house was an almost smooth curve from ridge pole to ground. The frame was covered with a grass thatch. There were no windows, and a single entry opened on the plaza.

Each family occupied its own section of the house and had its own fireplace. Personal belongings hung from the walls and ceilings or were placed on small shelves. Hammocks were hung between the side wall posts and the two center posts, the woman's hammock beneath that of her husband. Except for two nuclear families that screened off their sections with blankets and cloth given them by Quain, there was no internal division of the house.

The two largest garden clearings were situated respectively about one mile northeast and one mile northwest of the village. Three small ones were located southeast of the settlement. In order of size, the gardens were named Nariatan, Waniwanitan, Anariatan, Tan Toreake, and Tandatake. Nariatan, the largest, contained, by Quain's rough calculation, approximately seven acres divided into ten plots, representing the gardens of seven men. One plot contained two acres, but the average garden varied between one-fourth and one acre in size. One of the men had erected a temporary thatch shelter in his plot, providing protection from the sun, but not from the rain. Inside there was only a basket of manioc flour, a rack for cooking fish, and a large shallow pot into which manioc was grated. This was the sole garden shelter Quain saw, and, significantly, it belonged to the most industrious horticulturist in the village.

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Agendas were ordinarily based on the immediate needs of the household or the desire for some variety in their diet. Food, however, was shared widely, and this probably robbed most work of any sense of urgency. Apparently, each man's plans for the day were determined in part by the season, in part by the household needs, and in part by what he felt like doing.

Some men stayed in the village all day, sleeping and working intermittently at small tasks. The women spent more time in the village than the men. Their work was done in the house or, if outside, in the shade of the house. Since male work was done largely in the morning, most of the men had ample time in the afternoon for trade, wrestling, and other diversions. The trade game was an especially popular indoor activity on rainy days.

Much less work was probably done during the rainy season, for planting would be finished, the *piquí* would be harvested, and the heavy rains would confine people to the village. However, there was much less seasonal variation for the women, as they had to continue to make *beijú*, weave, cook, and care for their households — the ordinary female chores, whatever the month.

Trumaí economic life was loosely organized. Few types of labor transcended the nuclear family, which was the basic unit of economic cooperation and interdependence. The inventory of material culture was sparse, and workmanship was not highly developed. What the Trumaí did not make, they could obtain by trade. From the standpoint of technology, the Trumaí were more backward than other tribes in the upper Xingú area, perhaps a reflection of their more recent settlement in the region.

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421 437 524 [56] 527 It was

significant that Aloari, probably the most aggressive person in the village, was often an organizer and always a main participant in the games. On the other hand, he never cooperated in group work.

This conventionalized form of exchange, which Quain called the trade game, had a strong functional role in Trumaí culture, but there are indications that it was of outside origin. One informant said that it was [177] a Bakairí custom, and Quain thought that the "game" might have been introduced by Bakairí traders bringing goods from the Indian post on the Paranatinga River.[1]

The Household

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Among both the Waurá and the Kamayurá the extended family occupied its own house, and the head of the lineage was considered a sub-chief of the village.[2] Such unilocal, co-resident and extended family groupings, which were typical among tribes of the upper Xingú, were absent in the Trumaí village.

592 613 [59] [165]

Consanguineally close male relatives usually formed co-resident units, but these nuclei of kinsmen were very small and did not constitute an entire household. Furthermore, they were related to each other through male or female lines. Due to village patrilocality, there was a tendency for patrilineally related males to live together, but this did not result in the establishment of a patrilineal lineage for several reasons. Among them the high death rate was very important.

592 594

Maibu's house illustrates the eclectic nature of the Trumaí household. Four nuclear families, totaling fourteen people, lived in it. Hanging their hammocks from one of the two center posts were Katauka, his son Kamkuti, his brother's son Autsuki, and another brother's son and his wife. At the opposite end of the house were Maibu and his wife, the wife's son by Maibu's deceased brother, Maibu's sister Ayenuke, Makurawa, a classificatory sister's son, and Makurawa's wife and their three children. Although everyone in the household was related, bonds were closer between those people who hung their hammocks from the same post.

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Despite the fact that the household, as a unit, had no specific functions, it established the framework within which certain interpersonal dependencies were worked out. Bride-capture, intertribal warfare, divorce, and early death caused a significant proportion of the Trumaí to be temporarily or permanently without mates. This disadvantage was

[177] [1] The trade game was possibly borrowed from the Bakairí, as its existence among this group has been reported by Oberg (1953, p. 73). However, craft specialization and trade on the upper Xingú predates the Indian post. Cf. von den Steinen 1897, pp. 196, 207.

[2] De Lima (1950, p. 9.) reports this arrangement among the Waurá, and Oberg (1953, p. 45.) adds that the position of house chief tends to pass in the male line in the Kamayurá village.

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592 578 friendly terms tended to join in forming a household, and third, it was probably considered desirable to suppress ill feeling within the house.

571 578 592 The unfriendliness between Maibu and the men of Aloari's family existed side by side with close gift-giving obligations between their two houses. According to Aloari's brother Oirupa, he *pans* (gives) to all the people of his own house and also to all the people of Maibu's house. Residence was the crucial factor, for when Yanahi and Mayuva moved from his house, Oirupa no longer gave to them. Similarly, the two other houses had close gift-giving ties. The women united according to this house division when an attack was thought imminent.

114 592 602 Insofar as can be ascertained from Quain's genealogical data, there were no special kin bonds between the households of Maibu and Aloari, on one hand, and Jakwanari and Nitvary, on the other, to explain this moiety-like division. But it is of interest that the houses of both Maibu and Aloari were the large type of domicile, like those of the Kamayurá, whereas the other pair of houses were the smaller "true" Trumaí type. It is possible that the residents of one pair of houses, perhaps the smaller, were the descendants of inhabitants of the southern village.

The Nuclear Family

594 Despite the importance of the household and the bilateral consanguineal group, the nuclear family, consisting of man, wife, and children, was still the basic unit of Trumaí society and economy. The biological family could provide nearly all the necessities of life within the previously outlined framework of individualized production and division of labor between the sexes.

The responsibilities of child-rearing fell largely on the nuclear family. The Trumaí showed a fondness for children, and it was not unusual for other adults in the house to play with them and watch over them; but the chief attention came from the parents, and the dependence of the young upon the father and mother was stronger than upon the rest of the household.

[513] 593 The conjugal group had its own hearth near which its hammocks were strung. Very young children slept with the mother or, if motherless, with the father. Couples were companionable and spent much of their leisure time with each other. It was common for a man and wife to sit in the shade of their house in the afternoon while he made arrows and she worked on a hammock. At other times the couple would go on a short [832] gathering trip, or just idle around the house. Embraces or mild sex play often occurred in public between younger mates.

593 156 Some unions were closer than others. Aloari and his wife Yumunuwa spent more time together and showed more affection than did other couples. They were both young; he was virile and aggressive, and she

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Divorce and Adultery

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586 by Quain, they lasted only a few days. In both instances the first wife
was responsible for the break-up. The bonds of the second marriage of a
[837] plural mating were loose, for Jakwanari's second wife had sexual relations with several Trumaí men with apparent impunity. Such behavior would have been dealt with severely by a husband had his first wife
586 been involved. Divorces also occurred in monogamous marriages; they entailed little more than telling the wife to leave. After the birth of their son, Oirupa sent his Mehinaku wife back to her village and kept the child. The right of the father's village over the children seems to have been general in the area, for Autu had a son by a Waurá husband, whom the Waurá refused to give to the Trumaí.

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[586] although this probably occurred. However, the usual procedure was for the injured husband to beat his wife and make a lengthy and heated speech against the offending suitor. The wife of an adulterous husband
[578] showed anger toward his paramour and did not speak to her. Hair pulling resulted in some cases. The husband's behavior was viewed as reprehensible by the wife, but she took no action against him. One wife even chuckled a bit over her husband's adventures, although jealousy is the more usual response.

837 Due to the threat of punishment, the married women engaged far less in extra-marital relations than did their husbands. Both married and unmarried men sought out unattached women, but instances of married men in such liaisons were less numerous. The younger married men and Maibu, the chief, seemed to have been the chief offenders. The latter
[582] complained to Quain that all the women in the village were prohibited to him, as they were his wife's cross-cousins. Neither his genealogy nor his activities bore him out, and he often approached the single women and Jakwanari's second wife when the other men were out of the village. Everyone conceded that, although Maibu's wife had not reached menopause, she was "too old." Thus they rationalized his escapades.

105 The instability of the nuclear family and the vicissitudes to which it
571 was exposed were alleviated by household and kin distribution and by
594 the interdependence of co-resident relatives of the opposite sex for
591 sexually specialized goods and services. These arrangements made possible the economic workability of Trumaí culture. The conjugal family was basic to the culture, however, and marriage was highly
[836] desirable to the Trumaí. Despite the shortage of available women and
[578] the conflicts which stemmed from it, sex relations between unmarried persons were free and easy and subject to little or no public censure, except insofar as they encroached on the interests of others. Incest

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Recent ethnographic researches have for the most part concentrated upon the Kamayurá (Galvão 1949, 1950, and 1952; Oberg 1953), the Waurá (de Lima 1949, 1950), and the Kuikuru (Robert Carneiro and Gertrude E. Dole, unpublished). Only incidentally have these observers commented upon the Trumaí. Therefore, in 1953 when I had the opportunity to spend a little time in the upper Xingú area, I made a point of remaining a few days with the remants of the Trumaí. They were camped temporarily at Karajaja, the old village site, on a lake about half a mile away from the Kuluene River; their permanent houses were then at Anaristan, near the village site during Quain's visit. It was the dry season and the Trumaí were fishing. There were only 24 persons in the group — six adult males, ten adult females, four boys and four girls. Three of the women were unmarried widows, and there was one unmarried girl just past puberty. The chieftain whose current name was Ilitoari (no doubt the Aloari of Quain's notes), was married to two sisters, and there were four monogamous families. Two of the men were old and unmarried. Thus, the Trumaí were again united as a village (they had disbanded for a while). In 1953, however, there were not even enough men for the Trumaí to participate in the intertribal spear-throwing contests, a sport in which they had once been famous throughout the area.

The process of steady social and cultural disintegration and depopulation, which was already apparent among the Trumaí in 1938, has been a continuing one; and it is only a question of a very short time before these people cease to exist as a separate tribal group. Thus, the information and insights that Robert Murphy has brought together from Buell Quain's field work may be all that we shall ever have on Trumaí life and society.

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February 1956

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possible that more women may be needed for polygamous marriages, but the data do not indicate plural marriage to be of great significance.

Pillage, also, inspires raids. The Kamayurá threatened to descend on the Trumaí, after Quain left, to rob them of all the Western goods they had obtained. The Suyá took all the Trumaí pots in a raid which occurred immediately before von den Steinen's second trip through the region.[19] The desire for goods is undoubtedly a motivating factor in particular raids, and it may also be a contributing factor in warfare generally, but since the material surplus is low throughout the area and retaliation almost certain, it is doubtful that this is a basic cause.

Insults, too, could provoke aggression. The Kamayurá threatened to chastise the Trumaí because the latter were rumored to have made defamatory remarks about them. Continuous fear and insecurity can also lead a tribe to attack. Quain observed that the Trumaí worked themselves up into such a state of terror that they were capable of desperate deeds. Needless to say, revenge expeditions tended to perpetuate hostility.

Among the Trumaí, no special prestige was derived from warfare, and the men did not boast of their prowess as warriors. Trumaí men showed scars of old wounds to Quain, but only to impress him with the brutality of other tribes. To the Trumaí, warfare was an occasion for fear, and not an opportunity to enhance one's status.

Warfare, however, is important in maintaining social cohesion within the communities. Quain noted that intra-social harmony and cooperation was low in the Trumaí village. Leadership was weak, and there was little friendliness between the men. However, when an attack threatened, quarrels were forgotten and aggressions and anxieties were directed toward the outside world. Also, when members of other tribes were in the village, the whole tone and tempo of life changed, and the Trumaí presented a united front.

This was made manifest during a visit of several Kamayurá. Despite their apprehension, the Trumaí treated their guests as long absent brothers. There was much forced and nervous jocularity and talk. The men expressed tremendous affection towards each other and the Kamayurá by embraces and linking of arms. Industry and activity were high. The Trumaí men went to catch fish to feed the guests and, upon returning, marched into the village singing gaily and led by their chief. After the Kamayurá left, the village lapsed with relief into its normal way of life. The men ceased to show affection for their comrades, and old quarrels broke out anew.

[19] Von den Steinen 1897, p. 144.

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156
was one of the most attractive women in the village. Their marital 593
life, however, was not always smooth. She was unusually possessive, [837]
and he was said to have thrashed her severely once for infidelity. Also, [847]
he felt some resentment for the infanticides she had committed at the
birth of two of their children.

Aloari, his wife, and his brother Tun were not typical of the Trumaí. In addition to the closeness of Aloari's marriage there was a strong attachment between the two brothers. None of the three participated fully in the community social life. The small in-group formed by the family probably had much to do with the strength of the marriage.

The usual cause of quarrels was adultery. Wives generally obeyed 593
their husbands, but since each had his or her own clearly understood [837]
duties to perform, it was seldom necessary for a husband to exert authority. The women, however, did influence their husbands to some extent. Quain was told by a few men that they would not be able to go to the Indian post with him because their wives wanted them to stay at home.

All but one Trumaí marriage was monogamous. The plural union 595
consisted of Jakwanari and two sisters. A number of men wanted second [583]
wives, and Aloari told Quain of a plan to go to the Suyá to capture women. Judging from the Trumaí's fear of the Suyá, this was probably sheer bravado. Several attempts were made by some of the men, however, to take one of the two eligible village women as a second wife. These efforts were all balked by the first wife, who ultimately decided whether her husband might have a second wife and, if so, who it would be. Yumunuwa flatly refused to allow Aloari to take her own sister as a wife. Kuyafi had been Nitvary's second bride for only two days, when his first wife drove her from the house in a fit of temper. Wives were obviously jealous of their monogamous position, but if a second wife was suitable, she might be allowed to stay.

Jakwanari's two wives got along well, but the second, Kamiha, accepted a decidedly subordinate role. Jakwanari's closest relationship was with Tsuku, the first wife, who also owned all the family utensils. On one occasion Kamiha had a quarrel with one of the men. She quickly retired from the fray when he called her a "second Tsuku." Jakwanari's hammock hung across those of his wives, but nothing is known of their sexual relations.

Quain was told that in polygamous marriages it was preferable to 595
take two sisters. However, even a sister might not be accepted by the 837
first wife, as Aloari's situation shows, although a man had sexual rights over his wife's sister as long as she remained unmarried. One man beat his wife's sister for refusing him sexual favors, and his action was approved by the other men. Women, however, were jealous of their husbands, and did not approve of these or any other extra-marital connections.

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his activities bore him out, and he often approached the single women
and Jakwanari's second wife when the other men were out of the village.
Everyone conceded that, although Maibu's wife had not reached meno-
pause, she was "too old." Thus they rationalized his escapades.

105 The instability of the nuclear family and the vicissitudes to which it
591 was exposed were alleviated by household and kin distribution and by
594 the interdependence of co-resident relatives of the opposite sex for
592 sexually specialized goods and services. These arrangements made
possible the economic workability of Trumaí culture. The conjugal
family was basic to the culture, however, and marriage was highly
[836] desirable to the Trumaí. Despite the shortage of available women and
[578] the conflicts which stemmed from it, sex relations between unmarried
persons were free and easy and subject to little or no public censure,
except insofar as they encroached on the interests of others. Incest

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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582 [186] Quain was told that the Kamayurá were "bad," because they permitted marriage with a sister's daughter.[6]

582 595 837 Cross-cousin marriage is correlated with sororal polygyny among the Trumaí and with the sexual privileges that a man may take with his wife's sister. No indication was found of the sororate, despite its probable acceptability. There was only one case of the levirate, and that was the 587 marriage of the chief to his dead brother's wife. That the levirate is expected but not compulsory is apparent in the case of Yati and his brother's widow Vatsiat. She resided in Yati's house, and they performed [469] many necessary, sexually specialized functions for each other. Although their hammocks were some distance apart, Vatsiat called him *ece* (husband) and became quite incensed at one of his paramours. However, Yati called her *apizi* (sibling), and apparently felt that there were no marital obligations between them. He had his love-life, which did not [831] include her, and he showed no sign of annoyance at her escapades. It was a standing joke that every man in the village had sexual relations with Vatsiat, except where an incest taboo prohibited it.

582 Marriage between people of different generations, especially between 684 older women and younger men, was frequent; but the rules governing 835 such unions are obscure. It was specifically frowned upon for a man to marry his mother's brother's widow. However, when one young man did so, he was only mildly ridiculed and censured, and his status in the village was little affected.

Joking Relations

587 Cross-cousins were not the only acceptable marriage partners, but 602 they were the only ones with whom marriage was expected and especially 831 approved. Also, patterned and expected joking existed only between these kin. Cross-cousins of the same sex, especially males, bantered with each other, but most sexual joking occurred between men and women. Thus, Aloari enjoyed making suggestive remarks to the rather old and ugly Vatsiat and frequently accused her of improprieties with various men. On one occasion, partly for Quain's benefit, he threw her on her back and went through the motions of coitus.

602 Cross-cousins of the same sex confined their joking to pranks and 605 good-natured raillery, *ami tarajau*, which Quain translates as "cross-831 cousin talk." Mayuva teased Yati, who had a phobia of frogs, by chasing after him with a frog hanging from a stick. Both men and women made great sport of urging Quain to throw their cross-cousins out of his house. 123 On one occasion, Quain, experimentally, made sexual suggestions to 602 several women who had congregated in his house. They all ran out 831 laughing shrilly, but one came back later to be reassured that it was

[6] Cf. Oberg 1953, p. 44.

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because she was his sister-in-law. Mayuva, however, was afraid of Nitvary, as the latter had close ties with the Kamayurá and had threatened Mayuva with witchcraft at their hands. After Nitvary returned from a trip to the Kamayurá village, Mayuva complained of severe headaches and said he was going to die. Although he denied to Quain that his condition was due to Kamayurá sorcery, the threats against him apparently had the desired result: a short time later Kuyafi moved into Nitvary's house. The union last only two days, for Nitvary's jealous wife drove her out in a fit of anger. The field, it would seem, was clear for Oirupa, the third suitor.

Oirupa, however, had been trying to marry Kuyafi for years. Her father, Matiwana, refused to give his consent and Oirupa, in revenge, was said to have killed two of Matiwana's children by witchcraft. Relations between their families were understandably strained, and they were further aggravated by the marriage of Matiwana's son Yati and Oirupa's sister Kerami, which occurred during Quain's stay. This union was unhappy and short-lived. When Kerami left him, Yati and his father held Oirupa and his co-resident affinals, Tun and Aloari, responsible. Yati bitterly asserted that he (and Matiwana) would go to live among his mother's people, the Kuikuru of the upper Kuluene. There, he said, women were much easier to get.

With this background of conflict and suspicion, it is not surprising that the quarrel again broke out in earnest when Oirupa tried to seduce Kuyafi. Angered by her rejection he threw *piqui* pits at her. In the afternoon Matiwana spoke out against Oirupa from his house. (This was proper behavior, since a parent is expected to take his offspring's part in such disputes.) That evening the two men indulged in the usual loud shouting and wrestled with barely restrained hostility. Kuyafi added her bit from the house as did another of Matiwana's daughters. The other men pretended indifference. Yati remained silent, although he was vitally interested in the dispute; for, besides being Matiwana's son, he was involved in an enduring respect relationship with his former brother-in-law, even after his marriage was dissolved. Public opinion, however, was on the side of Matiwana, for Oirupa had committed an offense by hitting Kuyafi with the pits, and he had also threatened to use witchcraft. To this last Matiwana tauntingly replied that had Oirupa's witchcraft been really effective, he would have been dead long ago. As of the time Quain left the Trumaí, Kuyafi's future was still undecided.

The Men's Circle

The men's circle served a number of functions. It was the place in which initiated males gathered, talked, argued, and smoked. It was not taboo to young boys, as it was to women, but youngsters rarely joined

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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tention of marriage. But an intention of marriage did not insure exclusive sexual rights. The man usually continued to get gratification wherever he could find it. The knowledge of his other liaisons did not particularly disturb his bride-to-be, as she herself may well have been receiving attentions from other lovers. After marriage, such transgressions were not so readily tolerated.

The chief obstacles in the way of the marriage-bent Trumaí swain were the necessity to shout down his rivals and gain the approval and consent of the girl's kinsmen. The woman's consent was not necessary in making the marriage, and she usually remained aloof, waiting to see who won. If, however, she was not pleased with the mate to whom she was awarded, she was free to leave him. And this she often did. While Quain was in the village, there were marriages that lasted only a day or two due to the bride's dissatisfaction.

In addition to the arguments that precede most marriages, the man was expected to go through certain formalities. He went to the girl's mother and stated his intentions. If the girl had no mother, he approached the nearest male relative. In order to gain the favor of her kinsmen, he distributed gifts, the most important to the girl's mother, others to her father, siblings, and her mother's brother. The gift to the latter was especially important, as he was the one who formally gave the woman, or as the Trumaí phrase it, "spreads her legs." Gifts were also given the girl, culminating with a present of fish. In the meantime the girl made an especially fine hammock which she gave to the groom.

If everything was accepted, the man was free to take the girl to his house. The wedding was preceded by a fishing expedition in which nearly all the men participated, and by a wrestling match for which the groom was beautifully painted. The women held a trade game. The actual ceremony consisted of nothing more than the woman's moving into the house of her mate. A male relative carried her hammock to his home.

This was the way weddings should have been conducted in the Trumaí village. Actually, they were even less formal, especially in the case of second wives in polygamous unions. Marriage and sex preoccupied the Trumaí, for there were not enough women to go around; but even the few formal acts involved interested the Trumaí little. If the marriage was durable, the couple settled down and had children. After marriage and the birth of children no great change occurred in their positions in the community until they reached old age.

Old Age

Everyone in the village was classified as "younger" or "older." The men were either *axosek* (younger) or *tdakek* (older), while the terms for the women were, respectively, *axosektsa* and *tdakits*. These were not age

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421 437 524 [154] [527] significant that Aloari, probably the most aggressive person in the village, was often an organizer and always a main participant in the games. On the other hand, he never cooperated in group work.

This conventionalized form of exchange, which Quain called the trade game, had a strong functional role in Trumaí culture, but there are indications that it was of outside origin. One informant said that it was [177] a Bakairí custom, and Quain thought that the "game" might have been introduced by Bakairí traders bringing goods from the Indian post on the Paranatinga River.[1]

The Household

171 516 622 Among both the Waurá and the Kamayurá the extended family occupied its own house, and the head of the lineage was considered a sub-chief of the village.[2] Such unilocal, co-resident and extended family groupings, which were typical among tribes of the upper Xingú, were absent in the Trumaí village.

592 613 Consanguineally close male relatives usually formed co-resident units, but these nuclei of kinsmen were very small and did not constitute an entire household. Furthermore, they were related to each other through [591] male or female lines. Due to village patrilocality, there was a tendency for patrilineally related males to live together, but this did not result in [165] the establishment of a patrilineal lineage for several reasons. Among them the high death rate was very important.

592 594 Maibu's house illustrates the eclectic nature of the Trumaí household. Four nuclear families, totaling fourteen people, lived in it. Hanging their hammocks from one of the two center posts were Katauka, his son Kamkuti, his brother's son Autsuki, and another brother's son and his wife. At the opposite end of the house were Maibu and his wife, the wife's son by Maibu's deceased brother, Maibu's sister Ayenuke, Makurawa, a classificatory sister's son, and Makurawa's wife and their three children. Although everyone in the household was related, bonds were closer between those people who hung their hammocks from the same post.

589 592 182 Despite the fact that the household, as a unit, had no specific functions, it established the framework within which certain interpersonal dependencies were worked out. Bride-capture, intertribal warfare, divorce, and early death caused a significant proportion of the Trumaí to be temporarily or permanently without mates. This disadvantage was

[1] The trade game was possibly borrowed from the Bakairí, as its existence among this group has been reported by Oberg (1953, p. 72). However, craft specialization and trade on the upper Xingú predates the Indian post. Cf. von den Steinen 1897, pp. 196, 207. [177]

[2] De Lima (1950, p. 9.) reports this arrangement among the Waurá, and Oberg (1953, p. 45.) adds that the position of house chief tends to pass in the male line in the Kamayurá village.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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taboos and permissible marriages were a part of kinship-determined behavior and will be treated below.

Kinship Terminology

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Everyone within the Trumaí village classified everyone else by a term of relationship. Since the community was small, most of these designations expressed a demonstrable bond of consanguinity or affinity, although even outsiders were placed within the kinship system. This was done by establishing a kin tie with one Trumaí, whereupon the rest of the village could automatically place the outsider in the proper context.

601 178 114

Much of the data on the kinship system is uncertain for a number of reasons. The high death rate of the Trumaí, their lack of interest in tracing genealogies, and, most important, a taboo on the names of the dead made the recounting of family lines difficult. Moreover, there is some indication that the Trumaí system was changing rapidly. Many descriptive categories for classifying collateral kinsmen were falling into disuse and being replaced by classificatory terms. The result is an extreme looseness of nomenclature, as can be seen from the accompanying list of terms collected by three ethnologists.[3]

601 114

Term	Quain	Oberg[4]	Wagley[5]
Ego's generation			
sibling	apizi[6]		
younger brother	takwai (v) opat (r)	aheát[6] (m. sp.) takwai (w. sp.)	ha-heát[6] (m. sp.) ha-pisí (w. sp.)
older brother		apisí (m. or w. sp.)	ha-pisí (m. or w. sp.)
sister	hatdifle		ha-dufle (m. sp.)
younger sister	ta'yj	tain (m. sp.) takwai (w. sp.)	ha-takwai (w.sp.)
older sister		apisí (m. or w.sp.)	ha-pisí (w. sp.)

[3] The three lists of Trumaí kinship terms are listed below, since they, in a sense, complete and correct one another. Quain's list is admittedly incomplete and contains several errors. Wagley's terms likewise are incomplete and based on short interviews with informants during his brief stay among the Trumaí. Oberg says nothing about his Trumaí informants, and neither Oberg nor Wagley collected referential terms. The divergencies, then, may reflect misunderstandings on the part of the ethnologists or informants, or they may actually reflect changes that are taking place in Trumaí society.

[4] Oberg 1953, p. 119.

[5] Wagley, personal communication.

[6] The prefix "ha" (Wagley and Quain) or "a" (Oberg and Quain) is the Trumaí first person possessive.

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Term	Quain	Oberg	Wagley
mother's brother's son	mipine	haroopinó (m. or w. sp.)	ha-mipiné (m. or w. sp.)
mother's brother's daughter	„	„	„
father's sister's son	„	„	„
father's sister's daughter	„	„	„
mother's sister's son		adif (m. sp.) apisí (w. sp.)	
mother's sister's daughter		adiflé (m. sp.) takwai (w. sp.)	ha-dufle (m. sp.)
father's brother's son	harine (v)	adif (m. sp.) apisí (w. sp.)	
father's brother's daughter		adiflé (m. sp.) takwai (w. sp.)	ha-dufle (m. sp.)
First Ascending Generation			
father	apapa (v) a'ao (r)	apapá (m. or w. sp.)	ha-papa (m. or w. sp.)
mother	ataive (v) ale (r)	ataivá (m. or w. sp.)	ha-taive (m. or w. sp.)
father's brother	tatok (v)	atatók (m. or w. sp.)	ha-tatók (m. or w. sp.) ha-papa
father's sister	akato	akoté (m. or w. sp.)	ha-katé (m. or w. sp.)
mother's brother	wawo (v)	wawé (m. or w. sp.)	wawé (m. or w. sp.)
mother's sister	koko	kokó (m. or w.sp.)	koko (m. or w.sp.)
First Descending Generation			
son	faxio	awalók (m. sp.) awakók (w. sp.)	ha-pat (m. sp.)
daughter	faxio	yawaitké (m. or w. sp.)	ha-faxio
brother's son	faxio takwai (m. sp.) waremo (v., m. sp.) tacnam (r., m. sp.) adjut (w. sp.)	waremó (m. sp.) kamlók (w. sp.)	
brother's daughter	faxio ta'yj (m. sp.) adjut (w. sp.)	tauí (m. sp.) ayda (w. sp.)	
sister's son	faxio takwai (w. sp.)	daté (m. sp.) takwaipdá (w.sp.)	deta (m. sp.)

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Term	Quain	Oberg	Wagley
	dota (v., m. sp.)		
sister's daughter	faxio ta'yj (m. or w. sp.) tatdienam (w. sp.)	adák (m. sp.) ta'ai (w. sp.)	ha-dak (m. sp.)
Second Ascending Generation			
father's father	adjei (v) adjen (r)	ayei (m. or w.sp.)	ha-doho (m. sp.) ha-yei (w. sp.)
mother's father	adjei (v) adjen (r)	ayei (m. or w.sp.)	ha-doho (m. sp.) ha-yei (w. sp.)
father's mother	atseta (v) alen (r)	atsetá (m. or w. sp.)	ha-doho
mother's mother	atseta (v) alen (r)	atsetá (m. or w. sp.)	ha-doho
Second Descending Generation			
son's son	hadoxo	adohó	ha-doho
son's daughter	"	"	"
daughter's son	"	"	"
daughter's daughter	"	"	"
Affinals			
husband	ece	tekaú	ha-eshó
wife	hatdetsi	adetsi	ha-detsi
brother's wife		adiletsi (m. sp.)	
sister's husband		ashlá (m. sp.)	ha-eshla (m. sp.)
wife's brother		ashlá	ha-talak

Incest Restrictions

The Trumaí had no rules of group or locality exogamy. Permissible and prohibited sexual or marital relationships were a function of certain kinship ties only. The most acceptable marriage union was between cross-cousins. According to one informant, true cross-cousins should not marry, but Quain's genealogies present a number of cases in which first cousins related through sibling parents of unlike sex have done so. It is doubtful whether these represented violations of a rule, for there was one instance of such cross-cousins, when they were very young children, being pledged in marriage by their parents. Parallel cousins were not acceptable mates, nor were their children or the children of siblings.

/123 cont./

437 knives and some sacrifices from our personal belongings, we acquired a small, not unattractive collection. The people had protected from the Suyá and carried along with them the
126 things that were most important for us. There were feather
437 ornaments, necklaces of stone beads, a stone ax, valuable as
[439] an example of local manufacture, for the other Kulisehu tribes obtain their stone axes from the Trumaí, throwing sticks, a club, ten masks, dance clubs, large flutes, and various trifles.
411 To our astonishment, we did not see the large arrows with long, pointed pieces of bamboo, which the Trumaí had carried in 1884, a number of which they lost in their flight, and which we noticed had been sharpened for the encounter with us. They had probably been used up in the battle with the Suyá.

126 I spent as much time as possible during the evening writing beside a candle stub, in order to obtain a vocabulary. A
[115] younger chief proved very capable, except that in his enthusiasm he shouted with a loud voice, as though I were stone deaf.
123 Inquisitively the men squatted nearby, the witches were /124/
[604] busy at the fires, the children cried atsíu for mother and papá for father, through the branches magic moonlight poured over the strange camp scene, and soon the peace of night embraced the sleeping and the awake. We could sleep undisturbed, but were well aware that a few men remained sitting beside the fire.

The next morning, 26 October, there was great confusion. A large glass of arsenic pills had been stolen from me. Under the peculiar circumstances I would gladly have overlooked any kind of theft, but I could neither be without this arsenic for my part, nor let the Indians poison themselves with it. I was forced to suspect the Yaulapiti who had accompanied us, after our experiences in their village, and demanded that they give it back. They, of course, professed their innocence, the Trumaí became terribly afraid, the women, children, and part of the men escaped into the bushes and did not return even when one of the Yaulapiti actually brought the glass with the arsenic pills. According to his humble opinion, it had dropped out of my

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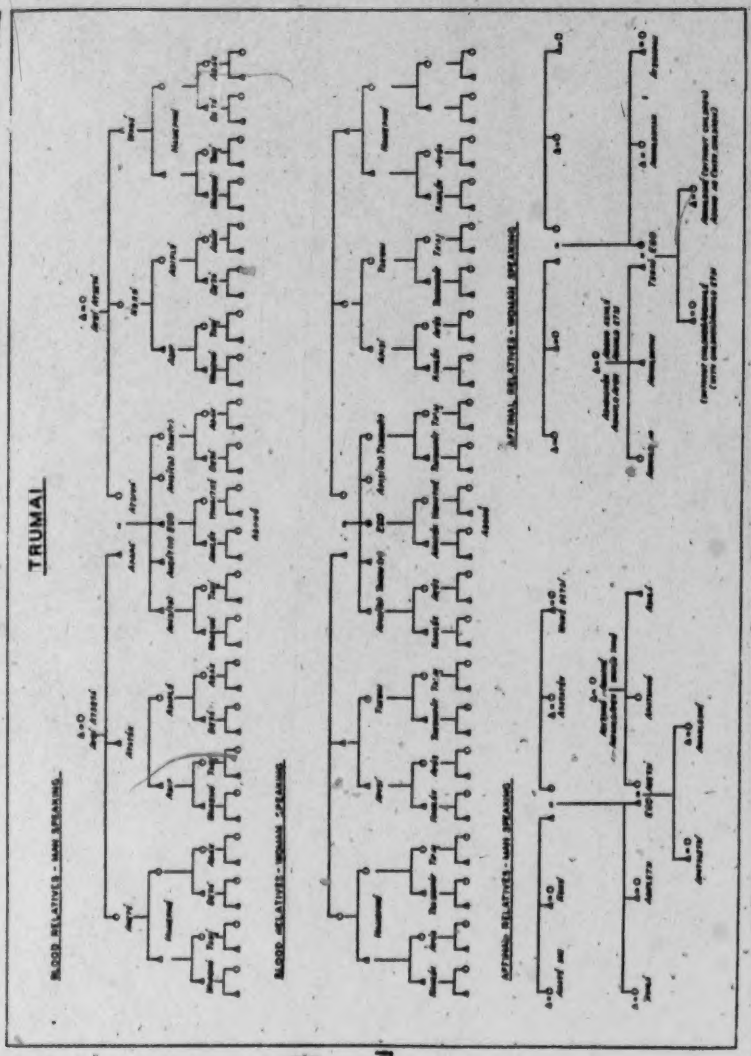

CHART 8.—Trumai, unrelated.

[p. 119]

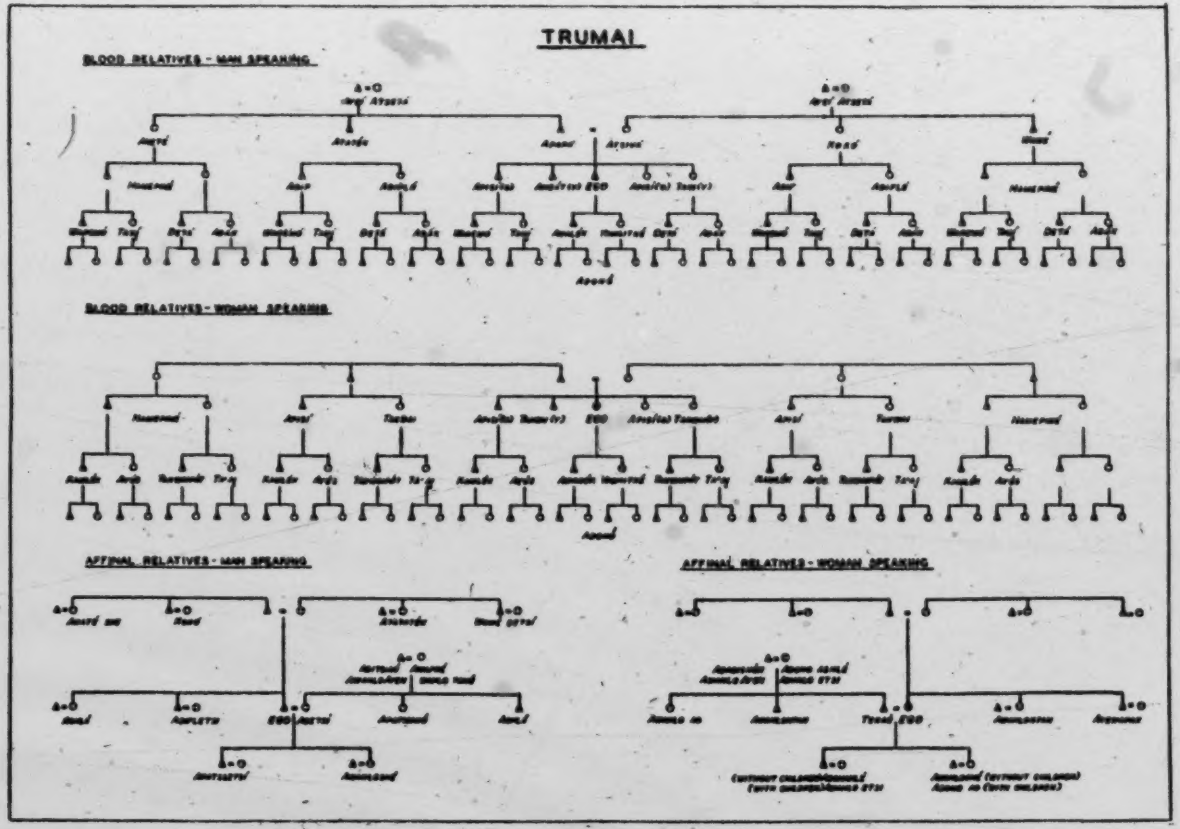

CHART 9.—Trumai, unrelated.

6: Oberg E-5 (1947) 1953 [P.119]
SPT Bacairi Trumai 1983

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Intermarriage

Despite occasional semi-hostile encounters between the upper Xingú groups, most contacts within the area are peaceful. Intermarriage is common, and, since patrilocality is general, the wives are usually brought back to the village of the groom. There are, however, exceptions to this rule. For instance, if the man has strong enough kinship ties with the bride's village, he may stay there. This was true in the case of a member of the Trumaí village who was half Kamayurá. Friction with one's fellow tribesmen can also lead to a move to another village, as in the case of a Trumaí man and his wife who went to live with the Kamayurá because they believed that someone in their own group was practicing witchcraft against them.

One result of this mixing process, in addition to its obvious function as a mechanism of diffusion, is that all of the upper Xingú groups are cross-cut by ties of kinship. Nearly every man on the Kuliseu River knows all others so located, and they are often related. Most of the extra-tribal kin ties of the Trumaí were with the Kamayurá and Mehinaku, but they also extended to many other villages of the area. For reasons not fully explored by Quain, the chief contacts of the Trumaí were with Tupian and Arawakan groups, especially those of the Kuliseu River. Little mention is found in Quain's notes of the Cariban tribes of the Kuluene River.

Kinship ties were probably responsible for the preference shown by certain Trumaí men for particular tribes. While most men said that the Kamayurá were "bad," a few claimed that they were really "good" and that the other tribes were the ones to be feared. One day a fire was sighted which, it was decided, had been lit by the Yuruna. A man having kinsmen among them left the village to tell them of his presence there and so prevent an attack. The alarm in this instance proved false.

Another basis for preference was past residence with a tribe, even as a captive. However, if there was gossip of an attack by some tribe, even those most kindly disposed toward the potential enemy would become nervous and seek out their bows and arrows.

There was a great deal of friendly visiting between villages. The host village was expected to provide food for their guests, but if women were brought, they joined in the women's work of preparing it. In the afternoon the men traded with each other and engaged in wrestling contests. At night, singing, shamanism and speech-making were in order in the men's circle. Tobacco and large quantities of food were passed around at all times. If the visitors were staying overnight, they slept in the house of their closest kinsman. The latter was also expected to greet them upon arrival and act as their host during their stay.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Specialization and Trade

439 Among the more distinctive features of upper Xingú culture are community craft specialization and a widespread system of trade relationships. The Trumaí traded among themselves, but the most important exchanges took place on the intertribal level, and it is here that the products of tribal specialization become significant to the economy. At the time of Quain's investigations, the Arawakans maintained a monopoly on pottery, but the once active Trumaí stone axe manufacture had fallen into disuse. In its place, the Trumaí were specializing in the preparation of salt, obtained by burning a species of water-lily and sifting the ashes. The Trumaí depended on the Kamayurá for a highly prized type of bow, as the proper wood was not found in their territory. According to Oberg, this black, rectangular bow was eagerly sought by other tribes, also.[20]

While the Kamayurá monopoly on these bows can be explained by the local availability of the raw materials, craft specialization cannot be looked upon simply as a function of the exclusive possession of certain skills. Other arts diffused rapidly among the tribes, and it is evident that the specialties remained such for non-economic reasons. For example, the three Arawakan tribes, the Mehinaku, Kustenaú and Waurá, all made pottery, but each traded their wares only with certain tribes. The Bacairí obtained their pottery from the Kustenaú, who were, in von den Steinen's time, their neighbors on the Batoví River. On the Kuliseu, the Nahukwa traded for ceramics with the nearby Mehinaku, while the Tupian-speaking tribes and the Trumaí relied on the Waurá. Despite the fact that each Arawakan tribe dealt with its nearest neighbors, the exclusiveness of these relationships is not a physical necessity. The Trumaí could have obtained Mehinaku pottery. They had many kinship ties with the Mehinaku, and even conducted joint puberty rites. The distance between them was not great. Manifestly some standardized channeling of trade relationships existed.

This is further confirmed by the confinement of pottery manufacture to the Arawakans. It is probable that when the various groups first settled in the area, the Arawakans were the only ceramicists. With the development of close intertribal relationships, however, there was every opportunity for the craft to diffuse. It could have been learned by outsiders in trips to Arawakan villages and then practiced at home, as the clay is easily gotten from the river bottoms. Obvious means for its diffusion were marriage or capture of Arawakan women. But the manufacture of pottery was not observed by Quain in any non-Arawakan village of the area, despite the fact that Arawakan women were living in many such communities. In the Trumaí village no pottery was made,

[20] Oberg 1953, p. 30.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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the greatest time and effort into its building. Quain was reprimanded for speaking of the house in which Maibu lived as "Maibu's," for his brother-in-law, Mata'wai, had built it. This point of property was confirmed by others, despite the fact that Maibu was the head of the household and acted as host when guests entered. 423

To the Trumaí, the only important property was in the personal possession of transportable, material artifacts. These ranged from tools and weapons to ceremonial objects and trinkets obtained from Quain. The second class of property was probably cherished more than the first, which was viewed as consisting of everyday necessities. The combs, feathers, beads, European novelties, papers, and other such items that all men and women possessed were carefully kept in baskets and gourds near their hammocks. A man and wife would often keep some of their personal belongings in the same containers, but beyond this there was a special category of personal possessions called *wacta*. This highly valued personal property was kept by each individual in separate gourds, where it was safe from the gift claims of kinsmen and reasonably free from the danger of theft. 422 [415]

The privacy of this property was especially observed by opposite sexes, although not as strictly by mates. Quain was told by one man that it was "bad" for a man to look at a woman's *wacta*, although he rummaged at will through the personal belongings of the men. The taboo on male contact with women's *wacta* was due in part to inclusion within it of articles used during menstruation. [841]

Accompanying the stress on personal and private ownership of certain material objects was a strong sense of acquisitiveness. Quain expressed this as follows: "There can be no doubt that property ownership is a paramount drive in this culture. Children are not content to see, as they are in Fiji, but things must be theirs. The possessive pronoun has an importance here which is striking. Once articles are received, they seem to disappear. They are probably carefully guarded among personal belongings." Significantly, the word for "gift-giving," literally translated, also means "to yield to a demand." 181 425 [193]

The Trumaí were tremendously interested in Quain's belongings and made continual attempts to acquire them. Adults as well as children whined in order to obtain objects from him. This attitude was manifested towards useful objects such as knives and axes, but they also pleaded and begged for articles having only curiosity value to them. As Quain said, to be curious about an object was to want it. Possession was desired for its own sake, for only slight prestige was gained by accumulating material objects, and utilitarian articles, such as knives, axes, and pots, were easily borrowed. 123 181 425 [454] [556]

Despite the possessiveness described by Quain, the Trumaí were restricted by strong gift-giving ties. A true brother or a son had a claim 431 602

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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on a man's property, as did also, in the following order, his sister's son and his brother's son. Within the household, food was freely shared, and correspondingly, a co-resident could ask for a material object. These requests, however, were not always granted. A common excuse was to say that the object was promised to someone having a stronger claim. Despite these evasions, the patterns of gift-giving created a constant circulation of food and objects throughout the village.

Inheritance

Transmission of property was accomplished chiefly through trade and gift. There is no information on the disposal of the material possessions of the deceased. The only available data on inheritance concern the office of chief and the possession of certain songs sung at the *ole* (manioc) ceremony. The former was inherited patrilineally and will be discussed later. The ceremonial songs were inherited either through the mother's brother or the mother's father. Thus, old Matiwana would some day teach his *ole* songs to Amanatsin, his daughter's eldest son. Nitvary, another of the three men who knew *ole* songs, learned them from Jawaku's father, who was his mother's brother. Since cross-cousin marriage was practiced, Jawaku might marry Nitvary's sister, and their child would inherit the songs from Nitvary. In this way the *ole* songs returned to the direct patrilineal line every other generation.

In response to careful questioning, Quain was assured that these songs could be obtained only from the mother's brother and mother's father, and not from the father or the father's brother. The combination of this matrilineal trait and patrilineal elements is characteristic of the bilaterality in upper Xingú culture.

The Trade Game

The trade game was a mechanism of inter- and intra-community distribution. Even more importantly it provided a framework for social participation, leisure time relaxation, and general enjoyment. As such it was one of the few integrating factors in Trumaí society.

Afternoons, especially rainy afternoons, were dull times in the Trumaí village. In Quain's words, "These people are bored but don't realize it! Wrestling provides some diversion, but nothing quickens spirits more than a brisk trade game (*kawirxo*). All that is needed is for one of the men to stride through the village with a bundle of goods to trade and suggest a *kawirxo*. Shouts go up on all sides, everybody crowds into one of the houses, and the game is on. Enthusiasm is even greater when there are visitors in the village."

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These were noisy affairs. The seller threw his merchandise on the ground and loosed an exultant shout. All the participants cried out in response. Occasionally the goods were offered in the hope of acquiring a desired article from a certain person, but usually they were put up for barter with the general public. In this case, whoever wanted the item went back to his house and brought an article to exchange. He placed this on the floor and picked up his purchase. Often the seller refused the proffered exchange and waited for a better offer. If the trade was consummated, another loud shout was given by the audience. These exchanges went on until the participants lost interest, or until no more goods were offered.

All exchanges were considered to be gift-giving. This was especially true of trade between fellow-Trumaí. When members of other groups were involved, trade was at least formally so considered, although the behavior and attitudes in gift-giving, proper, were quite different. When Quain made exchanges he was always admonished to tell his wife who the donor of the "gift" was.

Within the Trumaí village gift-giving and not trade was the usual form of property distribution, especially between kinsmen. A man might trade with a person whom he called mother's brother, or father's brother, or some other relationship term, but this was almost always a kin bond reckoned by extension, and not a close blood tie.

Women participated little in the men's trade games. In part this was due to the sexual dichotomy that operated in social participation generally, in part to the nature of the goods involved. A woman did not want to buy a man's fish hooks any more than he wanted her cotton. Occasionally a woman might break into the male trade game to buy a particular object, but once this was accomplished she would withdraw. A few women might sit around the house where the trade game was being held, especially if their husbands were participating. Occasionally the women held their own trade games in which cotton and household utensils were commonly bartered. Conventional shouts accompanied their activities, but they were less boisterous than those of the men.

The women were especially eager to trade with Quain, to get his cloth and colored thread in exchange for food, which normally was given away. The chief was also a main instigator of trade games with Quain. At times Quain refused to participate to the great annoyance of the would-be second party.

The trade game reflected the Trumaí attitude towards property, in that it provided more enjoyment and excitement than any other form of social participation, except intertribal festivities. Each exchange was watched with bated breath, and the outcome greeted with happy cries and laughter. There was some indication that the most dominant and forward personalities were also the most energetic traders. It was

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592 friendly terms tended to join in forming a household, and third, it was
578 probably considered desirable to suppress ill feeling within the house.

The unfriendliness between Maibu and the men of Aloari's family
571 existed side by side with close gift-giving obligations between their two
578 houses. According to Aloari's brother Oirupa, he *pans* (gives) to all the
592 people of his own house and also to all the people of Maibu's house. Residence was the crucial factor, for when Yanahi and Mayuva moved from his house, Oirupa no longer gave to them. Similarly, the two other houses had close gift-giving ties. The women united according to this house division when an attack was thought imminent.

114 Insofar as can be ascertained from Quain's genealogical data, there
592 were no special kin bonds between the households of Maibu and Aloari,
602 on one hand, and Jakwanari and Nitvary, on the other, to explain this moiety-like division. But it is of interest that the houses of both Maibu and Aloari were the large type of domicile, like those of the Kamayurá, whereas the other pair of houses were the smaller "true" Trumaí type. It is possible that the residents of one pair of houses, perhaps the smaller, were the descendants of inhabitants of the southern village.

The Nuclear Family

594 Despite the importance of the household and the bilateral consanguineal group, the nuclear family, consisting of man, wife, and children, was still the basic unit of Trumaí society and economy. The biological family could provide nearly all the necessities of life within the previously outlined framework of individualized production and division of labor between the sexes.

The responsibilities of child-rearing fell largely on the nuclear family. The Trumaí showed a fondness for children, and it was not unusual for other adults in the house to play with them and watch over them; but the chief attention came from the parents, and the dependence of the young upon the father and mother was stronger than upon the rest of the household.

[513] The conjugal group had its own hearth near which its hammocks were strung. Very young children slept with the mother or, if motherless,
593 with the father. Couples were companionable and spent much of their leisure time with each other. It was common for a man and wife to sit in the shade of their house in the afternoon while he made arrows and she worked on a hammock. At other times the couple would go on a short
[832] gathering trip, or just idle around the house. Embraces or mild sex play often occurred in public between younger mates.

593 Some unions were closer than others. Aloari and his wife Yumunuwa
156 spent more time together and showed more affection than did other couples. They were both young; he was virile and aggressive, and she

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taboos and permissible marriages were a part of kinship-determined behavior and will be treated below.

Kinship Terminology

Everyone within the Trumaí village classified everyone else by a term of relationship. Since the community was small, most of these designations expressed a demonstrable bond of consanguinity or affinity, although even outsiders were placed within the kinship system. This was done by establishing a kin tie with one Trumaí, whereupon the rest of the village could automatically place the outsider in the proper context.

Much of the data on the kinship system is uncertain for a number of reasons. The high death rate of the Trumaí, their lack of interest in tracing genealogies, and, most important, a taboo on the names of the dead made the recounting of family lines difficult. Moreover, there is some indication that the Trumaí system was changing rapidly. Many descriptive categories for classifying collateral kinsmen were falling into disuse and being replaced by classificatory terms. The result is an extreme looseness of nomenclature, as can be seen from the accompanying list of terms collected by three ethnologists.[3]

Term	Quain	Oberg[4]	Wagley[5]
Ego's generation			
sibling	apizi[6]		
younger brother	takwai (v) opat (r)	aheát[6] (m. sp.) takwai (w. sp.)	ha-heát[6] (m. sp.) ha-pisí (w. sp.)
older brother		apisí (m. or w.sp.)	ha-pisí (m. or w. sp.)
sister	hatdifle		ha-dufle (m. sp.)
younger sister	ta'yj	tain (m. sp.) takwai (w. sp.)	ha-takwai (w.sp.)
older sister		apisí (m. or w.sp.)	ha-pisí (w. sp.)

[3] The three lists of Trumaí kinship terms are listed below, since they, in a sense, complete and correct one another. Quain's list is admittedly incomplete and contains several errors. Wagley's terms likewise are incomplete and based on short interviews with informants during his brief stay among the Trumaí. Oberg says nothing about his Trumaí informants, and neither Oberg nor Wagley collected referential terms. The divergencies, then, may reflect misunderstandings on the part of the ethnologists or informants, or they may actually reflect changes that are taking place in Trumaí society.

[4] Oberg 1953, p. 119.

[5] Wagley, personal communication.

[6] The prefix "ha" (Wagley and Quain) or "a" (Oberg and Quain) is the Trumaí first person possessive.

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Quain was told that the Kamayurá were "bad," because they permitted marriage with a sister's daughter.[6]

Cross-cousin marriage is correlated with sororal polygyny among the Trumaí and with the sexual privileges that a man may take with his wife's sister. No indication was found of the sororate, despite its probable acceptability. There was only one case of the levirate, and that was the marriage of the chief to his dead brother's wife. That the levirate is expected but not compulsory is apparent in the case of Yati and his brother's widow Vatsiat. She resided in Yati's house, and they performed many necessary, sexually specialized functions for each other. Although their hammocks were some distance apart, Vatsiat called him *ece* (husband) and became quite incensed at one of his paramours. However, Yati called her *apizi* (sibling), and apparently felt that there were no marital obligations between them. He had his love-life, which did not include her, and he showed no sign of annoyance at her escapades. It was a standing joke that every man in the village had sexual relations with Vatsiat, except where an incest taboo prohibited it.

Marriage between people of different generations, especially between older women and younger men, was frequent; but the rules governing such unions are obscure. It was specifically frowned upon for a man to marry his mother's brother's widow. However, when one young man did so, he was only mildly ridiculed and censured, and his status in the village was little affected.

Joking Relations

Cross-cousins were not the only acceptable marriage partners, but they were the only ones with whom marriage was expected and especially approved. Also, patterned and expected joking existed only between these kin. Cross-cousins of the same sex, especially males, bantered with each other, but most sexual joking occurred between men and women. Thus, Aloari enjoyed making suggestive remarks to the rather old and ugly Vatsiat and frequently accused her of improprieties with various men. On one occasion, partly for Quain's benefit, he threw her on her back and went through the motions of coitus.

Cross-cousins of the same sex confined their joking to pranks and good-natured raillery, *ami tarajau*, which Quain translates as "cross-cousin talk." Mayuva teased Yati, who had a phobia of frogs, by chasing after him with a frog hanging from a stick. Both men and women made great sport of urging Quain to throw their cross-cousins out of his house. On one occasion, Quain, experimentally, made sexual suggestions to several women who had congregated in his house. They all ran out laughing shrilly, but one came back later to be reassured that it was

[6] Cf. Oberg 1953, p. 44.

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only *ami tarajau*. *Ami tarajau* also took the form of mock name-calling contests between men.

The Trumaí found great amusement in minor accidents that befell others and in humorous gossip, without regard to kinship. Jokes played by one person on another, however, usually occurred between cross-cousins.

Avoidance and Respect

Taboos on the names or persons of affinal relatives were observed by the Trumaí, because, as they said, they felt *valty* (ashamed) toward them. The strongest prohibited a man from speaking the name of his parents-in-law or being in their presence. Thus, a man would not enter a house in which his father-in-law was visiting or join the men's circle if he were there. Parents-in-law were the only affinals whose persons were avoided, and this was most strictly observed between a man and his father-in-law. Due to the short life span, social intercourse was little interrupted by this practice; only one father-in-law and two mothers-in-law lived in the Trumaí village. However, they figured importantly in marital troubles, since parents always took the part of their own offspring in a conflict between mates. Aloari felt bitter about his dead mother-in-law, because she had helped his wife to kill their first two children at birth. The avoidance of a father-in-law's name was so strict that a Trumaí man could not mention his own son's second name, because it was inherited from his wife's father.

Name avoidance was also invoked to some degree with respect to the second ascending generation of affinals. A wife's grandparents could be referred to by name, but only in a whisper, while no such inhibitions were observed when addressing the wife herself by the name.[7]

The Trumaí were ashamed toward the wife's brother and the sister's husband. This was expressed by name avoidance and a respect relation. If there were children, a man could avoid the use of his brother-in-law's name by calling him *deta a'o* (sister's son's father) in the case of a sister's husband, or *apat'awe* (child's mother's brother), if he was the wife's brother. Respect was shown by offering the affinal a chair or by other small courtesies or gift-giving. Since an affinal of the same generation was often a cross-cousin, the joking and respect relationships overlapped rather curiously. While Yati and his cross-cousin and brother-in-law Mayuva played pranks on or feigned anger at one another, they showed great mutual deference at other times. Immediately after Yati told Quain to throw Mayuva out of his house, Mayuva rolled a cigarette for Yati and lit it for him. Manifestly, the two prescribed patterns caused no conflict.

[7] This probably illustrates some overlapping between name avoidance and the taboo on speaking the name of a dead person.

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clouds of tobacco smoke were first blown over the affected area by the curer who then, with noisy inhalations, sucked that part of the body in which the ailment appeared to be localized. Insofar as Quain was able to determine, no foreign objects were "extracted," and he was not given any explanation as to why the treatment worked.

Knowledge of curing was widespread among the men. All the men knew how to use botanicals, and over half, all said to have been taught by Matiwana, knew the art of *jau'kath*. Men cured their wives, children, or other close blood relatives. When Aloari was treating his son's ringworm he was asked by Quain whether he would also treat a young boy who was only indirectly related. Aloari refused because the boy had closer kinsmen who could perform this act. Kayaru developed a swollen breast, and it was Yanahi, her sister's son, who performed *jau'kath* on it. All men treated the members of their biological families with medicines, but those who did not know the shamanistic cure relied on a practitioner from outside the immediate family.

Matiwana treated his son Yati without recompense, but when his daughter's husband became ill, the latter paid him for the cure with a pot. The kinship ties by which curing was free to certain relatives probably corresponded closely to the pattern of gift-giving obligations. Payments for medical treatment were called *okei pop* (medicine gift). Quain was usually given small payments for the many cures he performed for the Trumaí. In no case could it be said that any curer derived a significant income from his services.

Group Curing Ceremony

The only time that Quain witnessed the group curing ceremony (*kevere*) was on an occasion two weeks after his arrival. He noted the formal aspects carefully, but he was unable to ascertain their meanings, since his command of the language at that time was so meagre.

Maibu's wife, Matavitsa, was sick and wasted when Quain arrived in the village. Her husband had been treating her for some time by the shamanistic means of tobacco smoke and sucking, but with little success. It was decided to hold a ceremonial cure, although shamanistic techniques were not ruled out. Nearly all the adult men of the village gathered in Maibu's house for the ritual, which lasted for three hours. No women were admitted, and the door was kept closed. The *kevere* was strictly prohibited to females, and the men would not even talk of it in their presence. The women seemed to regard Quain's status as doubtful, for Maibu's sister told him that he would die if he entered. He refused to be dissuaded, and upon entering was motioned to a seat.

The men were ranged in a broad semi-circle along the side of the house opposite the sick woman's hammock. Matiwana, who was in charge of

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a certain point at least, the take increases geometrically with the number of persons participating.

In gardening, also, which was not practiced collectively, their small number decreased Trumaí security. It was common for nearly all the village men to plant their gardens in clearings adjacent to those of their neighbors. Obviously, if one part of such a single, extended clearing was improperly fired, or if the crops were destroyed by armadillos or wild pigs, the whole village might be without food. Crop failure for a variety of causes is common in the tropical forests, but most aboriginal communities in South America have several separated garden clearings, each owned by an individual or extended family. If one garden fails, the family can, in a period of emergency, reap from others. Oberg relates that the Trumaí once had to turn for food to the Kamayura,[4] perhaps because of the failure of the village clearing.

It is, of course, possible that in the past the Trumaí organized their gardens along the more rational lines of the Kamayurá;[5] and it is also possible that they never made a proper ecological adaptation subsequent to their arrival in the upper Xingú region. But lacking information on their economy prior to their decimation, we cannot make any firm statement on these points. However, it is certain that, despite their small numbers, the individual Trumaí could have cleared and planted much more land. The average size of the gardens observed by Quain was one-half acre, and this area had to feed up to four people. Many men also had old gardens which were planted only to manioc. According to Quain's calculations, the total acreage of Trumaí gardens was only a little over thirteen. Since yields from forest soils are not high, it is evident that this very small area must have barely met the needs of a population of 43 persons. Manifestly, the Trumaí did not work hard enough; and it seems evident that their lack of application did more to impoverish them than any other single factor.

If the other upper Xingú tribes are used as criteria to establish what Trumaí society was like before its decline, some very serious dysfunctions within Trumaí social structure soon become apparent. To be sure, such a comparison is an arbitrary procedure; and it is only invoked here for its heuristic value. Since village and house patrilocality is the usual mode of residence among the Trumaí, a household similar to that of the Kamayurá, and with like functions, might be expected and might indeed have existed in the past. However, the Trumaí death rate in 1938 was so high that these units disintegrated before they had gone beyond the embryonic stage. House membership was shifting, the number of persons involved small, and leadership nebulous. And since kinship was the principal mechanism for structuring interpersonal relationships in Trumaí society, this lack of a stable, kin-structured unit probably did

[4] Oberg 1953, p. 42. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 45.

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serious damage to the individual personality. Also, many individuals could not enact whole sets of kin-determined roles because they had no relatives of the proper complementary status. For example, parents-in-law normally exerted considerable influence and control over younger married couples, but hardly anyone in the village had such relatives. Similarly, cross-cousin marriage was the preferred union, but cross-cousins were generally unavailable. Moreover, because of the shortage of women, marriage came to be more a cause of conflict than a consolidator of kinship bonds.

Not only was the family world of the Trumaí crumbling, but all lines of authority and social control were weak. The Trumaí seemed unable to unite for such culturally approved purposes as economic cooperation or hospitality. Trumaí leadership, like that of many primitive peoples, was predicated on the existence of strong bonds of kinship, economic interdependence, and a general agreement on goals and policies. These preconditions were no longer found among the Trumaí. In this structural vacuum, the Trumaí chief was less and less able to cope with the growing self-assertiveness of certain men, and was increasingly forced into a neutral role. As the community weakened, his position weakened.

A number of reasons account for the factionalism which developed within the Trumaí village. Some are a function of personality, others of the diminished population. Obviously women were at a premium and many men were compelled to do without mates. The resultant competition was, as we have seen, a festering sore in the body politic. Connected with it, but having further ramifications, the bonds of kinship and the expected behavior between kinsmen underwent attrition and upset what social balance could have been achieved under more normal conditions. Indeed fear of the outside world more than internal forces of cohesion held the Trumaí community together.

Other integrative mechanisms in Trumaí culture were also disappearing. Conspicuous among them was the gradual abandonment of many elements in the Trumaí ceremonial cycle. (Significantly this left the highly individual practice of shamanism as the most active religious expression in Trumaí culture). In part, this loss may have been due to the inability of the Trumaí to amass a sufficiently large food surplus for the feasting that was required when visitors from other tribes were present. Not enough is known about the ritual of the Trumaí to warrant any broad generalizations on the effects of depopulation on ceremonial participation, but their numbers may well have been approaching the minimum necessary to carry out the rites. Only a few men who had depended heavily on one old man for their instruction possessed the requisite ceremonial knowledge. When this old man died, Trumaí culture must have suffered a severe blow. Younger men were little interested in learning the ritual and lore. Moreover, the small number of bearers of

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551 605 607 Only when he was also the brother-in-law was respect given to a cross-cousin or his name avoided. Female cross-cousins, despite affinal connections, were never so treated by the men.

Avunculate

604 522 [861] [431] The maternal uncle in Trumaí society was in no sense a disciplinarian. Only the father and the father's brother were allowed to strike a child. On the other hand, the gift-giving claims of the sister's son (*deta*) upon the mother's brother (*wawe*) were strong, and particularly so when they were reinforced by co-residence. A man was expected to be benevolent and tolerant toward his *deta*. This frequently took the form of teasing and jollying the boy, and contrasted with the more serious attitude of the father and his brothers. For instance, Yati told his *deta* that he and Quain were going to eat him, and, as if to carry out the threat, he began to drag him toward the fire. The child cried lustily, and Yati immediately stopped and cajoled him. Also, Katauka said to his *deta*, "When you die, I will not cry." Katauka was greatly amused when this caused tears.

Such teasing ceased by the time a boy reached the age of puberty. Moreover, the *wawe* became a defender of the *deta's* interests in the absence of the boy's father or father's brother, and, in some cases, he supervised his initiation ceremonies. Common to both the Trumaí and [437] Kamayurá was the traveling partnership of a man and his sister's son. [171] It was quite usual for a *wawe* to take his *deta* along when he visited another village. Quain noted that on such trips the wife of the older man was rarely included. This is consistent with the sexual taboo [835] between the nephew and the maternal uncle's wife.

The Chieftaincy

622 624 The Trumaí had one chieftain (*aek*), Maibu, and two sub-chiefs, Katauka and Matiwana. At the outset it should be understood that Katauka and Matiwana at no time during Quain's stay exerted any [988] chiefly prerogative or function. They were not men of especially high status — indeed, Matiwana was looked down upon as an old man. Their main function, Quain was told, was to take over the office of chief when Maibu was away from the village. Due to Matiwana's advanced age, this duty ordinarily fell to Katauka. Otherwise, neither man was particularly influential; nor did they talk more in the men's circle than others.

622 537 The chief's main function was to urge his fellow Trumaí to carry out those projects or tasks which were the responsibility of the community as a whole or in its interest, but he frequently exhorted the villagers to

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Among the eight boys below the ages of Autsuki and Jawaku there were no clearly organized groups. When outdoors they usually played in small groups of three or four, although nearly all would gather together occasionally for some special activity. The small groups were usually composed of age mates. Tsirikoan, the youngest, spent most of his time in the house, while the oldest boy, Muruta, was already drifting away from the others and spending more time with the men. Tay, an orphan boy of between ten and twelve years of age, was decidedly a misfit and did not join the others often. Of the remaining five, the three oldest were steady companions, while the two youngest either trailed them or stayed near their houses.

Despite the fact that the children were together frequently, there were no fast friendships or strong ties of loyalty and dependence. In this respect they were much like the men. Their play together was sporadic, and participation was fluid and shifting.

The only organized play in which the children indulged was wrestling. Matches were infrequent and usually broke up within fifteen minutes. All the boys turned out on such occasions except Tay, whose interests were abnormally directed toward homosexual play. The wrestling matches were a complete replica of the adult contests, the boys even sitting on the log in the men's circle (this was one of the few times they were permitted to do so). The adults never interfered. Usually they stood near the houses and watched the grappling with great amusement. When the wrestling involved boys of the village only, it was very informal and few pains were taken with their ornamentation. Each bout consisted of trying out some holds and grunting loudly in imitation of the men. The contests generally ended in a draw by mutual consent without any hostility being shown.

Most of the matches were between the older boys. But they also wrestled with the younger children. Even little Tsirikoan wrestled once. As he did not know what he was expected to do, he merely grunted and fell down. The bigger boys were very gentle with the little ones and tried only to teach them.

Just as the men were excited by the intertribal wrestling matches, the boys welcomed the chance to wrestle with boys from other tribes. This occurred regularly, since it was customary in the upper Xingú for a boy to travel with his maternal uncle. At one such time, a Kamayurá boy came to the Trumaí village and was invited to wrestle. The boys gathered in the men's circle after having carefully painted themselves and put on new arm and leg bands. The older boys wrestled the Kamayurá youngster in turn, but since he was bigger, he threw them easily. The Trumaí men watched from a distance, silently rooting for their own boys, but laughing loudly as each landed on his back, out of politeness to the visitors.

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881 the banks, while men crowded into a canoe. The reptile was located, but
866 instead of the one-foot diameter that it was at first said to have, it turned out to be only three inches thick. But, as Quain laconically observed, it was hungry. The men shouted at Jawaku to jump in the water and grab it.

The boy approached the reptile cautiously and with obvious fear. The
[136] anaconda, aroused, slithered through the water to the other side of the lagoon. Jawaku's unwillingness to fight was now apparent. There were shouts that he was frightened. These goads temporarily overcame his reluctance, and he waded through the water and grabbed the snake around the middle, lifting it out of the water. The anaconda began throwing its coils, while striking at the boy. In a panic, Jawaku stumbled blindly for the shore, tripped over a log, and released his hold on the snake. All the men shouted, "He's afraid!" as the crestfallen boy dragged himself out of the water and silently walked home.

That night, Maibu made a lengthy speech in which he absolved himself from any responsibility for Jawaku's cowardice. The next day another reptile was sighted, but Jawaku did not even bother to look at it.

881 On the other hand, Autsuki measured up to what was expected of him, and thus was able to continue the ritual that marked his maturation. Immediately upon the successful outcome of his struggle with an anaconda, he went to his house. He had now entered the seclusion phase
[604] of his puberty rites. Tun, his mother's brother, who was acting as next of kin, built a partition screening him off from the rest of the house. He was allowed nothing to eat but a medicinal preparation called *wyryx*, and he could leave his confinement to defecate only when everyone was asleep.

881 The seclusion period was to last until the ear-piercing festival which
304 was to be held several months later, but Autsuki was cheerful about it. In accordance with normal practice, he had his arms scraped shortly after he entered confinement, and he was also given the adult tonsure.

881 There remained only one more step in the cycle of initiation rites:
868 initiation into the shamanistic art of curing. Completion of this final
756 phase was necessary for full participation in the men's circle and for the privilege of smoking tobacco.[3] All of the uninitiated Trumaí youths
[076] knew how to smoke and occasionally did so, but the adults referred to
[195] this as "lying smoking." In order to "really" smoke it was necessary to have a ceremony performed by Matiwana. Exactly when this occurred is open to question, but ideally it was supposed to follow the final seclusion and ear-piercing. Aloari had not yet had the ceremony performed, although he was married and had a child. In his own words, he was still "too young." Aloari was evidently equating maturation with the puberty rites.

[3] Oberg (1953, p. 60) reports that uninitiated men may not smoke among the Kamayurá, either.

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tention of marriage. But an intention of marriage did not insure exclusive sexual rights. The man usually continued to get gratification wherever he could find it. The knowledge of his other liaisons did not particularly disturb his bride-to-be, as she herself may well have been receiving attentions from other lovers. After marriage, such transgressions were not so readily tolerated.

The chief obstacles in the way of the marriage-bent Trumaí swain were the necessity to shout down his rivals and gain the approval and consent of the girl's kinsmen. The woman's consent was not necessary in making the marriage, and she usually remained aloof, waiting to see who won. If, however, she was not pleased with the mate to whom she was awarded, she was free to leave him. And this she often did. While Quain was in the village, there were marriages that lasted only a day or two due to the bride's dissatisfaction.

In addition to the arguments that precede most marriages, the man was expected to go through certain formalities. He went to the girl's mother and stated his intentions. If the girl had no mother, he approached the nearest male relative. In order to gain the favor of her kinsmen, he distributed gifts, the most important to the girl's mother, others to her father, siblings, and her mother's brother. The gift to the latter was especially important, as he was the one who formally gave the woman, or as the Trumaí phrase it, "spreads her legs." Gifts were also given the girl, culminating with a present of fish. In the meantime the girl made an especially fine hammock which she gave to the groom.

If everything was accepted, the man was free to take the girl to his house. The wedding was preceded by a fishing expedition in which nearly all the men participated, and by a wrestling match for which the groom was beautifully painted. The women held a trade game. The actual ceremony consisted of nothing more than the woman's moving into the house of her mate. A male relative carried her hammock to his home.

This was the way weddings should have been conducted in the Trumaí village. Actually, they were even less formal, especially in the case of second wives in polygamous unions. Marriage and sex preoccupied the Trumaí, for there were not enough women to go around; but even the few formal acts involved interested the Trumaí little. If the marriage was durable, the couple settled down and had children. After marriage and the birth of children no great change occurred in their positions in the community until they reached old age.

Old Age

Everyone in the village was classified as "younger" or "older." The men were either *axosek* (younger) or *tdakek* (older), while the terms for the women were, respectively, *axosekiss* and *tdakits*. These were not age

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Quain was told that the Kamayurá were "bad," because they permitted marriage with a sister's daughter.[6]

Cross-cousin marriage is correlated with sororal polygyny among the Trumaí and with the sexual privileges that a man may take with his wife's sister. No indication was found of the sororate, despite its probable acceptability. There was only one case of the levirate, and that was the marriage of the chief to his dead brother's wife. That the levirate is expected but not compulsory is apparent in the case of Yati and his brother's widow Vatsiat. She resided in Yati's house, and they performed many necessary, sexually specialized functions for each other. Although their hammocks were some distance apart, Vatsiat called him *ece* (husband) and became quite incensed at one of his paramours. However, Yati called her *apizi* (sibling), and apparently felt that there were no marital obligations between them. He had his love-life, which did not include her, and he showed no sign of annoyance at her escapades. It was a standing joke that every man in the village had sexual relations with Vatsiat, except where an incest taboo prohibited it.

Marriage between people of different generations, especially between older women and younger men, was frequent; but the rules governing such unions are obscure. It was specifically frowned upon for a man to marry his mother's brother's widow. However, when one young man did so, he was only mildly ridiculed and censured, and his status in the village was little affected.

Joking Relations

Cross-cousins were not the only acceptable marriage partners, but they were the only ones with whom marriage was expected and especially approved. Also, patterned and expected joking existed only between these kin. Cross-cousins of the same sex, especially males, bantered with each other, but most sexual joking occurred between men and women. Thus, Aloari enjoyed making suggestive remarks to the rather old and ugly Vatsiat and frequently accused her of improprieties with various men. On one occasion, partly for Quain's benefit, he threw her on her back and went through the motions of coitus.

Cross-cousins of the same sex confined their joking to pranks and good-natured raillery, *ami tarajau*, which Quain translates as "cross-cousin talk." Mayuva teased Yati, who had a phobia of frogs, by chasing after him with a frog hanging from a stick. Both men and women made great sport of urging Quain to throw their cross-cousins out of his house. On one occasion, Quain, experimentally, made sexual suggestions to several women who had congregated in his house. They all ran out laughing shrilly, but one came back later to be reassured that it was

[6] Cf. Oberg 1953, p. 44.

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Avoidance and Respect

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Name avoidance was also invoked to some degree with respect to the second ascending generation of affinals. A wife's grandparents could be referred to by name, but only in a whisper, while no such inhibitions were observed when addressing the wife herself by the name.[7]

The Trumaí were ashamed toward the wife's brother and the sister's husband. This was expressed by name avoidance and a respect relation. If there were children, a man could avoid the use of his brother-in-law's name by calling him *deta a'o* (sister's son's father) in the case of a sister's husband, or *apat'awe* (child's mother's brother), if he was the wife's brother. Respect was shown by offering the affinal a chair or by other small courtesies or gift-giving. Since an affinal of the same generation was often a cross-cousin, the joking and respect relationships overlapped rather curiously. While Yati and his cross-cousin and brother-in-law Mayuva played pranks on or feigned anger at one another, they showed great mutual deference at other times. Immediately after Yati told Quain to throw Mayuva out of his house, Mayuva rolled a cigarette for Yati and lit it for him. Manifestly, the two prescribed patterns caused no conflict.

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Such teasing ceased by the time a boy reached the age of puberty. Moreover, the *wawe* became a defender of the *deta's* interests in the absence of the boy's father or father's brother, and, in some cases, he
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compartment in the house for six months, at the end of which time she is accepted as a young woman.[3]

Menstruation caused no special distress to the Trumaí women. They maintained personal cleanliness with the aid of leaves, going out into the brush behind the house to care for themselves. Although the relevant taboos were observed, the women talked frankly to Quain about menstruation, and were interested in learning what white women did during the period. The men, although expressing a fear of menstrual blood, did not shun the subject either. Most of them knew when women in the village were having their menses.

Everyone was extremely shocked when Quain told them that white people often had intercourse during the menstrual period, for such contact would make a Trumaí man fall ill and die. Aloari said that he would surely die of a cough if he copulated with his wife then. The blood itself was considered malignant, infecting whatever it touched. The whole village became very disturbed when Kuyafi dropped some menstrual blood on the path to the gardens. Aloari averred that he would not go for manioc until the rain washed it away.

Fear of polluting forced a menstruating woman to make frequent trips to the weeds, where nobody walked. The danger also extended to her person. During this time she was not allowed to cook, although she could sit around the fire when food was being prepared. (Quain's departure from the Trumaí village was delayed for a day as both the wife and sister-in-law of Aloari, who was to accompany him, were menstruating, and there was only one woman left in the household to make his *beijú* supply.) Nor could the menstruating woman carry water or take a bath. However, a prohibition on eating fish was the only food taboo that she had to observe.

Marriage

A man was ready to seek a mate within one or two years after his initiation, or at the corresponding age level. Women were suitable prospects soon after their puberty rites. It was common for marriages to be arranged by parents while their children were still infants. These infant betrothals were usually between cross-cousins. It is doubtful, however, whether many such arranged marriages were consummated, both because of the high mortality and the fact that most of the Trumaí women were ultimately fought for and won by verbal battles in the men's circle.

Courtships were neither long nor formalized. When a man developed an interest in a woman, he usually expressed it by attempting to seduce her. In most instances, amorous advances were made without any in-

[3] Rodrigues Ferreira 1946, p. 92.

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serious damage to the individual personality. Also, many individuals could not enact whole sets of kin-determined roles because they had no relatives of the proper complementary status. For example, parents-in-law normally exerted considerable influence and control over younger married couples, but hardly anyone in the village had such relatives. Similarly, cross-cousin marriage was the preferred union, but cross-cousins were generally unavailable. Moreover, because of the shortage of women, marriage came to be more a cause of conflict than a consolidator of kinship bonds.

Not only was the family world of the Trumaí crumbling, but all lines of authority and social control were weak. The Trumaí seemed unable to unite for such culturally approved purposes as economic cooperation or hospitality. Trumaí leadership, like that of many primitive peoples, was predicated on the existence of strong bonds of kinship, economic interdependence, and a general agreement on goals and policies. These preconditions were no longer found among the Trumaí. In this structural vacuum, the Trumaí chief was less and less able to cope with the growing self-assertiveness of certain men, and was increasingly forced into a neutral role. As the community weakened, his position weakened.

A number of reasons account for the factionalism which developed within the Trumaí village. Some are a function of personality, others of the diminished population. Obviously women were at a premium and many men were compelled to do without mates. The resultant competition was, as we have seen, a festering sore in the body politic. Connected with it, but having further ramifications, the bonds of kinship and the expected behavior between kinsmen underwent attrition and upset what social balance could have been achieved under more normal conditions. Indeed fear of the outside world more than internal forces of cohesion held the Trumaí community together.

Other integrative mechanisms in Trumaí culture were also disappearing. Conspicuous among them was the gradual abandonment of many elements in the Trumaí ceremonial cycle. (Significantly this left the highly individual practice of shamanism as the most active religious expression in Trumaí culture). In part, this loss may have been due to the inability of the Trumaí to amass a sufficiently large food surplus for the feasting that was required when visitors from other tribes were present. Not enough is known about the ritual of the Trumaí to warrant any broad generalizations on the effects of depopulation on ceremonial participation, but their numbers may well have been approaching the minimum necessary to carry out the rites. Only a few men who had depended heavily on one old man for their instruction possessed the requisite ceremonial knowledge. When this old man died, Trumaí culture must have suffered a severe blow. Younger men were little interested in learning the ritual and lore. Moreover, the small number of bearers of

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post-natal sexual taboos is a serious social problem. A large group of not very pretty bachelors must use the woman with ringworm or the Suyá captive, whose present marriage is considered dishonorable. These women have no brothers or fathers. In contrast with Karajá, there is no stylized homosexuality. Yet the complete freedom of sexual play results in activities which might be considered overt homosexuality. But to the Trumaí such activity has little emotional content. It does not seem to set up special personal relationships.

"Women are in constant fear of attack. Yet a wife tyrannizes her husband by withholding her favors and pulling the hair of anyone whom she suspects her husband has used sexually. Between married people, sex occurs at night — preferably when everyone else is asleep — or while going to the forest on various gathering tasks. A man and his wife engage in many things together, such as afternoon relaxation, fishing, and gardening. There is companionship even between those spouses among whom the wife is much older and no longer of interest to the man sexually.

"Between themselves, the men are extremely individualistic. Cooperation rarely exceeds kin limits even at the explicit order of the chief. Only when outsiders are present do men band together in a mock display of solid cooperation.... There is only one old man, who is about seventy — all others are under 45 ..... All death is murder. Nobody expects to live longer than the next rainy season. Men always carry bows and arrows for protection. Shamans keep the village in constant fear of attack from the Suyá or Kamayurá.... There are imaginary attacks quite often. Men gather in terror at the center of the village — the most exposed spot — and wait to be shot at from the dark bushes at the margin of the village....

"Authority is lax. The patrilineally hereditary chief does no work and is a parasite on his household. He is self-conscious of the rank of his wife whose marriage has elevated her. He lounges in his hammock, but it is his duty to orate from the center of the village at night and sometimes in the morning, urging the men to undertake group projects. He is the only man who has the courage to be an executive. This contrasts with the Kamayurá where there are several chiefs who, uniquely in their culture, are shy and ashamed to speak and whose orders must be referred through special talkers. It also contrasts with the Karajá where the chief is the best worker .... When the season changes, the Trumaí chief urges the people to engage in the new work, which they would do anyway. An example of the complete independence of spirit is illustrated by the two brothers who would not help the brother-in-law of one build the house in which they all were living, because they thought the mosquitoes would be bad in that location during the rainy season. The brother-in-law built the tremendous house all by himself — the two brothers lived comfortably in it.

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796 243 522 He then started a song about the post in which he was joined by Nitvary and the women. After two repetitions, the women poured a bowl of the soup on Matiwana's head and shoulders, making a dripping mess of him. He retired amid general laughter. The second bowl of soup was then poured over the pole. A full explanation of the beliefs surrounding the *ole* posts was not obtained.

796 243 608 Due to the fact that Quain had only recently arrived in the village when the ceremony was held, there is also a lack of clarity in the system of relationships known as *ole aton*. The word "*aton*" means "pet" in Trumaí, but in the present context it applies to a temporary ceremonial identification between people, and between people and the *ole* posts. The [571] interpersonal ties set up were only between persons of opposite sex. However, a man could have more than one woman for *aton*, and vice versa.

Kinship may be the determinant of these ties, but the data are inconclusive. Interestingly, the greatest number of *ole aton* relationships existed between people of the previously mentioned pairs of houses, suggesting a ceremonial reinforcement of this moiety-like arrangement.

Except for reciprocal gift-giving obligations, nothing is known of the behavioral roles called for by these connections. The owners of the *ole* posts were said to have their particular posts for *atons*. Their chief [782] ceremonial duties were to peel and paint the pole, and supply it with [778] food offerings. It may be hypothesized that the posts represent certain spirits with which individuals are identified, perhaps as the result of shamanistic experiences, as described by Oberg for the Kamayurá.[6]

796 829 181 During the *ole* ceremony, as during the cure described above, Quain was impressed by the lack of interest in the proceedings. Those who were not part of the immediate activity sat and smoked, indulging in the usual topics of conversation. The loose patterning and secularity which characterized the ritual bespoke the general lassitude that permeated all aspects of the culture.

The Piquí Ceremony

796 The *piquí (tsinon)* ceremony occurred at the end of the harvest of that fruit, during the first half of the rainy season. It was similar to the *ole* celebration, but not as lengthy nor as important. Quain's information on the festival, obtained from Aloari, is very limited. Jakwanari, the main functionary, occupied a position similar to that of Matiwana and Nitvary in the *ole* ceremony. As Aloari phrased it, "Jakwanari had *tsinon* as *aton*." There was house-to-house dancing by the women, accompanied by singing of a certain series of songs. At the end of the dancing Jak- [262] wanari's wife made a large quantity of *t'ak*, the *piquí* flour cake, which

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

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possible that more women may be needed for polygamous marriages, but the data do not indicate plural marriage to be of great significance.

Pillage, also, inspires raids. The Kamayurá threatened to descend on the Trumaí, after Quain left, to rob them of all the Western goods they had obtained. The Suyá took all the Trumaí pots in a raid which occurred immediately before von den Steinen's second trip through the region.[29] The desire for goods is undoubtedly a motivating factor in particular raids, and it may also be a contributing factor in warfare generally, but since the material surplus is low throughout the area and retaliation almost certain, it is doubtful that this is a basic cause.

Insults, too, could provoke aggression. The Kamayurá threatened to chastise the Trumaí because the latter were rumored to have made defamatory remarks about them. Continuous fear and insecurity can also lead a tribe to attack. Quain observed that the Trumaí worked themselves up into such a state of terror that they were capable of desperate deeds. Needless to say, revenge expeditions tended to perpetuate hostility.

Among the Trumaí, no special prestige was derived from warfare, and the men did not boast of their prowess as warriors. Trumaí men showed scars of old wounds to Quain, but only to impress him with the brutality of other tribes. To the Trumaí, warfare was an occasion for fear, and not an opportunity to enhance one's status.

Warfare, however, is important in maintaining social cohesion within the communities. Quain noted that intra-social harmony and cooperation was low in the Trumaí village. Leadership was weak, and there was little friendliness between the men. However, when an attack threatened, quarrels were forgotten and aggressions and anxieties were directed toward the outside world. Also, when members of other tribes were in the village, the whole tone and tempo of life changed, and the Trumaí presented a united front.

This was made manifest during a visit of several Kamayurá. Despite their apprehension, the Trumaí treated their guests as long absent brothers. There was much forced and nervous jocularity and talk. The men expressed tremendous affection towards each other and the Kamayurá by embraces and linking of arms. Industry and activity were high. The Trumaí men went to catch fish to feed the guests and, upon returning, marched into the village singing gaily and led by their chief. After the Kamayurá left, the village lapsed with relief into its normal way of life. The men ceased to show affection for their comrades, and old quarrels broke out anew.

[29] Von den Steinen 1897, p. 144.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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pursue their individual affairs. Maibu made speeches in the evening men's circle or in the early morning, telling the men to plant their gardens or urging all to gather *piquí* fruit. Such proddings had little meaning, as they were usually made during the appropriate season for these activities, and most people would have planted or gathered as a matter of course.

Those who did not choose to do what Maibu suggested went their own way, whether it was to fish or sleep. Maibu was a gadfly; yet he was the conscience of the Trumaí. Perhaps more people would have procrastinated if it had not been for his admonitions. He was truly interested in the good of the village. He asked Quain for presents only for others, never for himself.

Cooperative work on the community level was usually organized by Maibu. The decision to perform such work was generally made by common agreement, but it was the chief's function to recruit the necessary labor and see that the task was done. This he did with varying degrees of success, for his power was limited.

The chief was accorded much more respect by his housemates and close kinsmen than by the rest of the villagers. The people resisted him in varying degrees, depending on their relationship to him and their individual personalities. His control over the women was particularly weak. When Quain first arrived, they refused to carry water for him, despite Maibu's orders. When they realized that they were to be given gifts for their trouble they grudgingly consented to do so, but, in the meantime, the chief had fetched the water, since the performance of such tasks for an outsider was the responsibility of the village as a whole, and no other man would do women's work.

Referring to the limitations on chiefly powers, Quain noted, "Maibu has to put up with a lot of booing and do a lot of talking. Obedience comes to him only after a long time. He seems to have no 'big stick.'" The Trumaí chief had no coercive power whatsoever. This particular headman was not a powerful shaman, although such a combination was possible and would undoubtedly have enhanced his position. The only act of a supernatural nature that he could perform was curing by sucking and blowing smoke, which was practiced by almost every adult Trumaí male.

Maibu was often completely ignored, and some of the men made a point of flouting his authority. The men of Aloari's house were extremely antagonistic toward him and told Quain that he was not a true "*aek*." These men rarely took part in the few group work projects and usually they were also absent from the wrestling matches. Their own prestige motives and individual inclinations brought them into frequent conflict with Maibu, both in his capacity as the man of highest status and as the village goad. Their resentment of authority never resulted in

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The main motivation for going into the brush to defecate was not modesty, but a feeling of revulsion for body products. One did not eliminate in places frequented by people. Yanahi was disgusted when Quain defecated in his garden and claimed that the garden was ruined. Similarly, it was considered repulsive to defecate in the water. When Quain described the great ship that had brought him to Brazil, the only thing that the Trumaí found hard to believe was that the people aboard would have to eliminate in the water.

The rules of etiquette required a person entering or leaving company to make an appropriate statement. The salutation usually consisted of a phrase stating what the person being greeted was doing at the moment. Thus, typical greetings were, "You are eating," "You have returned from fishing," "You are sitting," and so on. When leaving a person or group it was proper to announce, "I am leaving," followed generally by a statement of what one was going to do. If this last was not observed, the departing person was usually asked where he was going. These formalities were not as regularly invoked in the larger gatherings as in house-visiting.

The rules of etiquette also required the emission of conventionalized cries on particular occasions, such as the bringing of food into the village or the offering of tobacco to guests. In the latter case the person making the presentation cried "*aha*," the recipient "*ha-a-a ha ha ha*." These amenities, which were observed between the Trumaí, were always louder when an outsider was involved.

Hospitality was extended to all upper Xingú Indians and white men who visited the village. In part this was inspired by a fear of their neighbors, in part by etiquette. The Trumaí had little reason to fear Quain; yet he was treated with the greatest kindness and consideration, and everyone was eager to converse with him. Indeed, their attentions were so constant that at times he wanted nothing more than to be left alone.

While the men were far more self-assertive than the women, they were also extremely sensitive. They were insulted at the refusal of a request, or at the denial of what they considered to be the recognition due them as individuals. They did not like to be treated as faceless members of a group. During the argument that followed Quain's complaint that some article of his had been stolen, Maibu criticized him for addressing them collectively as "Trumaí," while they always called him "*capitão*" or by his name.

The Trumaí were greatly interested in Western goods and their behavior toward whites was unrestrained. The following quotation from Quain's field notes describes this succinctly:

> The reason why it is so difficult to live with these people is that they are so "impolite." At least in their dealings with me, an outsider, and with the mission-

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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aries, they are unrestrained in physical contact and in the expression of their momentary sentiments. In many instances their motives are kind and helpful. But their complete lack of shyness makes their sometimes bungling efforts troublesome.

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They were more reserved among themselves. Body contact and caresses were absent, as such demonstrations of friendship were unnecessary. The Trumaí were different people when outsiders were in the village.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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post-natal sexual taboos is a serious social problem. A large group of not very pretty bachelors must use the woman with ringworm or the Suyá captive, whose present marriage is considered dishonorable. These women have no brothers or fathers. In contrast with Karajá, there is no stylized homosexuality. Yet the complete freedom of sexual play results in activities which might be considered overt homosexuality. But to the Trumaí such activity has little emotional content. It does not seem to set up special personal relationships.

"Women are in constant fear of attack. Yet a wife tyrannizes her husband by withholding her favors and pulling the hair of anyone whom she suspects her husband has used sexually. Between married people, sex occurs at night — preferably when everyone else is asleep — or while going to the forest on various gathering tasks. A man and his wife engage in many things together, such as afternoon relaxation, fishing, and gardening. There is companionship even between those spouses among whom the wife is much older and no longer of interest to the man sexually.

"Between themselves, the men are extremely individualistic. Cooperation rarely exceeds kin limits even at the explicit order of the chief. Only when outsiders are present do men band together in a mock display of solid cooperation.... There is only one old man, who is about seventy — all others are under 45 ..... All death is murder. Nobody expects to live longer than the next rainy season. Men always carry bows and arrows for protection. Shamans keep the village in constant fear of attack from the Suyá or Kamayurá.... There are imaginary attacks quite often. Men gather in terror at the center of the village — the most exposed spot — and wait to be shot at from the dark bushes at the margin of the village....

"Authority is lax. The patrilineally hereditary chief does no work and is a parasite on his household. He is self-conscious of the rank of his wife whose marriage has elevated her. He lounges in his hammock, but it is his duty to orate from the center of the village at night and sometimes in the morning, urging the men to undertake group projects. He is the only man who has the courage to be an executive. This contrasts with the Kamayurá where there are several chiefs who, uniquely in their culture, are shy and ashamed to speak and whose orders must be referred through special talkers. It also contrasts with the Karajá where the chief is the best worker .... When the season changes, the Trumaí chief urges the people to engage in the new work, which they would do anyway. An example of the complete independence of spirit is illustrated by the two brothers who would not help the brother-in-law of one build the house in which they all were living, because they thought the mosquitoes would be bad in that location during the rainy season. The brother-in-law built the tremendous house all by himself — the two brothers lived comfortably in it.

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Thirteenth Chapter

Meeting With the Trumaí

During the night Castro's canoe, the only one whose load was not brought to shore, floated away; in two hours it travels one legoa; Valentin and Satyr set out in pursuit.

122 31 Aug. φ 11° 46'.5, λ 31'.6, km. 18.12, total 466.81.
132 4:10 A.M.: I 744.0, dry. 19.2.
6:45 A.M.: I 744.6, II 737.0, dry. 19.4, wet. 19.0, strc. 9°, water 25.8.
5:40 P.M.: I 744.4, II 735.6, dry. 24.8, wet. 21.9, horizon hazy 4, wind = 0, water 27.9.
9:45 P.M.: I 745.0, dry. 20.8.

484 "Vem os compadres! oh, quantas canoas!" suddenly rang
50 out around 10:00; "the compadres are coming; oh, how many
609 canoes!" The soldiers hastened from the nearby camp in the forest; everyone armed himself and watched the canoes drawing up picturesquely in a long row -- and a magnificent sight it was as one after another came around the bend and slowly drifted down the Kuliseu. Two Indians stood erect, with quiet composure, their bows in readiness; a third sat in the center and scarcely moved the oar. We counted 14 canoes and 43 persons.

/191 cont./

484 In perfect order, as though this were a carefully rehearsed theatri-
501 cal performance /192/ supported by very successful scenery, the
●609 long, narrow craft glided silently along, a considerable distance from our praia /sandy shore; see the glossary, p. 172/, closer to the opposite wooded shore; no command sounded. Almost all
[291] the naked occupants were painted black and bright red on faces
[302] and bodies, many simply blackened all over with soot; on their
[289] heads they wore white feather caps, the hair was cut short all
[141] around, as among the Bakaïrí; the standing ones were overtopped by the bows, almost two and a half meters long, and in the left hand held a thick bundle of colorfully feathered arrows.

609 Gradually they came to a stop and the stillness was followed
576 by a dreadful noise, a fanatical howling and bellowing. There
[101] could be no doubt but that they were Trumaí, for they shouted this word incessantly as though their lives depended on it, beat their fists against their chests, and at the same time made bows with their upper bodies all the more violently since their legs had little room for lively gesticulation. Nevertheless, if any of us had behaved half as excitedly in the canoe, we would surely have fallen hopelessly into the water at the very beginning of the imitation. But we were on firm ground, and the example is contagious, We, too, howled; we, too, bellowed; we, too, beat our chests. Everybody shouted whatever he happened to remember of an Indian language: "Katú, hekatú Trumaí, Bakaïrí, Kustenaú," interspersed with an occasional lusty "diavo," heiliges Donnerwetter /hang it all/ in German, "don't these fellows have any sense?"

[123] But far from it! No matter how invitingly we waved to them, how affably we clapped our hands, how graciously we pointed to our campsite, as though we were speaking to the Spaniard, "Sir, this house is your house," it did not help in the least. It was clear that this performance is official on the Schingú; we should be committing a breach of etiquette were we to speak of other things before we had thoroughly introduced ourselves to each other for half an hour.

/192 cont./

123 609 It was necessary to make another attempt; since our Indian was apparently not adequate, Antonio was induced to make a speech in Bakaïrí. After a little shy resistance, he took heart and shouted across energetically that he was a Bakaïrí, and that the Bakaïrí are good, and that the Trumaí are also good, and that the Bakaïrí were friendly to the Trumaí, that therefore the Trumaí should also be friendly to the Bakaïrí. Actually, he made himself heard for a moment, but the Trumaí realized at once that they did not understand him and outshouted the poor soul, whose voice died away. Hold on, I remember two Trumaí words which the Kustenaú chief had told me: apirí, /Illustration appears here/ /193/ "friend," and meijú, our beijú, the mandioca bread. With a truly stentorian voice I therefore cry: "Apirí Trumaí, meijú Trumaí, apirí." If my purpose had been to fan the storm, I could have been satisfied. The effect was dazzling. My words came back in the loudest echo; I had definitely spoken [262] good Trumaí. From the bottom of the canoe they fetched the beijús, which have the shape of large pancakes baked in a pan, [302] and waved this token of peace in the air. Particularly the chief shouter, a young man painted brick-red from head to toe, talked with great enthusiasm about such a cake which he seemed to be demonstrating and explaining like a professor in a classroom.

Some success was noticeable, however; they were quarreling among themselves. The brick-red one was obviously inclined to [302] break off the preliminaries and to enter into closer acquaintance; but one canoe in particular, with three tall, uncanny, coal-black ones, decidedly refused and implored the other heroes not to listen to the words of that demagogue. But the opposition was overruled. Three of our men climbed into a canoe and rowed into the midst of the hostile fleet, laughing kindly and talking; that won their hearts. Still parleying a bit, they approached the shore and [152] finally landed. The black or red, ugly faces, whether the more so by artifice or by nature I do not know, grinned happily in our direction; each of us took one of the fellows by the arm, whereupon a second man of theirs quickly took his other arm; thus we strode, fraternally united, to our campsite.

[Text continues on p. 176]

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Meeting with the Trumaí.

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123 576 609 Most of them proffered a piece of beijú as a present and at the same time said "má." My companion took my hat, but I respectfully demanded it back. Everything seemed to be going smoothly; I was among the last, and in front they had already reached our hammocks.

609 152 123 Suddenly I hear a shot behind me; Cousin Wilhelm is standing there, without his hat, gesticulating, his Indian guest is sitting in the sand and kicking and striking with all fours; already he leaps up. What panic! Are they afraid that the earth will open up and swallow them? This is primitive fear; there is no question but that we have thunder and lightning at our command. With a few leaps all are in the canoes; they push off; screaming, they row with all their might and do not begin to calm down a bit until they are in the middle of the river. No pleading, no peace demonstrations -- we put down the guns and walk unarmed across the beach -- can persuade them to return.

609 123 A boat with four of our men is in their midst, I thought /194/ at first with the intention of calming the excited compadres; but it soon became evident that they wanted some of their things back, Manoel's pistol, the hats of Castro, Wilhelm, and Antonio, Quintilian's gun, the ax used for the soundings -- I don't know what all; it is incredible how they could have taken possession of all this in the short time.

609 72 123 The entire fleet is already on the left side of the Kuliseu. Suddenly a Trumaí shoots an arrow toward our canoes, and in a moment the guns of the soldiers are rattling. They assert that they only fired into the air. A wild scene ensues; all the Indians leap head over heels out of the canoes, abandon these and their weapons, swim to the nearby shore, and disappear among the trees. The soldiers, once having been seized by the furor of battle, continue to shoot eagerly, no matter how much Castro, from the shore, tries to order them: rest arms! Finally it is quiet; they rummage and hunt in all the canoes and start coming back. There is not a Trumaí to be seen anywhere in the forest; like peaceful staffage, their canoes lie peacefully along the shore, and only here and there, like a dead bird, a feather ornament floats on the waves.

/194 cont./

609 123 [437] [262] It was only then that we recovered our senses and were able to understand the reason for the incident. Apparently the Trumaí had been animated by the urgent desire to barter as soon as possible and with as little ceremony as possible for some of our treasures in exchange for their miserable beijûs, which looked gray as though made with buckwheat flour, were coarse-grained, and tasted slightly sour. With this in mind they had been active everywhere. Of Wilhelm's companions, one had been busy with the hunting knife and the other with the gun at the same time, and the latter, while my cousin was trying in the friendliest way to keep them off, had unfortunately pressed the cock. In any case the culprit was the most surprised by the effect; otherwise he would not have been kicking so frightenedly on the ground.

In spite of the miraculous speed with which they dashed to the boats, however, the Trumaí had not lost all presence of mind. The two who had just been trying on Castro's and Antonio's hats did not forget in their hasty running to put them on well down over their heads. Another old hand had still found time on his flight to snatch up quickly one of the large fish lying on the beach.

Antonio's behavior when he was so unexpectedly deprived of his precious hat was characteristic. Without further ado he shot his pistol at the thief, but in his rage fortunately missed. And when we /Illustration appears here/ /195/ asked him whether he really wanted to kill the man, he nodded with the greatest composure, "Yes, he had my hat."

126 411 The returning men brought back a rich ethnological collection, at least in terms of the number of objects. The bows were very fine and strong; one was shot to pieces, proof that the shots had not been fired entirely happazardly. The arrows provided with pointed pieces of bamboo were plentiful; these bamboo blades, which, as could be easily seen, had been freshly sharpened, are only loosely inserted in the shaft with a little resin; after the arrow has reached its mark, they break off and remain embedded in the body. There was a single club, crudely worked, flat, 86 301 237 centimeters long. One feather ornament was particularly pretty; the green, orange-colored, and white feathers were mounted on

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 79]

/196 cont./

R4 The incident, which basically has put me in a bad humor, is all the more unpleasant since the soldiers are very delighted about it; they regard it as a sort of easy victory about which they would like to boast. Many also do not consider the "bravo," the savage, worth better treatment, and those who are full-blooded Indians themselves judge most severely. Antonio is still very dissatisfied, although the feather ornament that he procured for himself in place of the unfortunate hat looks much better on him.

[123] We need not doubt but that none of the Trumaí was hit by a bullet; all the men agree about this. They are very good-hearted by nature; they pulled out of the water one boy who, they say, could not swim.

● 609 721 Now and then the view is expressed that the Trumaí had a secret disarmament plan. To be sure, the Bakaïrí had warned us in this respect; they described in detail how the Trumaí would receive strangers in a friendly manner, wheedle their weapons from them, and then attack the unsuspecting ones; they would wrench their arms out of their shoulder joints -- "pok, pok, pok," the narrators graphically described it -- tie their hands together, and toss the thus mutilated bodies into the river.

000 Thanks be to the gods if we have escaped such a fate. For the time being, however, I shall deeply regret this day. In popular Brazilian belief, August is an unlucky month. Well, at least we are already at the thirty-first.

And the poor Trumaí are worse off than we are. When they arrive home in their miserable array, deprived of all their weapons and yet none wounded, what will their beloved wives say? Has anything like that ever happened on the Schingú? It will be difficult for the heroes to report their deeds in such a way that praise and honor will be due them; the two trophies so bravely salvaged will play an important role. If not two heads, at least they are bringing home two hats. One of them plaited out of straw, can be understood, explained, but the other, a gray felt -- where are there forest animals whose skin bears hair not only on the outside, but also on the inside? Oh, riddle of life!

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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431 602 [261] on a man's property, as did also, in the following order, his sister's son and his brother's son. Within the household, food was freely shared, and correspondingly, a co-resident could ask for a material object. These requests, however, were not always granted. A common excuse was to say that the object was promised to someone having a stronger claim. Despite these evasions, the patterns of gift-giving created a constant circulation of food and objects throughout the village.

Inheritance

424 428 533 [768] Transmission of property was accomplished chiefly through trade and gift. There is no information on the disposal of the material possessions of the deceased. The only available data on inheritance concern the office of chief and the possession of certain songs sung at the *ole* (manioc) ceremony. The former was inherited patrilineally and will be discussed later. The ceremonial songs were inherited either through the mother's brother or the mother's father. Thus, old Matiwana would some day teach his *ole* songs to Amanatain, his daughter's eldest son. Nitvary, another of the three men who knew *ole* songs, learned them from Jawaku's father, who was his mother's brother. Since cross-cousin marriage was practiced, [588] Jawaku might marry Nitvary's sister, and their child would inherit the songs from Nitvary. In this way the *ole* songs returned to the direct patrilineal line every other generation.

613 In response to careful questioning, Quain was assured that these songs could be obtained only from the mother's brother and mother's father, and not from the father or the father's brother. The combination of this matrilineal trait and patrilineal elements is characteristic of the bilaterality in upper Xingú culture.

The Trade Game

437 517 524 The trade game was a mechanism of inter- and intra-community distribution. Even more importantly it provided a framework for social participation, leisure time relaxation, and general enjoyment. As such it was one of the few integrating factors in Trumaí society.

Afternoons, especially rainy afternoons, were dull times in the Trumaí village. In Quain's words, "These people are bored but don't realize it! Wrestling provides some diversion, but nothing quickens spirits more than a brisk trade game (*kwirxo*). All that is needed is for one of the men to stride through the village with a bundle of goods to trade and suggest a *kwirxo*. Shouts go up on all sides, everybody crowds into one [574] of the houses, and the game is on. Enthusiasm is even greater when there are visitors in the village."

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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421 437 524 [156] [527] It was significant that Aloari, probably the most aggressive person in the village, was often an organizer and always a main participant in the games. On the other hand, he never cooperated in group work.

This conventionalized form of exchange, which Quain called the trade game, had a strong functional role in Trumaí culture, but there are indications that it was of outside origin. One informant said that it was [177] a Bakairí custom, and Quain thought that the "game" might have been introduced by Bakairí traders bringing goods from the Indian post on the Paranatinga River.[1]

The Household

171 516 622 Among both the Waurá and the Kamayurá the extended family occupied its own house, and the head of the lineage was considered a sub-chief of the village.[2] Such unilocal, co-resident and extended family groupings, which were typical among tribes of the upper Xingú, were absent in the Trumaí village.

592 613 Consanguineally close male relatives usually formed co-resident units, but these nuclei of kinsmen were very small and did not constitute an entire household. Furthermore, they were related to each other through [591] male or female lines. Due to village patrilocality, there was a tendency for patrilineally related males to live together, but this did not result in [165] the establishment of a patrilineal lineage for several reasons. Among them the high death rate was very important.

592 594 Maibu's house illustrates the eclectic nature of the Trumaí household. Four nuclear families, totaling fourteen people, lived in it. Hanging their hammocks from one of the two center posts were Katauka, his son Kamkuti, his brother's son Autsuki, and another brother's son and his wife. At the opposite end of the house were Maibu and his wife, the wife's son by Maibu's deceased brother, Maibu's sister Ayenuke, Makurawa, a classificatory sister's son, and Makurawa's wife and their three children. Although everyone in the household was related, bonds were closer between those people who hung their hammocks from the same post.

589 592 182 Despite the fact that the household, as a unit, had no specific functions, it established the framework within which certain interpersonal dependencies were worked out. Bride-capture, intertribal warfare, divorce, and early death caused a significant proportion of the Trumaí to be temporarily or permanently without mates. This disadvantage was

[1] The trade game was possibly borrowed from the Bakairí, as its existence among this group has been reported by Oberg (1953, p. 72). However, craft specialization and trade on the upper Xingú predates the Indian post. Cf. von den Steinen 1897, pp. 196, 207. [177]

[2] De Lima (1950, p. 9.) reports this arrangement among the Waurá, and Oberg (1953, p. 48.) adds that the position of house chief tends to pass in the male line in the Kamayurá village.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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"Tremendous interest in property, together with a simple and declining culture, results in my being a seriously disturbing element in their lives. Casual conversation always degenerates into a squabble about gift-giving .... There is intense pleasure in possession. Children get no sympathy when they are hurt, but objects are usually given to them. Every child has the right at least 'to see' anything he desires. In this respect children are pampered. Adults whine for things; withholding a desired object makes them intensely unhappy. Aggressive possession is admired.. Trade games make the exchange of property very fluid. Yet values in trade are well defined, and there is no prestige in giving more than one gets. Within the kinship circle, however, the old lavish property on the young. A father's garden is spoken of as that of his five year old son. There is a deliberate attempt to instill aggressive ownership attitudes in the young. A three year old girl is taught to claim objects in a loud voice. This is done by shouting the possessive pronoun....

"These are a settled people who live within the strict limits of their village. Their small number has advantage in the study of individuals. They have no knowledge of the world beyond the Kuluene-Kuliseu. It has no more real existence than the various inhabited regions of the heavens. The half dozen expeditions which have passed down the river have communicated with the natives only with signs. The one important result of such contact was division from peripheral tribes and the rise of metal tools. The disappearance of the stone industry, on which a defunct Trumaí moiety had a monopoly, has occurred within the last generation.[1] The increased leisure which probably resulted is not utilized economically.

"The complete lack of self-consciousness among these people makes behavior observation remarkably easy. Before I knew any of the language, I could sit by the hour in various households and time the actions of people while they paid no attention to me. For instance, one man during twenty minutes of leisure lay down to rest in his hammock fifteen different times, but each time disturbed himself with the remembrance of some petty chore undone....

"The only restriction of behavior that I have seen in casual intra-village personal relations is that the children are told not to litter the floor. The only positive rule is that the head of a household must sit with a guest and converse while the guest is inside his house .... Furthermore, extra-marital sexual intercourse has occurred in a shadowy corner of my house.. This lack of self-consciousness contrasts strongly with the Karajá, who are more prudish than the Fijians....

"Shortage of women, because of theft of young women, polygamy, lack of sexual interest in old wives (of which there are several), and

[1] Quain refers here to the moiety-like division of the Trumaí which has been discussed in Chapter Three. This appears to be rather a result of the merger of the northern and southern Trumaí villages. The latter specialized in axe-making.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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CHAPTER THREE

Trumaí Social Organization

Property Ownership

105 Trumaí society was relatively simple. There was no social stratification based on wealth, nor were the mechanisms of social control and cohesion highly developed. This was in accord with the individualization of productive effort and the low level of economic surplus. The political unit was a single community, the sole bearer of Trumaí culture.

All land and productive resources were considered the property of the community, and the right to their exploitation resided with any individual willing to expend the labor. Gardens were individual property, but only in the sense that the man who reclaimed the land from the jungle was entitled to its product. There was no concept of alienable property in land, entailing the right of disposition. The *piquí* trees were said to be owned individually, but the owner exercised exclusive rights only over the first fruits. Other wild food plants were community property and their fruits belonged to the gatherer.

The fishing rights to lagoons and backwaters of the rivers belonged to the tribes in whose territory they were located. There was no individual ownership of fishing sites.

There was property in foods, but as soon as they were cooked they were freely distributed. *Beijú* belonged to the women, but the manioc out of which it was prepared was said to be the property of the man who grew it. Such distinctions were largely academic. Actually, the men grew the vegetable and the women harvested it, prepared it, and cooked it, after which it was distributed and eaten. The same situation prevailed in regard to the products of fishing, hunting, and gathering. Salt was the only exception, as it was prepared and owned by individual men and women. The difference undoubtedly lies in the fact that salt was an important trade item, while the other commodities were not.

Very little property can be said to have belonged to the family. Baskets and gourd containers were made by the men for themselves and for the women, but they were often used by both a man and his wife. Nearly all material objects outside of natural resources were owned by the person who made them or the person to whom an object was given. House ownership was vague, since houses were built and occupied by more than one man, and abandoned when the village moved. The house, however, was often considered the property of the man who put

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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level of general anxiety. It was usually the result of several days of rumor, omens, and strange fires in the north.

Late one night during Quain's stay, after most of the village had retired, a near panic occurred when two women shouted that the Suyá were attacking. All the initiated men, even the weak and old, rushed to the village center with their bows and arrows. The women and children from two of the four Trumaí houses hurried with their hammocks to the other two houses. The frightened men milled around in the center of the village with no apparent organization or direction. The chief, who was trembling, did not take command of the situation.

If this had been a real attack, noted Quain, the raiders would have given a loud yell and loosed a volley of arrows. He later made an investigation and found no signs of intruders. One of the women thought that someone had thrown dirt at her. Quain believed this to be a habit of the Suyá, but one that was usually a friendly overture.

The women feared other tribes more than did the men, for one of the main purposes of raids was to capture women. In every upper Xingú community women from other tribes are always found. The dispersal of women takes three forms: capture in warfare (by groups outside the area), open abduction of a woman by intimidation of her fellow-villagers, and peaceful intertribal marriage. According to de Lima, the Suyá raid the Waurá village on the Batoví River for female captives, as the women of the Arawakan tribes are the only potters of the region.[10] The Trumaí lost many young women to the Kamayurá by intimidation, the second of the above means. Most of the women in the Trumaí village were at one time held by the Kamayurá with the result that, in many Trumaí marriages, the woman is several years older than the man. At the time of Quain's visit, Trumaí women were still living among the Kamayurá and other groups. One of them, the sister of the Trumaí chief, ran away from the Kamayurá and returned home because her husband had beaten her, an action that angered the Trumaí greatly. There she picked up the threads of her old life, but after a few weeks a party of Kamayurá took her back to their village. The Trumaí offered no resistance, either physical or verbal, although they outnumbered the visitors, for to have done so would have invited retaliation.

The fact that the Trumaí had lost many women completely, or regained them only after their most fertile years had passed, was probably a contributing factor to the depopulation of the group. The losses were only partially compensated for by the marriage of outside women into the Trumaí village. There were three foreign women in the community in 1938: a Suyá, a Mehinaku, and a Kamayurá. Their status was lower than that of the Trumaí women, and they were at times taunted because of their foreign origin. They did not participate as fully in the

[10] De Lima 1950, p. 5.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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421 437 524 [156] [521] It was

significant that Aloari, probably the most aggressive person in the village, was often an organizer and always a main participant in the games. On the other hand, he never cooperated in group work.

This conventionalized form of exchange, which Quain called the trade game, had a strong functional role in Trumaí culture, but there are indications that it was of outside origin. One informant said that it was [177] a Bakairí custom, and Quain thought that the "game" might have been introduced by Bakairí traders bringing goods from the Indian post on the Paranatinga River.[1]

The Household

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Among both the Waurá and the Kamayurá the extended family occupied its own house, and the head of the lineage was considered a sub-chief of the village.[2] Such unilocal, co-resident and extended family groupings, which were typical among tribes of the upper Xingú, were absent in the Trumaí village.

592 613 [591] [165]

Consanguineally close male relatives usually formed co-resident units, but these nuclei of kinsmen were very small and did not constitute an entire household. Furthermore, they were related to each other through male or female lines. Due to village patrilocality, there was a tendency for patrilineally related males to live together, but this did not result in the establishment of a patrilineal lineage for several reasons. Among them the high death rate was very important.

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Maibu's house illustrates the eclectic nature of the Trumaí household. Four nuclear families, totaling fourteen people, lived in it. Hanging their hammocks from one of the two center posts were Katauka, his son Kamkuti, his brother's son Autsuki, and another brother's son and his wife. At the opposite end of the house were Maibu and his wife, the wife's son by Maibu's deceased brother, Maibu's sister Ayenuke, Makurawa, a classificatory sister's son, and Makurawa's wife and their three children. Although everyone in the household was related, bonds were closer between those people who hung their hammocks from the same post.

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Despite the fact that the household, as a unit, had no specific functions, it established the framework within which certain interpersonal dependencies were worked out. Bride-capture, intertribal warfare, divorce, and early death caused a significant proportion of the Trumaí to be temporarily or permanently without mates. This disadvantage was

[1] The trade game was possibly borrowed from the Bakairí, as its existence among this group has been reported by Oberg (1953, p. 72). However, craft specialization and trade on the upper Xingú predates the Indian post. Cf. von den Steinen 1897, pp. 196, 207. [177]

[2] De Lima (1950, p. 9.) reports this arrangement among the Waurá, and Oberg (1953, p. 45.) adds that the position of house chief tends to pass in the male line in the Kamayurá village.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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551 605 607 Only when he was also the brother-in-law was respect given to a cross-cousin or his name avoided. Female cross-cousins, despite affinal connections, were never so treated by the men.

Avunculate

604 522 [861] [431] The maternal uncle in Trumaí society was in no sense a disciplinarian. Only the father and the father's brother were allowed to strike a child. On the other hand, the gift-giving claims of the sister's son (*deta*) upon the mother's brother (*wawe*) were strong, and particularly so when they were reinforced by co-residence. A man was expected to be benevolent and tolerant toward his *deta*. This frequently took the form of teasing and jollying the boy, and contrasted with the more serious attitude of the father and his brothers. For instance, Yati told his *deta* that he and Quain were going to eat him, and, as if to carry out the threat, he began to drag him toward the fire. The child cried lustily, and Yati immediately stopped and cajoled him. Also, Katauka said to his *deta*, "When you die, I will not cry." Katauka was greatly amused when this caused tears.

Such teasing ceased by the time a boy reached the age of puberty. Moreover, the *wawe* became a defender of the *deta's* interests in the absence of the boy's father or father's brother, and, in some cases, he supervised his initiation ceremonies. Common to both the Trumaí and [437] Kamayurá was the traveling partnership of a man and his sister's son. [171] It was quite usual for a *wawe* to take his *deta* along when he visited another village. Quain noted that on such trips the wife of the older man was rarely included. This is consistent with the sexual taboo [835] between the nephew and the maternal uncle's wife.

The Chieftaincy

● 622 624 [888] The Trumaí had one chieftain (*aek*), Maibu, and two sub-chiefs, Katauka and Matiwana. At the outset it should be understood that Katauka and Matiwana at no time during Quain's stay exerted any chiefly prerogative or function. They were not men of especially high status — indeed, Matiwana was looked down upon as an old man. Their main function, Quain was told, was to take over the office of chief when Maibu was away from the village. Due to Matiwana's advanced age, this duty ordinarily fell to Katauka. Otherwise, neither man was particularly influential; nor did they talk more in the men's circle than others.

622 537 The chief's main function was to urge his fellow Trumaí to carry out those projects or tasks which were the responsibility of the community as a whole or in its interest, but he frequently exhorted the villagers to

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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pursue their individual affairs. Maibu made speeches in the evening men's circle or in the early morning, telling the men to plant their gardens or urging all to gather *piqui* fruit. Such proddings had little meaning, as they were usually made during the appropriate season for these activities, and most people would have planted or gathered as a matter of course. 622 537

Those who did not choose to do what Maibu suggested went their own way, whether it was to fish or sleep. Maibu was a gadfly; yet he was the conscience of the Trumaí. Perhaps more people would have procrastinated if it had not been for his admonitions. He was truly interested in the good of the village. He asked Quain for presents only for others, never for himself. 622

Cooperative work on the community level was usually organized by Maibu. The decision to perform such work was generally made by common agreement, but it was the chief's function to recruit the necessary labor and see that the task was done. This he did with varying degrees of success, for his power was limited. 622 476

The chief was accorded much more respect by his housemates and close kinsmen than by the rest of the villagers. The people resisted him in varying degrees, depending on their relationship to him and their individual personalities. His control over the women was particularly weak. When Quain first arrived, they refused to carry water for him, despite Maibu's orders. When they realized that they were to be given gifts for their trouble they grudgingly consented to do so, but, in the meantime, the chief had fetched the water, since the performance of such tasks for an outsider was the responsibility of the village as a whole, and no other man would do women's work. 622 592 554 [123] [574] [609]

Referring to the limitations on chiefly powers, Quain noted, "Maibu has to put up with a lot of booing and do a lot of talking. Obedience comes to him only after a long time. He seems to have no 'big stick.'" The Trumaí chief had no coercive power whatsoever. This particular headman was not a powerful shaman, although such a combination was possible and would undoubtedly have enhanced his position. The only act of a supernatural nature that he could perform was curing by sucking and blowing smoke, which was practiced by almost every adult Trumaí male. 622 554 [756] [755]

Maibu was often completely ignored, and some of the men made a point of flouting his authority. The men of Aloari's house were extremely antagonistic toward him and told Quain that he was not a true "*aek*." These men rarely took part in the few group work projects and usually they were also absent from the wrestling matches. Their own prestige motives and individual inclinations brought them into frequent conflict with Maibu, both in his capacity as the man of highest status and as the village goad. Their resentment of authority never resulted in

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outright rebellion. Despite a great deal of grumbling and non-compliance, they still tacitly recognized Maibu as chief.

One of Maibu's main prerogatives was his talking function. He alone had the role of exhorter of the people. Other men would be "ashamed," he said, to speak so. Most of Maibu's speeches were delivered at night in the men's circle or before work started in the morning. The attitude of his audience ranged from interest to bored indifference and outright ridicule. One morning Maibu lay in his hammock and shouted for everyone to go out to gather fruit. The initial response to this was a shout from some of the houses, telling him to be quiet. Later some people drifted out of the village carrying baskets, and still later others followed, grumbling that they were being driven from the village. This was a common complaint. Because of the tone in which it was said, Quain thought at first that they were actually being exiled.

The chief had no symbols of office outside of the above prerogatives; yet a deference of sorts was shown him. When Maibu entered the men's circle or Quain's house, someone always got up to give him a seat. Tobacco was usually supplied him, and the donor would roll the cigarette and light it before making the presentation. Even the men who told Quain that Maibu was not a "real chief" made these gifts. Maibu himself did not hesitate to send someone across the village through the rain to fetch something. These favors were usually performed by his kinsmen and co-residents, although occasionally more distant persons obliged. On the other hand, Maibu was expected to be generous towards all the other Trumaí. Nearly everything that Quain gave him passed to other hands. Maibu did not even have a bow of his own.

Maibu's poverty was attributable in part to his heavy gift obligations and in part to the fact that he had no garden. He said to Quain that he did not plant because he was a chief. However, he was not completely a non-producer. He went fishing, joined in collective labor, and helped his wife in gathering. At none of these tasks did he occupy himself strenuously. The only articles that he manufactured were arrows and spears. He thus made no trade commodities, relying on others, principally his co-residents, for all his artifacts and food. On most days he did little except talk, sleep, and philander with the unmarried women.

Inheritance of the chieftaincy was nominally patrilineal. Maibu, however, was the son of the daughter of the Trumaí chief whom von den Steinen had met, indicating that the office can pass matrilineally if there are no male heirs available. (Maibu's brother's son, Jawaku, adopted by Maibu through the levirate, was to have been the next Trumaí chief.) But the Trumaí chief reported by Galvão nine years later was Aloari, who was only a distant relative of Maibu.[8] What happened in the years between 1938 and 1947 is not known, but it is apparent that

[8] This information was received verbally from Dr. Eduardo Galvão.

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Aloari took over the post of *aek* by dint of personality and not by regular succession. Even if Jawaku had died, Aloari would not have been a logical heir. Manifestly, patrilineality was very fluid. 622

Conflict

In cases of interpersonal strife in the village, there was no mediator. The chief usually dissociated himself from these arguments and let the litigants shout it out. Maibu, described by Quain as a happy extrovert and a secure person, was involved in few personal quarrels. He did have occasional difficulties in discharging his office. For instance, Tun and Aloari refused to help build Quain's house on the grounds that he was only a *cawaru*, or person of low status. There then ensued a loud argument in the village plaza between Aloari and Maibu in which each tried to shout the other down. The men sat around and watched in bored amusement. Finally, to break it up, they tried to get Quain to sing. When Maibu grew weary and retired, Aloari continued to talk, but was greeted with hoots of derision. 578 622 626 [123]

Aloari was continually embroiled with the other villagers. He refused to finish thatching his house for the rainy season because he wanted the community to move to an old village site where there were fewer insects. His protests were to no avail. The village remained where it was.

Protests against the chief or the village as a whole did not often result in open conflict. For the most part, they were expressed by grumbling, non-compliance, and threats to leave. No action except ridicule was taken against dissidents. Disputes usually took the form of shouted arguments in the evening men's circle. The closest approximation to the use of force was a mock wrestling match between the disputants, in which light slaps and holds were mixed with talk. During one argument, a club was waved. 622 578 [626] [526]

Unwarranted use of force was regarded as a serious offense. Quain learned this at first hand after he had been among the Trumaí for two and a half months and had established excellent relations with them. When Autsuki, an adolescent boy, who had been told not to take any flour from a sack in Quain's house, persisted in doing so, Quain knocked the flour from his hand. Autsuki left the house, laughing derisively. Instantly, however, the entire village was astir. The men gathered in the plaza for a serious discussion. The boy's *wawes* (mother's brothers) came to Quain's house to demand an explanation, as did the chief. Fortunately, except for his pride, Autsuki was not hurt, and the matter was allowed to drop. Maibu, however, seeing that Quain was still annoyed, invited him to come into the center of the village and make a speech in his native tongue, the standard Trumaí escape-valve. 123 578 626 [154]

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the group, and they never participated in any of its activities. Occasionally men gathered in the village center during the day, but at night the circle always formed, generally lasting from sundown until about nine o'clock. In the afternoon it was often the scene of wrestling matches. Talk usually went on then also, but the gatherings were smaller than at night.

At night most of the men were present, and conversation ranged over a variety of topics. Of greatest interest were neighboring tribes, past warfare and present threats to peace. Gossip, usually about sex, found ready ears. This was the time when the chief made most of his speeches, and the time when plans for a fishing trip, for salt manufacture, or for a journey to the Waurá for pots were discussed. The men's circle was also the place where the shaman practiced his art, and, as noted above, where grievances were aired.

The social life of the males was centered almost completely in these gatherings, and it was in them that the mechanisms of village authority and social control were expressed. Also, the men's circle underlined the cleavage between the activities of the men and of the women. The women had no formal grouping such as the men's circle, but they showed solidarity when the need arose. While men were dominant, as Quain said, they "look on the women as an ungoverned force," and open group quarrels were not infrequent between the sexes.

Status

Aek, the Trumaí word for chief, also denoted membership in the upper half of what is nominally a status class. Members of the lower half of this class were loosely referred to as *camara*, a term which, according to Galvão, probably diffused into the region from rural Brazil, where workers are called *camaradas*.[19] There was some uncertainty on the part of Quain's informants as to who were members of the *aek* division. In general, it included the chief, the two sub-chiefs, and their families. But while the status appears to have been hereditary, its transmission was loose and uncertain. For instance, Maibu was an *aek*, but he refused to classify his brothers as such. However, the fathers of both Maibu and Katauka, one of the sub-chiefs, were *aek*. Matiwana's three daughters and his son derived their status from him, further supporting the case for patrilineality. On the other hand, the children of one of the daughters were *aek*, even though their father was a *camara*. The significance of being *aek* had probably declined with the weakening of leadership patterns and the lessened importance of the sub-chiefs. Today, the *aek-camara* division is non-functional, membership is confused, and, except for the chieftainship, it is correlated only vaguely

[19] Galvão 1949, p. 40.

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with prestige. Aloari, who later became chief, was classified as a *camara* at the time of Quain's visit.

At the top of the Trumaí prestige scale was the chief. His authority was limited, but he was more respected than any other man. The two sub-chiefs enjoyed some, but not much, prestige. Matiwana was an old man, and old age decreases status among the Trumaí. He took the lead in group curing ceremonies, however, and was the repository of much Trumaí lore and learning. Nor was Katauka, the other sub-chief, very influential. And neither official had the privilege of "talking" to the people as Maibu did. That Katauka was a shaman and Matiwana the chief curer of the village contributed more to their prestige than did their position as sub-chiefs or their membership in the *aek* class. Tun, the shaman, and Oirupa, the sorcerer, ranked just below the chief in importance. The former enjoyed some standing as his prognostications of enemy movements were relied upon and respected by everybody. Oirupa had added power only because he was feared.

The only other criteria of status were youth and aggressiveness. Property was not a point of prestige, but those whose assertive attitudes gave them some status and influence were also those who manifested an accumulative attitude toward property. Youth and sexual prowess were highly regarded. Boasting about sexual exploits was usually done privately, but great pride was taken in them. This was related to the general esteem in which youth, size and vigor were held. To be a successful wrestler, therefore, enhanced a man's position. The Trumaí were also impressed by Quain's height and wanted to know what kind of medicines white men used to make them so tall. There was no warrior class and no special status for success in combat, except insofar as it was an indication of strength and courage.

As noted above, the status of old men was very low, except when they had special knowledge or office. Yet these attributes did not protect Matiwana from being contemptuously referred to as an old man. Moreover, Quain was severely criticized for giving presents to old Yahu, most of whose property had already been claimed by others, since the Trumaí did not think it proper that one so old should have any possessions beyond fishing and hunting equipment and other necessities. A favorite insult among the Trumaí was to tell someone he was old, and by implication that he no longer bathed or was able to fornicate.

Prestige variations, on the whole, were not great in the Trumaí village. The community had no clearly defined social groupings based on status, nor were there social mechanisms for human exploitation. Variations in wealth were slight, and their only significance was that one man might have more tools and trinkets than another. It is possible, however, that before the Trumaí had declined to their present low estate, prestige and authority were more clearly patterned, as they still were in the Kamayurá village.

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master at this dead-pan type of humor. When the women attempted to talk to him and Quain, he remained entirely disinterested, occasionally breaking in on them to address himself solely to the ethnographer. Although the women affected exasperation, they really enjoyed this negative attention.

The women were easy to frighten. Aloari teased his wife and sister-in-law by chasing them with a live snake in his hands. The women were also sensitive to touch (few men could resist brushing a hand lightly over an ever-exposed buttock when a crowd was present), and they became nervous when they saw that such teasing was impending. On a day when all the women had crowded into Quain's house, he pulled on the perineal cord of one of them. She immediately loosed a scream and ran out the door followed by the others, who laughed hilariously. Thereafter all the women expected to be teased by Quain, and they identified him somewhat more with the other men than they had before. The men often threatened rape in jest, but even when the women recognized the humorous intent, their basic anxiety was never completely allayed.

Pranks were frequent among the men. It was particularly amusing for a man to inform the others that Quain had given him a gift. Yati went to the trouble of filling a cartridge box with dirt and soberly telling all the men that the box was full of rifle shells. He was among the more popular jokers of the village. And pranks were played on him also. One night, in jest, Aloari shot at Yati's chicken with Quain's rifle on the pretext that it had been crowing. (The noise of the rifle report was also calculated to terrify the village.) Tun and Jakwanari occasionally tried to be funny by sitting alone and talking to themselves rapidly and incoherently. This was considered forced humor, and no one so much as chuckled.

A major source of diversion was gossip about who was cohabiting with whom. While this sometimes led to shouting arguments, it was more often merely playful talk, and it was treated as such. Accusations of sexual intercourse, sometimes true and sometimes false, were tossed back and forth between the men, usually with accompanying leers.

Manners and Morals

The Trumaí gossiped about sex, not because it was held to be morally wrong to do so, but because they had a frank and honest interest in it. Sex was considered a part of the "good life," but it was also thought to be a distraction from work. Thus, the chief made lengthy speeches castigating the men for being interested in nothing but sex when they should have been out planting. Similarly, Yanahi should have finished his puberty rites, but, as one of his kinsmen bluntly put it, all he wanted to do was "*tsidi*" (copulate). In reality the men took vicarious enjoyment in watching Yanahi exert his newly found sex prowess.

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105 174 571 602 serious damage to the individual personality. Also, many individuals could not enact whole sets of kin-determined roles because they had no relatives of the proper complementary status. For example, parents-in-law normally exerted considerable influence and control over younger married couples, but hardly anyone in the village had such relatives. [585] Similarly, cross-cousin marriage was the preferred union, but cross-cousins were generally unavailable. Moreover, because of the shortage [578] of women, marriage came to be more a cause of conflict than a consolidator of kinship bonds.

105 182 626 Not only was the family world of the Trumaí crumbling, but all lines of authority and social control were weak. The Trumaí seemed unable to unite for such culturally approved purposes as economic cooperation or hospitality. Trumaí leadership, like that of many primitive peoples, was predicated on the existence of strong bonds of kinship, economic interdependence, and a general agreement on goals and policies. These preconditions were no longer found among the Trumaí. In this structural vacuum, the Trumaí chief was less and less able to cope with the growing self-assertiveness of certain men, and was increasingly forced into a neutral role. As the community weakened, his position weakened.

105 182 578 A number of reasons account for the factionalism which developed within the Trumaí village. Some are a function of personality, others of the diminished population. Obviously women were at a premium and many men were compelled to do without mates. The resultant competition was, as we have seen, a festering sore in the body politic. Connected with it, but having further ramifications, the bonds of kinship and the expected behavior between kinsmen underwent attrition and upset what social balance could have been achieved under more normal conditions. Indeed fear of the outside world more than internal forces of cohesion held the Trumaí community together.

[096] 105 182 771 Other integrative mechanisms in Trumaí culture were also disappearing. Conspicuous among them was the gradual abandonment of many elements in the Trumaí ceremonial cycle. (Significantly this left the highly individual practice of shamanism as the most active religious expression in Trumaí culture). In part, this loss may have been due to the inability of the Trumaí to amass a sufficiently large food surplus for the feasting that was required when visitors from other tribes were present. Not enough is known about the ritual of the Trumaí to warrant any broad generalizations on the effects of depopulation on ceremonial participation, but their numbers may well have been approaching the minimum necessary to carry out the rites. Only a few men who had depended heavily on one old man for their instruction possessed the requisite ceremonial knowledge. When this old man died, Trumaí culture must have suffered a severe blow. Younger men were little interested in learning the ritual and lore. Moreover, the small number of bearers of

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post-natal sexual taboos is a serious social problem. A large group of not very pretty bachelors must use the woman with ringworm or the Suyá captive, whose present marriage is considered dishonorable. These women have no brothers or fathers. In contrast with Karajá, there is no stylized homosexuality. Yet the complete freedom of sexual play results in activities which might be considered overt homosexuality. But to the Trumaí such activity has little emotional content. It does not seem to set up special personal relationships.

"Women are in constant fear of attack. Yet a wife tyrannizes her husband by withholding her favors and pulling the hair of anyone whom she suspects her husband has used sexually. Between married people, sex occurs at night — preferably when everyone else is asleep — or while going to the forest on various gathering tasks. A man and his wife engage in many things together, such as afternoon relaxation, fishing, and gardening. There is companionship even between those spouses among whom the wife is much older and no longer of interest to the man sexually.

"Between themselves, the men are extremely individualistic. Cooperation rarely exceeds kin limits even at the explicit order of the chief. Only when outsiders are present do men band together in a mock display of solid cooperation.... There is only one old man, who is about seventy — all others are under 45 ..... All death is murder. Nobody expects to live longer than the next rainy season. Men always carry bows and arrows for protection. Shamans keep the village in constant fear of attack from the Suyá or Kamayurá.... There are imaginary attacks quite often. Men gather in terror at the center of the village — the most exposed spot — and wait to be shot at from the dark bushes at the margin of the village....

"Authority is lax. The patrilineally hereditary chief does no work and is a parasite on his household. He is self-conscious of the rank of his wife whose marriage has elevated her. He lounges in his hammock, but it is his duty to orate from the center of the village at night and sometimes in the morning, urging the men to undertake group projects. He is the only man who has the courage to be an executive. This contrasts with the Kamayurá where there are several chiefs who, uniquely in their culture, are shy and ashamed to speak and whose orders must be referred through special talkers. It also contrasts with the Karajá where the chief is the best worker .... When the season changes, the Trumaí chief urges the people to engage in the new work, which they would do anyway. An example of the complete independence of spirit is illustrated by the two brothers who would not help the brother-in-law of one build the house in which they all were living, because they thought the mosquitoes would be bad in that location during the rainy season. The brother-in-law built the tremendous house all by himself — the two brothers lived comfortably in it.

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105 626 578 [622] [123] [622]

"Angry stylized quarreling is a legal device. The village hoots in derision at him whose argument is poor. The chief must be a master at this kind of argument, but all men and even women participate .... Though everyone makes speeches, it is only the chief who makes executive speeches. Quarrels have always been about women, with the exception of the one which occurred upon my arrival in the village (one party disapproved of me...). The chief does not interfere in personal quarrels. The other men sit quietly in the center of the village smoking and trying to disregard the quarrel, which may be going on over their very heads. When the contenders have retired from the village green, they are perfectly calm. The argument is suspended until it can be carried on publicly. There seem to be no secret alliances among the men.

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"Another thing I must mention is the complete lack of emotional content in religious ceremonies. These are mildly pleasant chores. Although their structure is designed for a public pageant, nobody pays attention."

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624 LOCAL OFFICIALS--specialized offices within the community (e.g., war chief, fire chief, talking chief, recorder of deeds, surveyor, herald, chief priest); qualifications, mode of selection, functions, activities, and prerogatives of each type of official; etc. See also:

Officials of territorial divisions 63
Military organization 70
State bureaucracy 847
Priesthood 793

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Avunculate

604 522 [861] [431] The maternal uncle in Trumaí society was in no sense a disciplinarian. Only the father and the father's brother were allowed to strike a child. On the other hand, the gift-giving claims of the sister's son (*deta*) upon the mother's brother (*wawe*) were strong, and particularly so when they were reinforced by co-residence. A man was expected to be benevolent and tolerant toward his *deta*. This frequently took the form of teasing and jollying the boy, and contrasted with the more serious attitude of the father and his brothers. For instance, Yati told his *deta* that he and Quain were going to eat him, and, as if to carry out the threat, he began to drag him toward the fire. The child cried lustily, and Yati immediately stopped and cajoled him. Also, Katauka said to his *deta*, "When you die, I will not cry." Katauka was greatly amused when this caused tears.

Such teasing ceased by the time a boy reached the age of puberty. Moreover, the *wawe* became a defender of the *deta's* interests in the absence of the boy's father or father's brother, and, in some cases, he supervised his initiation ceremonies. Common to both the Trumaí and [437] Kamayurá was the traveling partnership of a man and his sister's son. [171] It was quite usual for a *wawe* to take his *deta* along when he visited another village. Quain noted that on such trips the wife of the older man was rarely included. This is consistent with the sexual taboo [835] between the nephew and the maternal uncle's wife.

The Chieftaincy

622 624 [888] The Trumaí had one chieftain (*aek*), Maibu, and two sub-chiefs, Katauka and Matiwana. At the outset it should be understood that Katauka and Matiwana at no time during Quain's stay exerted any chiefly prerogative or function. They were not men of especially high status — indeed, Matiwana was looked down upon as an old man. Their main function, Quain was told, was to take over the office of chief when Maibu was away from the village. Due to Matiwana's advanced age, this duty ordinarily fell to Katauka. Otherwise, neither man was particularly influential; nor did they talk more in the men's circle than others.

622 537 The chief's main function was to urge his fellow Trumaí to carry out those projects or tasks which were the responsibility of the community as a whole or in its interest, but he frequently exhorted the villagers to

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575 the group, and they never participated in any of its activities. Occasionally men gathered in the village center during the day. but at night the circle always formed, generally lasting from sundown until about nine [624] o'clock. In the afternoon it was often the scene of wrestling matches. Talk usually went on then also, but the gatherings were smaller than at night.

[521] At night most of the men were present, and conversation ranged over a variety of topics. Of greatest interest were neighboring tribes, past warfare and present threats to peace. Gossip, usually about sex, found ready ears. This was the time when the chief made most of his speeches, and the time when plans for a fishing trip, for salt manufacture, or for a journey to the Waurá for pots were discussed. The men's circle was [756] also the place where the shaman practiced his art, and, as noted above, where grievances were aired.

[626] The social life of the males was centered almost completely in these gatherings, and it was in them that the mechanisms of village authority and social control were expressed. Also, the men's circle underlined the cleavage between the activities of the men and of the women. The women had no formal grouping such as the men's circle, but they showed [562] solidarity when the need arose. While men were dominant, as Quain [578] said, they "look on the women as an ungoverned force," and open group quarrels were not infrequent between the sexes.

Status

554 *Aek*, the Trumaí word for chief, also denoted membership in the 565 upper half of what is nominally a status class. Members of the lower 178 half of this class were loosely referred to as *camaru*, a term which, 622 according to Galvão, probably diffused into the region from rural Brazil, where workers are called *camaradas*.[19] There was some uncer- 624 tainty on the part of Quain's informants as to who were members of the *aek* division. In general, it included the chief, the two sub-chiefs, and their families. But while the status appears to have been hereditary, its transmission was loose and uncertain. For instance, Maibu was an *aek*, but he refused to classify his brothers as such. However, the fathers of both Maibu and Katauka, one of the sub-chiefs, were *aek*. Matiwana's three daughters and his son derived their status from him, further supporting the case for patrilineality. On the other hand, the children of one of the daughters were *aek*, even though their father was a *camaru*. The significance of being *aek* had probably declined with the weakening of leadership patterns and the lessened importance of the sub-chiefs. Today, the *aek-camaru* division is non-functional, membership is confused, and, except for the chieftainship, it is correlated only vaguely

[19] Galvão 1949, p. 40.

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with prestige. Aloari, who later became chief, was classified as a *camara* at the time of Quain's visit.

At the top of the Trumaí prestige scale was the chief. His authority was limited, but he was more respected than any other man. The two sub-chiefs enjoyed some, but not much, prestige. Matiwana was an old man, and old age decreases status among the Trumaí. He took the lead in group curing ceremonies, however, and was the repository of much Trumaí lore and learning. Nor was Katauka, the other sub-chief, very influential. And neither official had the privilege of "talking" to the people as Maibu did. That Katauka was a shaman and Matiwana the chief curer of the village contributed more to their prestige than did their position as sub-chiefs or their membership in the *aek* class. Tun, the shaman, and Oirupa, the sorcerer, ranked just below the chief in importance. The former enjoyed some standing as his prognostications of enemy movements were relied upon and respected by everybody. Oirupa had added power only because he was feared.

The only other criteria of status were youth and aggressiveness. Property was not a point of prestige, but those whose assertive attitudes gave them some status and influence were also those who manifested an accumulative attitude toward property. Youth and sexual prowess were highly regarded. Boasting about sexual exploits was usually done privately, but great pride was taken in them. This was related to the general esteem in which youth, size and vigor were held. To be a successful wrestler, therefore, enhanced a man's position. The Trumaí were also impressed by Quain's height and wanted to know what kind of medicines white men used to make them so tall. There was no warrior class and no special status for success in combat, except insofar as it was an indication of strength and courage.

As noted above, the status of old men was very low, except when they had special knowledge or office. Yet these attributes did not protect Matiwana from being contemptuously referred to as an old man. Moreover, Quain was severely criticized for giving presents to old Yahu, most of whose property had already been claimed by others, since the Trumaí did not think it proper that one so old should have any possessions beyond fishing and hunting equipment and other necessities. A favorite insult among the Trumaí was to tell someone he was old, and by implication that he no longer bathed or was able to fornicate.

Prestige variations, on the whole, were not great in the Trumaí village. The community had no clearly defined social groupings based on status, nor were there social mechanisms for human exploitation. Variations in wealth were slight, and their only significance was that one man might have more tools and trinkets than another. It is possible, however, that before the Trumaí had declined to their present low estate, prestige and authority were more clearly patterned, as they still were in the Kamayurá village.

626

626 SOCIAL CONTROL--incentives to conformity (e.g., expectation of rewards, reciprocity, fear of social and supernatural sanctions, conscience); means of inducing conformity (e.g., example, precept, praise, rewards, warnings, threats); pressure of public opinion; informal mechanisms of social control (e.g., criticism, ridicule, gossip, cursing, sorcery, intentional silence, ostracism); incidence and effectiveness of such sanctions as compared with the application of physical force; etc. See also:

Socialization 86
Social norms 183
Public opinion 208
Wit and humor 522
Status and prestige 554
Loss of face 558
Primary groups 571
Reactions to breaches of etiquette 576
Breaches of ethics 577
Ingroup antagonisms 578
Sorcery 754
Supernatural sanctions for violations of taboos and other offenses 784
Cursing 789

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CHAPTER THREE

Trumaí Social Organization

Property Ownership

105 Trumaí society was relatively simple. There was no social stratification
[556] based on wealth, nor were the mechanisms of social control and
[626] cohesion highly developed. This was in accord with the individualization
[433] of productive effort and the low level of economic surplus. The political
[621] unit was a single community, the sole bearer of Trumaí culture.

All land and productive resources were considered the property of the
421 community, and the right to their exploitation resided with any indivi-
423 dual willing to expend the labor. Gardens were individual property, but only in the sense that the man who reclaimed the land from the jungle was entitled to its product. There was no concept of alienable property in land, entailing the right of disposition. The *piquí* trees were said to be owned individually, but the owner exercised exclusive rights only over the first fruits. Other wild food plants were community property
423 and their fruits belonged to the gatherer.

The fishing rights to lagoons and backwaters of the rivers belonged
[226] to the tribes in whose territory they were located. There was no individual ownership of fishing sites.

422 There was property in foods, but as soon as they were cooked they
[267] were freely distributed. *Beijú* belonged to the women, but the manioc out of which it was prepared was said to be the property of the man who grew it. Such distinctions were largely academic. Actually, the men
[462] grew the vegetable and the women harvested it, prepared it, and cooked it, after which it was distributed and eaten. The same situation prevailed in regard to the products of fishing, hunting, and gathering. Salt was
[263] the only exception, as it was prepared and owned by individual men
[439] and women. The difference undoubtedly lies in the fact that salt was an important trade item, while the other commodities were not.

Very little property can be said to have belonged to the family.
[285] Baskets and gourd containers were made by the men for themselves
[415] and for the women, but they were often used by both a man and his wife. Nearly all material objects outside of natural resources were owned by the person who made them or the person to whom an object was
423 given. House ownership was vague, since houses were built and occupied by more than one man, and abandoned when the village moved. The house, however, was often considered the property of the man who put

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Aloari took over the post of *aek* by dint of personality and not by regular succession. Even if Jawaku had died, Aloari would not have been a logical heir. Manifestly, patrilineality was very fluid. 622

Conflict

In cases of interpersonal strife in the village, there was no mediator. The chief usually dissociated himself from these arguments and let the litigants shout it out. Maibu, described by Quain as a happy extrovert and a secure person, was involved in few personal quarrels. He did have occasional difficulties in discharging his office. For instance, Tun and Aloari refused to help build Quain's house on the grounds that he was only a *camara*, or person of low status. There then ensued a loud argument in the village plaza between Aloari and Maibu in which each tried to shout the other down. The men sat around and watched in bored amusement. Finally, to break it up, they tried to get Quain to sing. When Maibu grew weary and retired, Aloari continued to talk, but was greeted with hoots of derision. 578 622 626 [123]

Aloari was continually embroiled with the other villagers. He refused to finish thatching his house for the rainy season because he wanted the community to move to an old village site where there were fewer insects. His protests were to no avail. The village remained where it was.

Protests against the chief or the village as a whole did not often result in open conflict. For the most part, they were expressed by grumbling, non-compliance, and threats to leave. No action except ridicule was taken against dissidents. Disputes usually took the form of shouted arguments in the evening men's circle. The closest approximation to the use of force was a mock wrestling match between the disputants, in which light slaps and holds were mixed with talk. During one argument, a club was waved. 622 578 [626] [526]

Unwarranted use of force was regarded as a serious offense. Quain learned this at first hand after he had been among the Trumaí for two and a half months and had established excellent relations with them. When Autsuki, an adolescent boy, who had been told not to take any flour from a sack in Quain's house, persisted in doing so, Quain knocked the flour from his hand. Autsuki left the house, laughing derisively. Instantly, however, the entire village was astir. The men gathered in the plaza for a serious discussion. The boy's *wawes* (mother's brothers) came to Quain's house to demand an explanation, as did the chief. Fortunately, except for his pride, Autsuki was not hurt, and the matter was allowed to drop. Maibu, however, seeing that Quain was still annoyed, invited him to come into the center of the village and make a speech in his native tongue, the standard Trumaí escape-valve. 123 578 626 [154]

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626 828 154 On these occasions the men usually unburdened themselves in the village center. Malice was expressed either by a verbal interchange with the opponent or an angry speech. The substance of the latter type of demonstration often was not related to the cause of the dispute or to the speaker's discontent. Manifestly, the function of the harangue was to provide an emotional outlet rather than a forum. Maibu's suggestion that Quain should make a speech in his own language underlines the fact that the externalization of anger was the paramount purpose.

154 626 123 Emotional release could also be found in contrived performances. Quain, feeling depressed one evening, refused to sing when the Trumaí asked him to. However, when Maibu proposed a mock argument, Quain, being a good ethnologist, complied. Facing each other in the village center, the two men hurled epithets and insults at each other at the top of their voices. When Quain was at a loss for something to say, Maibu suggested that he repeat a speech he had made about the theft of his supplies. At the conclusion Quain reported, "I felt very good when I shouted at him for a while, and I was quite willing to sing."

683 692 In cases of physical harm, settlement could be obtained by paying the injured person. Quain was told that after the spear-throwing contest, the Kamayurá and the Trumaí each paid indemnities for bruises inflicted.[9] No case of physical violence was observed by Quain, but when [123] he slapped the flour from the boy's hand, and again when he stepped on a child's foot, the Trumaí suggested that he pay something. The latter case was an obvious attempt at petty extortion, for a week later the same child had his foot stepped on by a Trumaí, but this time the only result was an admonition from his father to be quiet.

626 954 [186] Still another alternative to violence was found in witchcraft. Only one or two Trumaí knew the practice of sorcery, and these men were said to have learned it from the Nahukwa, who were much feared because of their dangerous skill. Sorcery was usually invoked covertly, but at least once in an argument its use was openly threatened. This, however, was regarded as a most reprehensible action.

578 154 The chief source of conflict in the village was sex. Quarrels over who was to marry the three available women raged throughout Quain's stay. Bride-capture, the large percentage of older women, and polygamy combined to make the allotment of women an extremely sore point. The story of the battle over one woman is worth reporting, as it illustrates both patterned interpersonal relationships and the ways in which anger could be expressed and channeled.

578 584 154 Three men wanted to marry Kuyafi, a widow with a child. They were Oirupa the sorcerer, Mayuva, her sister's husband, and Nitvary. Kuyafi, it was said, had once had a child by Nitvary, so his claim was a strong one. So also was Mayuva's, as he had recognized sexual rights over her

[9] Cf. Galvão 1950, p. 363.

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because she was his sister-in-law. Mayuva, however, was afraid of Nitvary, as the latter had close ties with the Kamayurá and had threatened Mayuva with witchcraft at their hands. After Nitvary returned from a trip to the Kamayurá village, Mayuva complained of severe headaches and said he was going to die. Although he denied to Quain that his condition was due to Kamayurá sorcery, the threats against him apparently had the desired result: a short time later Kuyafi moved into Nitvary's house. The union last only two days, for Nitvary's jealous wife drove her out in a fit of anger. The field, it would seem, was clear for Oirupa, the third suitor.

Oirupa, however, had been trying to marry Kuyafi for years. Her father, Matiwana, refused to give his consent and Oirupa, in revenge, was said to have killed two of Matiwana's children by witchcraft. Relations between their families were understandably strained, and they were further aggravated by the marriage of Matiwana's son Yati and Oirupa's sister Kerami, which occurred during Quain's stay. This union was unhappy and short-lived. When Kerami left him, Yati and his father held Oirupa and his co-resident affinals, Tun and Aloari, responsible. Yati bitterly asserted that he (and Matiwana) would go to live among his mother's people, the Kuikuru of the upper Kuluene. There, he said, women were much easier to get.

With this background of conflict and suspicion, it is not surprising that the quarrel again broke out in earnest when Oirupa tried to seduce Kuyafi. Angered by her rejection he threw *piqui* pits at her. In the afternoon Matiwana spoke out against Oirupa from his house. (This was proper behavior, since a parent is expected to take his offspring's part in such disputes.) That evening the two men indulged in the usual loud shouting and wrestled with barely restrained hostility. Kuyafi added her bit from the house as did another of Matiwana's daughters. The other men pretended indifference. Yati remained silent, although he was vitally interested in the dispute; for, besides being Matiwana's son, he was involved in an enduring respect relationship with his former brother-in-law, even after his marriage was dissolved. Public opinion, however, was on the side of Matiwana, for Oirupa had committed an offense by hitting Kuyafi with the pits, and he had also threatened to use witchcraft. To this last Matiwana tauntingly replied that had Oirupa's witchcraft been really effective, he would have been dead long ago. As of the time Quain left the Trumaí, Kuyafi's future was still undecided.

The Men's Circle

The men's circle served a number of functions. It was the place in which initiated males gathered, talked, argued, and smoked. It was not taboo to young boys, as it was to women, but youngsters rarely joined the group, and they never participated in any of its activities.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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the group, and they never participated in any of its activities. Occasionally men gathered in the village center during the day, but at night the circle always formed, generally lasting from sundown until about nine o'clock. In the afternoon it was often the scene of wrestling matches. Talk usually went on then also, but the gatherings were smaller than at night.

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Status

Aek, the Trumaí word for chief, also denoted membership in the upper half of what is nominally a status class. Members of the lower half of this class were loosely referred to as *camara*, a term which, according to Galvão, probably diffused into the region from rural Brazil, where workers are called *camaradas*.[10] There was some uncertainty on the part of Quain's informants as to who were members of the *aek* division. In general, it included the chief, the two sub-chiefs, and their families. But while the status appears to have been hereditary, its transmission was loose and uncertain. For instance, Maibu was an *aek*, but he refused to classify his brothers as such. However, the fathers of both Maibu and Katauka, one of the sub-chiefs, were *aek*. Matiwana's three daughters and his son derived their status from him, further supporting the case for patrilineality. On the other hand, the children of one of the daughters were *aek*, even though their father was a *camara*. The significance of being *aek* had probably declined with the weakening of leadership patterns and the lessened importance of the sub-chiefs. Today, the *aek-camara* division is non-functional, membership is confused, and, except for the chieftainship, it is correlated only vaguely

[10] Galvão 1949, p. 40.

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still too young to "see," but that when he was older he would learn, since his father was a shaman. Aloari said that he, too, would learn when he was old, as would his son Tsirikoan. Mãtiwana would instruct Aloari and would receive a payment for this tutelage. Indicative of a possible looseness of inheritance was the fact that Matiwana's son Yati was nowhere mentioned as a prospective shaman.

Dreams were considered to be a way of "seeing" while sleeping. This was known as *ohltaxer*. Dreams were taken seriously, at least by the dreamer. Aloari fully believed that the Waurá would come after he had dreamed it. And Maibu was convinced that he should make the trip to the Indian post on the Paranatinga River because he had dreamed that Climaco, the agent, liked him very much and would give him a rifle. However, individual dreams were not a matter of community concern or interest. Village action was taken on the basis of shamanistic "seeing" only.

Witchcraft

The only known sorcerer in the Trumaí village was Oirupa, the brother-in-law of Aloari. Oirupa was said by one man to have learned witchcraft (*okei*) from the Nahukwa, who, with the other Cariban tribes, were dreaded for their black magic. Oirupa's knowledge made him one of the most hated men in the village, but no action was taken against him for fear of incurring his enmity. Also, there have been no reports of the execution of sorcerers in the upper Xingú, and, from all indications, this mode of retaliation is not customary.

When someone fell ill and witchcraft was suspected, the guilt was usually imputed to a neighboring tribe. It was said that the Trumaí had to leave their old village site near the Kamayurá because the latter were killing them off with witchcraft. Sorcery was probably often practiced against other groups by the Trumaí, and the converse was always feared. Oirupa refused to speak above a whisper one night when the Auetí were said to be using black magic on the Trumaí.

It was Quain's belief that witchcraft was a substitute for open violence among the people of the area; significantly, witchcraft was not practiced by the people of the upper Xingú against the Suyá and other hostile tribes outside the Basin.[4] Intertribal black magic functioned as a check upon violence within the village as well. Certainly, it was more conducive to social order to attribute sorcery to another tribe than to some member of the small and already disrupted Trumaí community.

[4] Cf. Galvão 1949; Oberg 1953.

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888 [561] [181] grades except in the broadest sense, as the term for "younger" covered everyone from infants to people in the prime of life. The terms, however, indicate a keen consciousness that those who have passed their prime are distinct from those who are still developing or are at the height of their physical powers.

The Trumaí believed that it was good to be young, vigorous, and strong, while advancing years were a stigma. Quain always met with a stout denial whenever he suggested to someone that he was older than someone else. An old person, they said with contempt, was one who did not bathe or shave the crown of his head any more. Mayuva did not [626] bother to bathe one morning and was derided by Kerami, who accused him of being old. A short time later he reappeared freshly bathed.

[162] While several individuals were considered "older," the only ones who fell into the Trumaí category of true old age were Matiwana and Yahu. The latter's status was further lowered by the fact that he was con- [563] sidered to be a Kamayurá; his father was a member of that tribe and he had a son living with them. However, Yahu was still sexually potent and a full participant in the economy.

[195] A person of truly advanced old age was called *dewan*. This term, which has uncomplimentary connotations, was applied only to men "whose penis is dead" or to women past menopause. Matiwana was the only person of either sex who fitted the *dewan* category. The only tasks for which he was suited were light craft work, gathering firewood, and an occasional fishing trip. He was, however, the fount of nearly all Trumaí ceremonial knowledge. Matiwana was well cared for by his son and by his household. The son's affection and loyalty to his father were deep, and he was the old man's constant companion. The rest of the villagers remained aloof from Matiwana.

888 554 [756] The Trumaí abhorred the thought of their own future old age, and they transferred some of this fear to the persons of the aged. Status declined with age, and Matiwana had his ceremonial lore and shamanistic skill to thank for what position he still maintained.

Death

768 Neither the village site nor the house of the deceased had to be
764 abandoned following death. Burial took place in the village plaza. The corpse was interred lying on its back in an extended position, wrapped and bound in its hammock. Numerous cooking utensils, including a *ja'meo* (ceramic griddle for baking *beijú*) were buried with both male and female deceased.

765 No deaths occurred while Quain was in residence, but mourning was still going on for a man who had recently died. The burden of mourning fell on the female relatives of the deceased. The only observance in-

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serious damage to the individual personality. Also, many individuals could not enact whole sets of kin-determined roles because they had no relatives of the proper complementary status. For example, parents-in-law normally exerted considerable influence and control over younger married couples, but hardly anyone in the village had such relatives. Similarly, cross-cousin marriage was the preferred union, but cross-cousins were generally unavailable. Moreover, because of the shortage of women, marriage came to be more a cause of conflict than a consolidator of kinship bonds.

Not only was the family world of the Trumaí crumbling, but all lines of authority and social control were weak. The Trumaí seemed unable to unite for such culturally approved purposes as economic cooperation or hospitality. Trumaí leadership, like that of many primitive peoples, was predicated on the existence of strong bonds of kinship, economic interdependence, and a general agreement on goals and policies. These preconditions were no longer found among the Trumaí. In this structural vacuum, the Trumaí chief was less and less able to cope with the growing self-assertiveness of certain men, and was increasingly forced into a neutral role. As the community weakened, his position weakened.

A number of reasons account for the factionalism which developed within the Trumaí village. Some are a function of personality, others of the diminished population. Obviously women were at a premium and many men were compelled to do without mates. The resultant competition was, as we have seen, a festering sore in the body politic. Connected with it, but having further ramifications, the bonds of kinship and the expected behavior between kinsmen underwent attrition and upset what social balance could have been achieved under more normal conditions. Indeed fear of the outside world more than internal forces of cohesion held the Trumaí community together.

Other integrative mechanisms in Trumaí culture were also disappearing. Conspicuous among them was the gradual abandonment of many elements in the Trumaí ceremonial cycle. (Significantly this left the highly individual practice of shamanism as the most active religious expression in Trumaí culture). In part, this loss may have been due to the inability of the Trumaí to amass a sufficiently large food surplus for the feasting that was required when visitors from other tribes were present. Not enough is known about the ritual of the Trumaí to warrant any broad generalizations on the effects of depopulation on ceremonial participation, but their numbers may well have been approaching the minimum necessary to carry out the rites. Only a few men who had depended heavily on one old man for their instruction possessed the requisite ceremonial knowledge. When this old man died, Trumaí culture must have suffered a severe blow. Younger men were little interested in learning the ritual and lore. Moreover, the small number of bearers of

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105 626 578 [622] [123] [622] "Angry stylized quarreling is a legal device. The village hoots in derision at him whose argument is poor. The chief must be a master at this kind of argument, but all men and even women participate .... Though everyone makes speeches, it is only the chief who makes executive speeches. Quarrels have always been about women, with the exception of the one which occurred upon my arrival in the village (one party disapproved of me...). The chief does not interfere in personal quarrels. The other men sit quietly in the center of the village smoking and trying to disregard the quarrel, which may be going on over their very heads. When the contenders have retired from the village green, they are perfectly calm. The argument is suspended until it can be carried on publicly. There seem to be no secret alliances among the men.

105 182 771 796 "Another thing I must mention is the complete lack of emotional content in religious ceremonies. These are mildly pleasant chores. Although their structure is designed for a public pageant, nobody pays attention."

/297 cont./

B 527 535 773 *[191] According to everything that the natives told us about the festivals, they primarily amounted to what they thought were riotous feasting and drinking bouts. Bakaïrí legend describes the origin to us in the same way. Kame, the tribal ancestor of the Arinos tribes, built the first flute house, carved the first flute, invited his friends to the dance, and served them starch-paste. Keri, the tribal ancestor of the Bakaïrí, who most eagerly competed with Kame in invention, for his part invited Kami to the dance; the legend tells us in what manner the festival took place and speaks of the makanari and the imeo, the straw costumes without face-masks, but with characterizing and partly disguising headdresses, as Keri's invention.

B 527 535 539 "Keri, too, called his people together. Toward evening they went dancing on the village plaza. Then from the house Keri fetched pogu to be drunk. Immediately thereafter they plaited makanari. Keri called Kame. Many people came and Keri was master of the dance. They danced all day. Toward evening they rested. After dark they danced all through the night. Early in the morning they went to the river to bathe. After the bath they came to the flute house. They began with the imeo and danced the whole day. They likewise danced all night. -- Then the festival was at an end."

B T 527 535 628 648 B *[191] A noteworthy feature of the legend is the circumstance that the different tribes united for the dance festival. It is a universal custom that the villages invite one another to the big festivals. Friendly neighboring tribes also send numerous participants. In 1884, when we met the Trumaí and Kamayurá /Camayura/ together (see p. 105), the two tribes had just celebrated a joint festival.

B *191 177 535 For one thing it is understandable under these circumstances that an exchange and leveling out between the customs and dance gear of the tribes takes place. /298/ Each tribe knew the songs of the neighboring tribes, without understanding their content precisely, as we learned in numerous cases; one tribe would also become acquainted with new types of masks from another, and finally the mereschu design, to which I shall come back after describing the masks, gained its general distribution.

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The rapid exhaustion of the soil forces them into a life which, although not nomadic, involves frequent moves. As the soil in old plots is exhausted, new ones have to be opened up. The area of exploitable land around the village is limited by the need to transport the produce and protect the villagers from their enemies. Thus, after the land available to the village has been used, the group moves.

The main subsistence of the nine village groups now living in the upper Xingú area is derived from this typically Amazonian shifting horticulture coupled with fishing in the extensive streams, lagoons, and estuaries. Apparently, the population of the region was never great enough to cause any pressure on land or other resources. Each village maintained exclusive rights of exploitation over certain waterways and areas of land within which the village always moved. There evidently were not, and still are not, any clearly defined territorial boundaries; but village rights are implicitly recognized.

The Neighbors of the Trumai

Although there is considerable uniformity in the cultures of the upper Xingú tribes, their linguistic affiliations are diverse. The main language stocks of aboriginal Brazil are represented. On the Kuluene River are the linguistically independent Trumaí and the Cariban Kuikuru, Kalapalo, Tsuva, and Naravute. Near the waters of the Kuliseu River live the Tupían Kamayurá and Auetí, the Arawakan Mehinaku and Yaulapití, and the Cariban Nahukwa. The Batoví River is inhabited by the Arawakan Waurá and Kustenaú.[1] All these villages maintain a rather distrustful peace among themselves, but live in fear of their hostile Gê- and Tupían-speaking neighbors on the perimeters of the upper Xingú drainage area.

The upper Xingú "tribes" consist of one village each. It seems evident from the linguistic heterogeneity of the region that it is a *cul de sac* — one of the aboriginal refuge areas which characterize the cultural landscape of the headwaters of the Amazon and its tributaries.

The cultural uniformity of the above peoples has impressed all observers, as has the extensive contact that they maintain with each other. Descriptions of this homogeneity are to be found in von den Steinen[2] and, latterly, in Galvão[3] and Oberg.[4] Among the principal material traits which distinguish the area as opposed to neighboring, but outside, groups are: haystack-shaped houses arranged in a circle around a central plaza; bark canoes; dependence upon fish for protein;

[1] Oberg (1953, p. 4) states that the Yaulapití, Kustenaú, Tsuva, and Naravute no longer live in independent villages, but reside among other groups, usually of the same linguistic family.

[2] Von den Steinen 1886. [3] Galvão 1949. [4] Oberg 1953.

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The fishing grounds and the still productive fruit trees of the old villages were considered to be the domain of the Trumaí, and these rights were apparently respected by others. When the village moved in search of new land, it was usually to one of the old sites, whose name the new village would take.

The Trumaí were once feared by the other tribes of the upper Xingú and were evidently a relatively numerous and vigorous people. However, when Quain visited them in 1938, they numbered only 43, and only ten years later, in 1948, the population had shrunken to a meagre 25.[11] Their small numbers had forced them to abandon village life once since Quain's visit, but they subsequently reunited in a new community.[11a]

Warfare

The topography of the flat upper Xingú Basin encourages considerable contact between tribes. The waterways are extensive and have importance beyond subsistence, as they are the chief avenues of trade and warfare. Communication through the river and flood plain system is the main reason for the high degree of cultural homogeneity that has been achieved by these tribes of diverse origins and languages. Intertribal relations are not confined to trade and warfare, but enter the spheres of social organization, ceremonialism and mythology.

Intertribal bonds within the upper Xingú Basin were based on peaceful relations between the tribes. These tribes formed part of a bounded social system in which groups outside the area did not take part. The Bakairí Indians of the Paranatinga River were on a friendly basis with the headwaters groups only because they had once lived on the Batoví River. Other tribes were uniformly enemies, regardless of cultural or linguistic affinities. Despite this peaceful interaction among the upper Xingú villages, there was considerable mutual fear and hostility between them which was expressed in witchcraft, petty thievery and intimidation. The practice of sorcery upon other villages is especially significant, in that sorcery is used in nearly all cultures only between people who share close interpersonal ties. This illustrates better than anything else the high degree of intervillage integration in the upper Xingú River Basin. The component groups constitute far more than a culture area — they form a society.

Despite the nominal peace within the upper Xingú area, the Trumaí lived in dread of their neighbors, and with good reason.[12] Situated

[11] Oberg 1953, p. 4.

[11a] Latest reports state that a measles epidemic has wrought great havoc, and that the few survivors have all joined other groups.

[12] Although fear of neighboring groups is general in the upper Xingú, da Lima (1949, p. 25) noted it to be especially strong among the numerically weak Trumaí.

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between the warlike Gé-speaking Suyá and the peaceful but overbearing Kamayurá, they were an easy prey to these tribes and to others more peripheral to the region, such as the Caiabí and Kayapó. The tribes the Trumaí feared most were those to the north. These included the Suyá, Yuruna, and an unidentified group. The Yuruna, located by Galvão on the Diauarum River, north of the Suyá, were said to have made raids on the headwater villages,[13] but nothing is known of any aggression by the unnamed tribe. There is definite documentation of numerous assaults by the Suyá, whose reputation for ferocity is unequalled in the area.

The Suyá villages are located several days journey to the north on the Suyá Missú River, and forays into the Kuluene-Kuliseu region have become relatively rare since the establishment of local airfields. Quain was of the opinion that the last Suyá raid on the Trumaí took place about twenty years ago when the brother of the Trumaí chief was killed. Two of Quain's informants had been captured by the Suyá as pre-pubescent boys. Suyá raids into the tributaries resulted in great destruction and von den Steinen reported a Trumaí village to have been recently burned and looted by them.[14]

The upper Xingú peoples were not always passive towards the Suyá. A revenge attack was once launched by the combined forces of the Kamayurá, Mehinaku, Waurá, and Trumaí. Their flotilla of twenty canoes assaulted and burned a Suyá village, starting another cycle of attacks and counter-attacks. This is the only known case of an intertribal alliance in war, but there have probably been others.

When Quain was with the Trumaí the memory of past attacks was still strong, and the mere mention of the Suyá was sufficient to cause great anxiety. Indicative of their feeling toward the Suyá is the Trumaí creation myth according to which the Sun made all tribes except the Suyá who are descended from snakes.

Among the Kuliseu tribes, the Kamayurá and Nahukwa were the two most feared. The former, especially, by small acts of aggression against the weakened Trumaí, had done great harm. As a result of the widespread hostility and distrust, Trumaí life was pervaded with insecurity. Tension always increased at night, and the slightest sound from the brush was enough to cause panic. Rumors of an impending attack were often brought to the village by visitors from other groups. These were generally false stories intended to frighten the Trumaí, but, reflecting the prevailing anxiety, they were always accepted as true.

The Kamayurá were the chief instigators of these tales. One visitor from the latter group told the Trumaí that the Kamayurá were coming to kill all of them as soon as Quain left. The Kamayurá attempted to

[13] Galvão 1953, p. 469.
[14] Von den Steinen 1897, p. 115.

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frighten Quain, too. One of their favorite stories was that the Nahukwa chief, Aloike, was coming to take Quain. Aloike was a powerful sorcerer and had a reputation for treachery among all the tribes, and the Nahukwa were probably feared more because of him than because of any traditional enmity.

Wild tales were also told out of sheer perversity. A party of Kamayurá came to visit and announced that Quain's father would arrive in an airplane with gifts for the Trumaí. On another occasion they said that a plane full of *karahiba* (white men) had landed at the house of Thomas Young, an American missionary who lived further up the Kuliseu.

The Trumaí, themselves, aggravated their own fears. One of them spoke at length in the men's circle on how the Kamayurá tortured their captives by piercing their arms and legs with arrow points. He also said that they beheaded them, stirred up their brains over a fire, and ate them. This was undoubtedly a false story born of fear and contrary to all the more reliable information on the treatment of captives. However, torture and ritual cannibalism of this sort once flourished in the tropical forest. It is, therefore, interesting that the Trumaí should know of such practices.

Due to the constant fear of surprise attack shared by all the tribes, it was considered bad policy to enter foreign territory without giving warning. This was done by building a fire. A party from the village then went out to investigate, unless it was definitely known who the intruders were. If a fire was seen by a traveling party, their canoes were beached and an answering fire was built.

Surprise meetings were to be avoided at all costs. When Quain was traveling on the Kuliseu with a Trumaí group, the sight of a Kamayurá canoe caused some concern. The chief was quite happy to note that Quain left his rifle in the bottom of the boat, thereby giving a peaceable appearance.

According to Dyott, an English explorer who descended the Xingú in 1938, arrows planted point first in the ground were "no trespassing" signs.[15] He also said that whistling arrows were shot in the air to warn strangers to stay away. The latter sign was, more accurately, an additional means of letting one's presence be known. Smoke spirals seen to the north or east always caused a great disturbance in the Trumaí village, as these were thought to be Suyá fires. Since the upper Xingú people approached from the south, fires seen in this direction caused little alarm unless there had been rumors of some aggressive act by the Kamayurá or Nahukwa.

Fear of attack at times approached the point of hysteria. The high tension might last a few days, after which it would decline to the normal

[15] Dyott 1930, pp. 283–84.

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level of general anxiety. It was usually the result of several days of rumor, omens, and strange fires in the north.

Late one night during Quain's stay, after most of the village had retired, a near panic occurred when two women shouted that the Suyá were attacking. All the initiated men, even the weak and old, rushed to the village center with their bows and arrows. The women and children from two of the four Trumaí houses hurried with their hammocks to the other two houses. The frightened men milled around in the center of the village with no apparent organization or direction. The chief, who was trembling, did not take command of the situation.

If this had been a real attack, noted Quain, the raiders would have given a loud yell and loosed a volley of arrows. He later made an investigation and found no signs of intruders. One of the women thought that someone had thrown dirt at her. Quain believed this to be a habit of the Suyá, but one that was usually a friendly overture.

The women feared other tribes more than did the men, for one of the main purposes of raids was to capture women. In every upper Xingú community women from other tribes are always found. The dispersal of women takes three forms: capture in warfare (by groups outside the area), open abduction of a woman by intimidation of her fellow-villagers, and peaceful intertribal marriage. According to de Lima, the Suyá raid the Waurá village on the Batoví River for female captives, as the women of the Arawakan tribes are the only potters of the region.[14] The Trumaí lost many young women to the Kamayurá by intimidation, the second of the above means. Most of the women in the Trumaí village were at one time held by the Kamayurá with the result that, in many Trumaí marriages, the woman is several years older than the man. At the time of Quain's visit, Trumaí women were still living among the Kamayurá and other groups. One of them, the sister of the Trumaí chief, ran away from the Kamayurá and returned home because her husband had beaten her, an action that angered the Trumaí greatly. There she picked up the threads of her old life, but after a few weeks a party of Kamayurá took her back to their village. The Trumaí offered no resistance, either physical or verbal, although they outnumbered the visitors, for to have done so would have invited retaliation.

The fact that the Trumaí had lost many women completely, or regained them only after their most fertile years had passed, was probably a contributing factor to the depopulation of the group. The losses were only partially compensated for by the marriage of outside women into the Trumaí village. There were three foreign women in the community in 1938: a Suyá, a Mehinaku, and a Kamayurá. Their status was lower than that of the Trumaí women, and they were at times taunted because of their foreign origin. They did not participate as fully in the

[14] De Lima 1950, p. 5.

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culture as the other women, but their everyday existence was much the same.

Men were also taken as captives, although not to the same extent as were women. Tun and Aloari, two Trumaí men, had lived in captivity among the Yuruna. They had feared their captors at first, but once they had learned the language, they said, they were no longer afraid. Apparently both men had been well treated by the Yuruna, for they were kindly disposed towards that tribe. The elder of the two men had a Yuruna wife, whom he left when he returned to his people. How this was accomplished is not known, but escape could not have been very difficult.

Another factor promoting the incorporation of both women and men into other tribes was the depopulation and extinction of their own groups. When the southern Trumaí village was disbanded many of the survivors joined the northern Trumaí, but some moved in with other tribes. Similarly, de Lima reported that the Yaulapiti, who disbanded sometime between 1938 and 1945, were to be found among the Kamayurá, Trumaí, and Auetí.[17]

It is possible that more Yaulapiti settled with Arawakan speaking groups, but the three above-named tribes were their closest neighbors. The remnants of a disbanded group might also join villages in which they had close kin or personal relationships. A later report by the Srs. Villas Boas, who maintained the recently established airstrip of the Fundação Brasil Central, stated that, as in the case of the Trumaí, the Yaulapiti have reconstituted themselves as a group by the establishment of a one-house village.[18] Clearly, except for the peace that has reigned since the airfield was built, a village of some twenty-five people would not be secure from attack. But while the chances of survival are still far from good, the initiation of such a project shows the eagerness of the participants to preserve their social identity.

The main purposes of warfare in the region are to capture women, take loot, and exact revenge. Captive-taking has a clear economic basis in the sporadic warfare between the Suyá and Waurá, as the Suyá capture Waurá women for their knowledge of pottery-making. Among the tribes of the *alurí* area proper, however, this is not done. Arawakan women are married, but Quain's notes indicate that they do not practice pottery-making in their new villages.

It is possible that male and female captives are taken by upper Xingú groups from tribes outside the region to bolster their waning numerical strength, but infanticide and abortion are also present in the area. However, captives do not have to be reared from infancy, and do not constitute the same strain on the economy that children do. It is also

[17] De Lima 1949, p. 25.

[18] This information was obtained verbally from Dr. Eduardo Galvão. Cf. Oberg 1953, p. 4.

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possible that more women may be needed for polygamous marriages, but the data do not indicate plural marriage to be of great significance.

Pillage, also, inspires raids. The Kamayurá threatened to descend on the Trumaí, after Quain left, to rob them of all the Western goods they had obtained. The Suyá took all the Trumaí pots in a raid which occurred immediately before von den Steinen's second trip through the region.[15] The desire for goods is undoubtedly a motivating factor in particular raids, and it may also be a contributing factor in warfare generally, but since the material surplus is low throughout the area and retaliation almost certain, it is doubtful that this is a basic cause.

Insults, too, could provoke aggression. The Kamayurá threatened to chastise the Trumaí because the latter were rumored to have made defamatory remarks about them. Continuous fear and insecurity can also lead a tribe to attack. Quain observed that the Trumaí worked themselves up into such a state of terror that they were capable of desperate deeds. Needless to say, revenge expeditions tended to perpetuate hostility.

Among the Trumaí, no special prestige was derived from warfare, and the men did not boast of their prowess as warriors. Trumaí men showed scars of old wounds to Quain, but only to impress him with the brutality of other tribes. To the Trumaí, warfare was an occasion for fear, and not an opportunity to enhance one's status.

Warfare, however, is important in maintaining social cohesion within the communities. Quain noted that intra-social harmony and cooperation was low in the Trumaí village. Leadership was weak, and there was little friendliness between the men. However, when an attack threatened, quarrels were forgotten and aggressions and anxieties were directed toward the outside world. Also, when members of other tribes were in the village, the whole tone and tempo of life changed, and the Trumaí presented a united front.

This was made manifest during a visit of several Kamayurá. Despite their apprehension, the Trumaí treated their guests as long absent brothers. There was much forced and nervous jocularity and talk. The men expressed tremendous affection towards each other and the Kamayurá by embraces and linking of arms. Industry and activity were high. The Trumaí men went to catch fish to feed the guests and, upon returning, marched into the village singing gaily and led by their chief. After the Kamayurá left, the village lapsed with relief into its normal way of life. The men ceased to show affection for their comrades, and old quarrels broke out anew.

[15] Von den Steinen 1897, p. 144.

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Intermarriage

648 Despite occasional semi-hostile encounters between the upper Xingú groups, most contacts within the area are peaceful. Intermarriage is [591] common, and, since patrilocality is general, the wives are usually brought back to the village of the groom. There are, however, exceptions to this rule. For instance, if the man has strong enough kinship ties with the bride's village, he may stay there. This was true in the case of a member of the Trumaí village who was half Kamayurá. [167] Friction with one's fellow tribesmen can also lead to a move to another [598] village, as in the case of a Trumaí man and his wife who went to live with the Kamayurá because they believed that someone in their own group was practicing witchcraft against them.

602 One result of this mixing process, in addition to its obvious function 648 as a mechanism of diffusion, is that all of the upper Xingú groups are cross-cut by ties of kinship. Nearly every man on the Kuliseu River knows all others so located, and they are often related. Most of the extra-tribal kin ties of the Trumaí were with the Kamayurá and Mehinaku, but they also extended to many other villages of the area. For reasons not fully explored by Quain, the chief contacts of the Trumaí were with Tupian and Arawakan groups, especially those of the Kuliseu River. Little mention is found in Quain's notes of the Cariban tribes of the Kulisehe River.

602 Kinship ties were probably responsible for the preference shown by 648 certain Trumaí men for particular tribes. While most men said that 186 the Kamayurá were "bad," a few claimed that they were really "good" and that the other tribes were the ones to be feared. One day a fire was sighted which, it was decided, had been lit by the Yuruna. A man having kinsmen among them left the village to tell them of his presence there and so prevent an attack. The alarm in this instance proved false.

648 Another basis for preference was past residence with a tribe, even as 186 a captive. However, if there was gossip of an attack by some tribe, even those most kindly disposed toward the potential enemy would become nervous and seek out their bows and arrows.

648 There was a great deal of friendly visiting between villages. The host 574 village was expected to provide food for their guests, but if women were brought, they joined in the women's work of preparing it. In the afternoon the men traded with each other and engaged in wrestling [517] contests. At night, singing, shamanism and speech-making were in order in the men's circle. Tobacco and large quantities of food were [602] passed around at all times. If the visitors were staying overnight, they slept in the house of their closest kinsman. The latter was also expected to greet them upon arrival and act as their host during their stay.

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Visits might be made to obtain a bride, engage in trade, participate in some intertribal ceremony, or for a combination of any of these reasons. Most visits were ostensibly of a purely social nature, but they were also used to frighten and impress. Stealing was frequent, especially when the host tribe, like the Trumaí, was weak. The Trumaí rarely protested against thefts while the visitors were still in the village, although they vehemently expressed their indignation later. Such discretion was due more to fear than etiquette.

The inferior position of the Trumaí was most evident when visitors were in the village. The Kamayurá, especially, treated the Trumaí with arrogance and contempt. At times they would enter the Trumaí village without having built the customary warning fire. The Trumaí, on the other hand, did everything possible to please their visitors and prove their generosity and good will toward them. Quain was berated by the Trumaí chief for being too niggardly toward the Kamayurá, and he found that greater respect was accorded to the Kamayurá chief than to either himself or the Trumaí chief. The Kamayurá felt slighted that Quain had not visited them instead of the contemptible Trumaí, and, when Quain went to meet the visiting Kamayurá chief, the latter turned away with an air of bored indifference.

The Kamayurá chief was immediately given a stool to sit on and was plied with cigarettes. When he threw one away after a few puffs, he was promptly given another. Deference was also paid to ordinary Kamayurá, although to a lesser degree. Once when such a member came to the Trumaí village alone, the man who received him rushed to Quain's house to borrow a chair in order to reach some tobacco which had been placed on a high shelf. He was in a great hurry, for it would not be good to keep his guest waiting.

This behavior stands in sharp contrast to a visit to the Kamayurá village made by Quain and a party of Trumaí. The chief delegated their reception to his brother. No special attention was paid to them, although the villagers were active and industrious in an apparent effort to impress. The Trumaí were not even asked to sit on the log in the village center.

Due to the extensive intertribal relations, command of a language besides one's own is common in the area generally. But since Trumaí is an independent tongue and the number of Trumaí small, it is probable that multilingual people were more frequent among them than in other tribes. Their "second" language was usually Kamayurá, but few outsiders spoke Trumaí, although more understood it. When Kamayurá came to visit, conversation was ordinarily in their tongue. Of the three foreign women in the Trumaí village, only the Suyá woman could speak even a broken Trumaí. Since the Suyá had no peaceful relations with the tribes of the headwaters, the Gê language was not widely known there. The other two foreign women merely understood Trumaí.

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still too young to "see," but that when he was older he would learn, since his father was a shaman. Aloari said that he, too, would learn when he was old, as would his son Tsirikoan. Matiwana would instruct Aloari and would receive a payment for this tutelage. Indicative of a possible looseness of inheritance was the fact that Matiwana's son Yati was nowhere mentioned as a prospective shaman.

Dreams were considered to be a way of "seeing" while sleeping. This was known as *ohltaxer*. Dreams were taken seriously, at least by the dreamer. Aloari fully believed that the Waurá would come after he had dreamed it. And Maibu was convinced that he should make the trip to the Indian post on the Paranatinga River because he had dreamed that Climaco, the agent, liked him very much and would give him a rifle. However, individual dreams were not a matter of community concern or interest. Village action was taken on the basis of shamanistic "seeing" only.

Witchcraft

The only known sorcerer in the Trumaí village was Oirupa, the brother-in-law of Aloari. Oirupa was said by one man to have learned witchcraft (*okei*) from the Nahukwa, who, with the other Cariban tribes, were dreaded for their black magic. Oirupa's knowledge made him one of the most hated men in the village, but no action was taken against him for fear of incurring his enmity. Also, there have been no reports of the execution of sorcerers in the upper Xingú, and, from all indications, this mode of retaliation is not customary.

When someone fell ill and witchcraft was suspected, the guilt was usually imputed to a neighboring tribe. It was said that the Trumaí had to leave their old village site near the Kamayurá because the latter were killing them off with witchcraft. Sorcery was probably often practiced against other groups by the Trumaí, and the converse was always feared. Oirupa refused to speak above a whisper one night when the Aueti were said to be using black magic on the Trumaí.

It was Quain's belief that witchcraft was a substitute for open violence among the people of the area; significantly, witchcraft was not practiced by the people of the upper Xingú against the Suyá and other hostile tribes outside the Basin.[4] Intertribal black magic functioned as a check upon violence within the village as well. Certainly, it was more conducive to social order to attribute sorcery to another tribe than to some member of the small and already disrupted Trumaí community.

[4] Cf. Galvão 1949; Oberg 1953.

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Jakwanari then presented to the dancers as payment. In another part of the ceremony, a gourd of the *piqui* fruit drink was poured on Jakwanari in the same manner that the manioc gruel was poured on Matiwana during the *ole* festival.

The Spear-Throwing Contest

The spear-throwing contest involved intertribal participation and was completely secular. The core of the celebration, which took place at the end of the rainy season, was a duel between rival teams representing the tribes of the area. The purpose of the duel was for a member of the team on the offensive to strike a member of the defending team with a blunt-ended spear propelled by an *atlatl*, or spear-thrower. The defendant held a few sticks vertically, one end resting on the ground, and tried to deflect the oncoming spear with them. The distance between the two was about twenty paces and hits were frequently scored. After each turn, the defender went on the offensive. The games were conducted in a spirit of friendship and festivity. Bruises, some of which must have been severe, were compensated for by gift exchanges.

The participants painted their bodies elaborately for the combat. One informant erroneously stated that the masks for which the area is famous (but which were no longer made by the Trumaí) were worn during one part of the festival.[7] Intertribal wrestling matches were also held at this gathering.

The Bull Roarer

Information on the defunct bull roarer rites, as for other ceremonies, is extremely meagre. As the Trumaí express it, they have "buried the *kuih*" (bull roarer), but most of the adult men knew the ritual connected with it and remembered when it was still in use. The Trumaí formerly went to the Kamayurá village and took part in the ceremony there. One man told Quain that dancing in the Trumaí village preceded the ritual, whereupon they all went to the Kamayurá village and "did things that the women cannot see." Then, he said, there was a great deal of wrestling and copulation. Yati, Maibu, and Tun played a ceremonial role known only to them, while Yati, Oirupa, and Nitvary sang certain songs at night when everyone was asleep. The ceremonial flutes found throughout the upper Xingú are not mentioned in Quain's notes. Apparently, they were no longer used by the Trumaí.

[7] These masks are worn during a ceremony called the *jakuí* by the Kamayurá, which, according to Galvão (1950, p. 355.) takes place in the same season, thus explaining the confusion.

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857 Among the eight boys below the ages of Autsuki and Jawaku there were no clearly organized groups. When outdoors they usually played in small groups of three or four, although nearly all would gather together occasionally for some special activity. The small groups were usually composed of age mates. Tsirikoan, the youngest, spent most of his time in the house, while the oldest boy, Muruta, was already drifting away from the others and spending more time with the men. Tay, an orphan boy of between ten and twelve years of age, was decidedly a misfit and did not join the others often. Of the remaining five, the three oldest were steady companions, while the two youngest either trailed them or stayed near their houses.

[572] Despite the fact that the children were together frequently, there were no fast friendships or strong ties of loyalty and dependence. In this respect they were much like the men. Their play together was sporadic, and participation was fluid and shifting.

857 The only organized play in which the children indulged was wrestling. 526 Matches were infrequent and usually broke up within fifteen minutes. [159] All the boys turned out on such occasions except Tay, whose interests [838] were abnormally directed toward homosexual play. The wrestling matches were a complete replica of the adult contests, the boys even [858] sitting on the log in the men's circle (this was one of the few times they were permitted to do so). The adults never interfered. Usually they stood near the houses and watched the grappling with great amusement. When the wrestling involved boys of the village only, it was very informal and few pains were taken with their ornamentation. Each bout consisted of trying out some holds and grunting loudly in imitation of the men. The contests generally ended in a draw by mutual consent without any hostility being shown.

Most of the matches were between the older boys. But they also wrestled with the younger children. Even little Tsirikoan wrestled once. As he did not know what he was expected to do, he merely grunted and fell down. The bigger boys were very gentle with the little ones and tried only to teach them.

648 Just as the men were excited by the intertribal wrestling matches, the 857 boys welcomed the chance to wrestle with boys from other tribes. This 526 occurred regularly, since it was customary in the upper Xingú for a boy [484] to travel with his maternal uncle. At one such time, a Kamayurá boy [604] came to the Trumaí village and was invited to wrestle. The boys gathered [171] in the men's circle after having carefully painted themselves and put on new arm and leg bands. The older boys wrestled the Kamayurá youngster in turn, but since he was bigger, he threw them easily. The Trumaí men watched from a distance, silently rooting for their own [576] boys, but laughing loudly as each landed on his back, out of politeness to the visitors.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

always used to treat the wounds made by scraping. Jawaku walked away in a hurt and angry mood, his body covered with blood.

A few days later, in recognition of his advancement, Jawaku made the afternoon serving of food to the assembled men, a custom associated with the *ole* (manioc) ceremony. A further sign of his new position was the drinking of an herbaceous emetic before eating the first *piquí* fruit. Only boys who had not yet had their stomachs scraped could eat *piquí* without first taking the medicine.

One important purpose of body-scraping, the Trumaí thought, was to make the boy grow and give him strength. For this reason even the adult males occasionally scraped their arms. The scars themselves were very much admired. Of still greater value was the size of the muscles of the arms, chest, shoulder, and back of the neck, which the Trumaí believed to be the result of the scraping.

Another method of inducing growth was by drinking medicines made from herbs. All of the upper Xingú peoples were said to know of these preparations. The Suyá were said to have learned to make them also, but not the Yuruna. Adults drank these medicines, but they were especially important during the final phase of the puberty rites.

The perforation of the ear lobes was a distinct and separate part of the cycle of puberty rites, and the only one in which the boys went through a prescribed phase as a group. This observance took place during the equinoctial festive period which follows the rainy season and involved intertribal participation. At the next dry season festival, Quain was told, all the boys would have their ears pierced. Jawaku's ears, however, had been pierced before, whereas Autsuki, who was older and had entered the puberty cycle earlier, had not yet had his ears perforated. Manifestly, the time of the first perforation varied.

At the first piercing the young boy added the name of his mother's father to the name of his paternal grandfather, which he had been given previously. This was also an occasion for scarifying the arms.

Quain was informed that ear-piercing was done by all the upper Xingú area tribes. The Suyá, in common with other Gé-speaking peoples, made very large, and to the Trumaí, very unsightly, perforations in the lobes. Two Trumaí men who had been Suyá captives had such perforations and also pierced lower lips. The latter condition explained satisfactorily to the Trumaí why the Suyá "cannot speak properly."

The puberty ceremonies were climaxed by a final series of tests of strength and courage: wrestling with a small anaconda, a subsequent intensive drinking of *okeis*, and further body-scraping. After this the boy was kept in seclusion until his ears were again pierced.

Both Jawaku and Autsuki were at this stage. One day a snake was located in the lagoon, and Jawaku was urged to go after it. He and Makurawa ran through the brush to the lagoon and searched for it along

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

cumbent upon the males was a prohibition against wearing body paint for several months after the death. This ban extended to women, also. In addition, the female mourner could not sing in any of the ceremonies, and she cut her hair immediately after the death. Marriage was also forbidden her during the mourning period. (Autu came under censure as she had married her dead husband's sister's son — which at any time was reprehensible — even though her hair, cut when he died, had not yet grown back.) The woman was also required to wail occasionally for the dead person during the time of mourning, and she made flat mud discs, about one inch high, in the village center. Quain never found out the reason for this, although Kayaru made several of these markers for her dead brother. No special reverence or respect was given to the markers as they were usually demolished during the wrestling matches.

Recreation and Amusement

Trading sessions have been referred to as "games" because they are a form of amusement, but this appellation is in a way misleading, as the economic aspect of the "trade game" is very important. Actually, except for the intertribal spear-throwing contest, the only organized recreation is wrestling, and this is immensely popular throughout the whole upper Xingú area.[4] Wrestling matches were especially frequent during intertribal visits and ceremonials. These occasions aroused keen interest, and competitive spirits ran high, but the onlookers made it a point of etiquette to show no partisanship, and the contestants made every effort to conceal latent intertribal hostility. They were always friendly to each other, and at the end of the match they exchanged a friendly embrace. This was not necessary between fellow Trumaí or close kinsmen of different villages. The most effusive behavior was always shown toward those who were most disliked and mistrusted.

Wrestling matches always took place in the afternoon. All that was needed to start a match was a quorum of four or five men. These small bouts were usually informal and more in the nature of practice than competitive contests. When most of the men were in the village the contests attracted more attention and required more preparation. Bodies were painted and arm and leg bands were worn. The hair was usually combed and plastered down.

The men lined up on the log in the men's circle or brought stools. The women and young boys watched from the periphery. Uninitiated boys were not allowed to take part in the men's wrestling, but the older ones were generally permitted to sit with the men.

Each wrestler tried for a grip by grabbing at the body of the other. A variant of the half-Nelson was frequently attempted. The match

[4] Cf. Galvão 1949, p. 44.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

526 would be terminated by mutual consent and without the need for either contestant to concede defeat.[8] The wrestlers were often pushed around [152] considerably, but except for grunts of effort, there were no expressions of pain or anger. However, when Quain tried to teach the Trumaí men to box, even the lightest punch caused them to retire. They claimed that the *karahiba* sport was much too rough.

562 Trumaí women do not "know how" to wrestle, but the Kamayurá 526 women wrestled to entertain guests. It was common opinion in the region 186 that Trumaí women did not compare favorably with Kamayurá women. 648 Even the Trumaí men agreed on this point. After a visit to the Kama- 171 yurá village, the precocious young Yanahi was vociferous in his approval of them. His admiration was due chiefly to the *jamyrikuma*, a Kamayurá female song and dance in which the women flapped their breasts and went through other provocative motions. He also described how they had pushed their twine belts down low on their buttocks, which to him was a very suggestive act. After the dance the women wrestled. Jakwalu, a Mehinaku, was the only woman in the Trumaí village who could wrestle, a fact that suggests that the females of this group also practiced the sport. She demonstrated her ability only on intertribal visits.

574 The Trumaí women did not entertain guests, except insofar as visitors 535 forced their attentions on the unmarried ones. The only occasions on which they were known to sing and dance were at certain ceremonies when they served as a chorus to the men.

533 Except for the use of pan-pipes, which the men played in the morning, [534] all music was connected with religious ceremonial. The pan-pipes con- [196] sisted of a half-dozen hollow reeds of different lengths laced together. Ceremonial singing was melodious, and the Trumaí enjoyed singing. They frequently requested Quain to sing in the men's circle. The requests were always phrased on behalf of the women and children. [123] Visits from members of other tribes always called for a performance by the ethnographer.

522 Humor consisted mostly of practical jokes played at the expense of 571 others. Jokes were always perpetrated by the men; the women served occasionally as butts. This does not mean that the men were gayer or more light-hearted than the women, for the contrary was actually the case. The women enjoyed each other's company more. They gossiped and laughed together, worked together, and generally wore a pleasanter expression. For the men, jokes were important as a means of recognition and assertion. They were always performed for an audience.

Teasing the women was also a popular male diversion. This was often done by ignoring them completely during a conversation. Yati was a

[8] This may be true only of bouts between Trumaí, as Oberg (1953, p. 89) notes that a man is defeated when he is thrown on his back.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

The main motivation for going into the brush to defecate was not modesty, but a feeling of revulsion for body products. One did not eliminate in places frequented by people. Yanahí was disgusted when Quain defecated in his garden and claimed that the garden was ruined. Similarly, it was considered repulsive to defecate in the water. When Quain described the great ship that had brought him to Brazil, the only thing that the Trumaí found hard to believe was that the people aboard would have to eliminate in the water.

The rules of etiquette required a person entering or leaving company to make an appropriate statement. The salutation usually consisted of a phrase stating what the person being greeted was doing at the moment. Thus, typical greetings were, "You are eating," "You have returned from fishing," "You are sitting," and so on. When leaving a person or group it was proper to announce, "I am leaving," followed generally by a statement of what one was going to do. If this last was not observed, the departing person was usually asked where he was going. These formalities were not as regularly invoked in the larger gatherings as in house-visiting.

The rules of etiquette also required the emission of conventionalized cries on particular occasions, such as the bringing of food into the village or the offering of tobacco to guests. In the latter case the person making the presentation cried "*aha*," the recipient "*ha-a-a ha ha ha*." These amenities, which were observed between the Trumaí, were always louder when an outsider was involved.

Hospitality was extended to all upper Xingú Indians and white men who visited the village. In part this was inspired by a fear of their neighbors, in part by etiquette. The Trumaí had little reason to fear Quain; yet he was treated with the greatest kindness and consideration, and everyone was eager to converse with him. Indeed, their attentions were so constant that at times he wanted nothing more than to be left alone.

While the men were far more self-assertive than the women, they were also extremely sensitive. They were insulted at the refusal of a request, or at the denial of what they considered to be the recognition due them as individuals. They did not like to be treated as faceless members of a group. During the argument that followed Quain's complaint that some article of his had been stolen, Maibu criticized him for addressing them collectively as "Trumaí," while they always called him "*capitão*" or by his name.

The Trumaí were greatly interested in Western goods and their behavior toward whites was unrestrained. The following quotation from Quain's field notes describes this succinctly:

> The reason why it is so difficult to live with these people is that they are so "impolite." At least in their dealings with me, an outsider, and with the mission-

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

CHAPTER SIX

The Death of a Culture

Today there are but twenty-five remaining Trumaí. The fact that they disbanded once during the recent past shows that this small number approaches a critical point at which such a culture is no longer socially viable. If the present population trend continues, Trumaí society will definitely end, and, with the complete assimilation of the descendants of the Trumaí into other tribes, Trumaí culture, except for those elements of it that have been adopted by their neighbors, will belong to the past.

Primitive cultures and the populations that transmitted them are disappearing in many parts of the world today. In most instances, however, they are being destroyed by extended face-to-face contacts with Western society. This is not precisely the case with the Trumaí. Here, there was no large scale transmission of Western culture and no direct interaction with Brazilian society. But slight though the contact of the upper Xingú Indians with the whites was, it resulted in the introduction of respiratory infections that contributed greatly to their depopulation. In this sense, the white man is responsible for the impending death of the Trumaí.

Although the Trumaí were still carrying on their village life during Quain's residence and were to continue to do so, certain changes were taking place in their culture which were symptomatic of the fundamental instability induced by their low numbers.

It is immediately apparent that their weakness made the Trumaí vulnerable to other tribes, both the nominally friendly ones of the upper Xingú Basin, and the hostile ones of the surrounding country. In 1938 the Trumaí could not have successfully withstood a strong Suyá or Yuruna raid, nor could they have launched an attack upon the Suyá for women, as did the more vigorous Kamayurá. Indeed, the Trumaí had good reason to fear the least sound in the jungle at night.

Also, the Trumaí were held in low esteem by their immediate neighbors at the time of Quain's study. This was a severe blow to their *elan*, and it undoubtedly affected their self-image. It led, too, to more concrete results. As noted above, other tribes took Trumaí women during their most fertile years, and it is almost certain that the few "outside" women, who were brought into the Trumaí village through marriage, failed to restore the balance. Moreover, there were no "outside" men

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

105 182 648 in the Trumaí community, for, as Oberg notes, no adult male would choose to live with a people of such low status.[1]

105 162 It might be expected that the Trumaí could have compensated for this drain by raising their birth rate. However, in this population of 43 persons, there were only ten children, an extremely small number when the low average life span is considered. Furthermore, only two of the children were females. Of the approximately twelve women who 105 163 were capable of bearing children, only one was pregnant, and the others were urging her to abort her child. Thus, infanticide and abortion were 161 taking a heavy toll in the Trumaí village.

847 845 The custom of killing twins and of spacing births three or four years apart are reported by Oberg for the Kamayurá,[2] and these factors may well have been present in the Trumaí situation. The long post-natal [171] taboo on sexual intercourse had the same effect. Wagley, who studied the dying but equally unacculturated Tapirapé, found that traditional practices were contributing to the complete depopulation of that group also.[3]

105 161 178 154 But among the Trumaí there is still another and less tangible dimension. Abortion may have been urged on a pregnant woman because she had no husband, but how is one to explain the killing of two of Aloari's children without his consent, or the fact that there were eight male and only two female children in the community? The limited information available suggests that the Trumaí were purposely restricting their number and committing suicide, perhaps unintentionally, in the process. Two reasons for this extreme behavior may be hypothesized: first, the impasse in which the Trumaí found themselves because of the steady depopulation made them so personally insecure and apathetic regarding both the present and the future that they were no longer willing to rear sizable families, despite their evident devotion to children; and second, they may not have thought it possible to produce the surplus necessary to support such families. Actually, however, even with their diminished numbers the Trumaí could have increased their food supply.

105 511 433 226 Their lowered standard of living was due to more than attitudes. Loss of population no doubt also decreased the yield of Trumaí fishing and therefore limited their chief source of protein. To be sure, bow and arrow fishing was little affected, but fish poisoning, the only communal subsistence technique practiced by them, was much less effective when employed by a small group, for a few people can adequately poison only smaller watercourses and branches of lagoons, while a greater number can cover larger streams and whole lagoons. In the latter circumstance, both the take would be larger and larger species would be available. Moreover, when the waters are heavily poisoned and enough people are present to reap the "harvest," there is less chance of fish escaping. Thus, up to

[1] Oberg 1953, p. 15. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 82. [3] Wagley 1940.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

a certain point at least, the take increases geometrically with the number of persons participating.

In gardening, also, which was not practiced collectively, their small number decreased Trumaí security. It was common for nearly all the village men to plant their gardens in clearings adjacent to those of their neighbors. Obviously, if one part of such a single, extended clearing was improperly fired, or if the crops were destroyed by armadillos or wild pigs, the whole village might be without food. Crop failure for a variety of causes is common in the tropical forests, but most aboriginal communities in South America have several separated garden clearings, each owned by an individual or extended family. If one garden fails, the family can, in a period of emergency, reap from others. Oberg relates that the Trumaí once had to turn for food to the Kamayurá,[4] perhaps because of the failure of the village clearing.

It is, of course, possible that in the past the Trumaí organized their gardens along the more rational lines of the Kamayurá;[5] and it is also possible that they never made a proper ecological adaptation subsequent to their arrival in the upper Xingú region. But lacking information on their economy prior to their decimation, we cannot make any firm statement on these points. However, it is certain that, despite their small numbers, the individual Trumaí could have cleared and planted much more land. The average size of the gardens observed by Quain was one-half acre, and this area had to feed up to four people. Many men also had old gardens which were planted only to manioc. According to Quain's calculations, the total acreage of Trumaí gardens was only a little over thirteen. Since yields from forest soils are not high, it is evident that this very small area must have barely met the needs of a population of 43 persons. Manifestly, the Trumaí did not work hard enough; and it seems evident that their lack of application did more to impoverish them than any other single factor.

If the other upper Xingú tribes are used as criteria to establish what Trumaí society was like before its decline, some very serious dysfunctions within Trumaí social structure soon become apparent. To be sure, such a comparison is an arbitrary procedure; and it is only invoked here for its heuristic value. Since village and house patrilocality is the usual mode of residence among the Trumaí, a household similar to that of the Kamayurá, and with like functions, might be expected and might indeed have existed in the past. However, the Trumaí death rate in 1938 was so high that these units disintegrated before they had gone beyond the embryonic stage. House membership was shifting, the number of persons involved small, and leadership nebulous. And since kinship was the principal mechanism for structuring interpersonal relationships in Trumaí society, this lack of a stable, kin-structured unit probably did

[4] Oberg 1953, p. 42. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 45.

Y 123 241 /101 cont./ Wilhelm came across the Chief busy planting maize behind his hut; with a little stick he dug holes two to three inches deep and placed several kernels in them. When my cousin came along, the old man insisted that he plant the rest, an incident similar to my experience in the first Bakaïrí village.

Y 203 152 Soon afterwards great agitation suddenly broke out in the midst of the company. Wilhelm was led into the hut of the chief and found sitting there three newcomers who were staring darkly ahead while everyone was noisily talking at once and a few women were weeping. He could not make out what was happening and realized only that there had been bad news, the bearers of which were the three red-painted strangers. Only later in the flute-house was the news made intelligible to him with much pantomime. The bad Suyá had finally successfully carried out the plan to attack the Trumaí, for which they had sought our assistance in 1884. "Suyá Trumaí tok tok"; it was thus illustrated with lively gestures that the Suyá had struck down and overcome the Trumaí. It seemed that the former had pulled some of the Trumaí canoes toward them with hooks and tipped them over; arrows were shot at the swimmers, and others had their hands tied behind their backs.

Y [302] T 648

Y 203 101 The people who had brought the news were the Nahuquá living closest to the Trumaí, who were called Guikurú /Kuikuru/.

Y 122 On the forenoon of 11 October Wilhelm and Ehrenreich, whose indisposition was growing worse, returned to the harbor and rowed off on the morning of the 12th in order to catch up with me. Two of the Mehinakú, who lived below the Nahuquá and had correctly interpreted my disappearance, had already traveled after me the day before, but fortunately arrived a day later than I did.

000 /102/

III. To the Mehinakú.

Going ahead alone. Arrival and reception. Festival hut. Disturbed harmony and reconciliation. Prosperity. Flying ants. Ethnographic collection.

B 123 It had required some power of persuasion to induce Tumayaua and his companion, the "cab driver," who had fortunately once

/297 cont./

B 527 535 773 *[191] According to everything that the natives told us about the festivals, they primarily amounted to what they thought were riotous feasting and drinking bouts. Bakaïrí legend describes the origin to us in the same way. Kame, the tribal ancestor of the Arinos tribes, built the first flute house, carved the first flute, invited his friends to the dance, and served them starch-paste. Keri, the tribal ancestor of the Bakaïrí, who most eagerly competed with Kame in invention, for his part invited Kami to the dance; the legend tells us in what manner the festival took place and speaks of the makanari and the imeo, the straw costumes without face-masks, but with characterizing and partly disguising headdresses, as Keri's invention.

B 527 535 539 "Keri, too, called his people together. Toward evening they went dancing on the village plaza. Then from the house Keri fetched pogu to be drunk. Immediately thereafter they plaited makanari. Keri called Kame. Many people came and Keri was master of the dance. They danced all day. Toward evening they rested. After dark they danced all through the night. Early in the morning they went to the river to bathe. After the bath they came to the flute house. They began with the imeo and danced the whole day. They likewise danced all night. -- Then the festival was at an end."

B T 527 535 628 648 B *[191] A noteworthy feature of the legend is the circumstance that the different tribes united for the dance festival. It is a universal custom that the villages invite one another to the big festivals. Friendly neighboring tribes also send numerous participants. In 1884, when we met the Trumaí and Kamayurá /Camayura/ together (see p. 105), the two tribes had just celebrated a joint festival.

B *[191] 197 535 For one thing it is understandable under these circumstances that an exchange and leveling out between the customs and dance gear of the tribes takes place. /298/ Each tribe knew the songs of the neighboring tribes, without understanding their content precisely, as we learned in numerous cases; one tribe would also become acquainted with new types of masks from another, and finally the mereschu design, to which I shall come back after describing the masks, gained its general distribution.

Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25
Waura SP18
Trumai SP23

Y
622 pleased. The women were as outspoken as the men, but it was noticed
554 that the younger women kept behind the older, peering over their shoul-
[562] ders, a custom that was observed among the Bororo and the Bakairi also.

000 Propelled by the outboard motor we covered a great distance, until late in the afternoon three canoes were capsized by one of the men who lost his head. This occurred in one of the deepest pools in the river, and all our efforts to recover the canoes failed. Making an inventory of our resources we found that all of our dried meat was lost, most of the sugar, a good portion of the salt, beans, rice, and farina. For this last we were not concerned, for we could buy it from the Indians. More serious was the loss of most of the ammunition, some rifles, revolvers, knives, over half of our trade goods, including most of the hardware, the cameras, anthropometric instruments, Schick and Dick Test material, blood grouping sera, and all of my notes and specimens. We had lost enough beans and rice to last us some four weeks with care, and a sufficient quantity of coffee. I decided to go on anyway, but as a matter of fact we were not able to move in any direction, since the few small canoes would not carry all of the personnel.

On the second day after this event a Mehinaku appeared in a canoe with his wife and two children. Understanding our plight, he paddled to his people further down stream and the next day returned with men and canoes, having traveled day and night to reach us quickly. In the meantime the plane had flown by on its way to the meeting place, without having seen our smoke signals.

B Paddling all day and a good portion of the night, we arrived at the
W Mehinaku port of a village on the right bank, in the process of being
574 built. Farina and biiju were given us and we found the people delighted
609 and charming hosts. Putting up our hammocks under the trees, some
648 of us retired, but the Bakairi, though tired, sat up most of the night
197 conversing with the Mehinaku, though each other's language was mutually unintelligible.

On the opposite bank to the port of the Mehinaku, we found a group
T of about twenty-five Trumai men and women. They had no canoes,
142 but the Mehinaku ferried them across. They were exceptionally small,
146 being both short and thin, in contrast with other peoples that were met,
648 but always appeared to be well nourished. In the morning, when we

Wauka SP18
Tahmai SP23

distributed gifts among our hosts, the Mehinaku begged that we give gifts also to the Trumai, who were a poor but good people.

Of all the groups met, the Mehinaku were the most pleasant and the most reliable. The incident of helping us to move down stream has been mentioned. Later, on making contact with the plane, we had occasion to test their intelligence and reliability further. Eight cases of aviation gasoline had been left on the sand beach where the disaster occurred; as we needed the gasoline, six Mehinaku went back and brought it to us in remarkably short time. [Plate XI, 1.]

In the morning, while some of the canoes were being patched, I visited the new village. Though only one house had been built, and it was not quite finished, a tall conical structure made of poles tied together at the top, housed a harpy eagle. I was told that that was the first structure put up. The house structure differed in no way from others that were subsequently seen in other villages, which will be described later.

The original village of the Mehinaku was on the west bank, but having exhausted the soil, they were moving to the east bank. They had a few beans and maize seed, which they were carefully keeping for planting.

With the help of these kindly disposed and gentle Mehinaku, we continued our journey down stream, meeting with groups of Aura and Auiti, and finally arrived at the mouth of the Kuluseu. In the morning some Tsuva brought us the news that the plane was several bends of the river away, and we hastened to it.

Our meeting with Johnson, Rossi, Lorber, Saucedo and Due was a happy occasion for everyone. While waiting for me, news had come to them about some white men, but our failure to put in an appearance caused them worry. Their food supplies having been almost exhausted, they had decided to fly back to Cuyabá, when we appeared.

On the sand bank where the plane was beached there were collected Anahukua, Auiti, Aura, Kamayula, Yawalapiti, Tsuva, Kuikuti, and Kalapalu, and we brought Mehinaku. Each group was jealous of the others and we had to distribute our favors equally.

Learning that I had lost my photographic equipment, Arthur P. Rossi, who had made the trip with the plane merely to take aerial photographs of the region, insisted in staying with me when the plane flew back to Cuyabá the next morning, even though the plane would not return for three weeks to bring us fresh supplies of food. Rossi was a welcome

SP8 Bororo
Trumai SP23
Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25

The Trumai were met on the west bank of the Kuluseu, between the Anahukua and Mehinaku ports. They had no canoes. We learned that their village was close to the Batovy. It would seem that they also have shifted their village site since Von den Steinen's encounter with them. [50]

T 101 361 648

All of these people live at peace with each other, though of course quarrels arose at times. Their common enemies are, however, the tribes living to the east and west, tribes that roam across the headwaters and depend on hunting rather than fishing for food.

The Bakairi gave the following list of tribes that are supposed to live in the forests east of the Kuluene: Kayahó (Kayapó); Kaviji; Turi; Maritsava; Phoi, who are pygmies, a little over a metre high; Penehoko, who are a very large people; Tsuyakadi, who also are very large; Yaruma; Suya; Tsuruna; and, on the Paranatinga, the Tonali, who are also known as Kayabi, Kajabi; Apiakalu (Apiaka) and the Pana, who are a very tall people.

B 101 829

The Kalapalu gave the names of the following tribes who are supposed to live to the east of the Kuluene and with whom they are permanently in a state of war: lower part of Kuluene, the Siuya (Suya) and Tsuruna (Juruna); directly to the east of their village, the Ahinkotl, Turi, Jaruma, Tumbilyaka, Kayapo (big feet) Alitsowa, Aiiva, Yahã, Ravine, Aruga (hide away to kill people), Yarpitsu (kill people), Tahulgi (pygmies). [See map, Plate XXV.]

Y 101 829 648

Our attempt to meet some of these tribes that are supposed to have their villages close to the banks of the Seventh of September river was not successful. In view of the above linguistic grouping of the tribes, it is interesting to note their attitude toward each other. The Bakairi, who are Caribs, distrust and fear the Anahukua, who are of the same linguistic stock, affirming to me again and again that they are a bad people. They were relieved when we left their neighborhood. On the other hand they praised the Mehinaku, and were not even afraid to leave their goods about. The Mehinaku are Arawaks. My canoemen were also at ease with the Aura and the Yawalapiti, and seemed to expect nothing from the Trumai, whom they considered an inferior and poor people. The Auiti were watched with suspicion, but the Kamayula were actually feared, as well as the Tsuva, Kuikutl and Kalapalu, the first being Tupi and the last three Caribs; but the Paravute were praised for their honesty and peaceful disposition, and seemed to recognize in the Bakairi.

Y B 648

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626 828 154 On these occasions the men usually unburdened themselves in the village center. Malice was expressed either by a verbal interchange with the opponent or an angry speech. The substance of the latter type of demonstration often was not related to the cause of the dispute or to the speaker's discontent. Manifestly, the function of the harangue was to provide an emotional outlet rather than a forum. Maibu's suggestion that Quain should make a speech in his own language underlines the fact that the externalization of anger was the paramount purpose.

154 626 123 Emotional release could also be found in contrived performances. Quain, feeling depressed one evening, refused to sing when the Trumaí asked him to. However, when Maibu proposed a mock argument, Quain, being a good ethnologist, complied. Facing each other in the village center, the two men hurled epithets and insults at each other at the top of their voices. When Quain was at a loss for something to say, Maibu suggested that he repeat a speech he had made about the theft of his supplies. At the conclusion Quain reported, "I felt very good when I shouted at him for a while, and I was quite willing to sing."

683 692 In cases of physical harm, settlement could be obtained by paying the injured person. Quain was told that after the spear-throwing contest, the Kamayurá and the Trumaí each paid indemnities for bruises inflicted.[9] No case of physical violence was observed by Quain, but when [173] he slapped the flour from the boy's hand, and again when he stepped on a child's foot, the Trumaí suggested that he pay something. The latter case was an obvious attempt at petty extortion, for a week later the same child had his foot stepped on by a Trumaí, but this time the only result was an admonition from his father to be quiet.

626 754 [186] Still another alternative to violence was found in witchcraft. Only one or two Trumaí knew the practice of sorcery, and these men were said to have learned it from the Nahukwa, who were much feared because of their dangerous skill. Sorcery was usually invoked covertly, but at least once in an argument its use was openly threatened. This, however, was regarded as a most reprehensible action.

578 154 The chief source of conflict in the village was sex. Quarrels over who was to marry the three available women raged throughout Quain's stay. Bride-capture, the large percentage of older women, and polygamy combined to make the allotment of women an extremely sore point. The story of the battle over one woman is worth reporting, as it illustrates both patterned interpersonal relationships and the ways in which anger could be expressed and channeled.

578 584 154 Three men wanted to marry Kuyafi, a widow with a child. They were Oirupa the sorcerer, Mayuva, her sister's husband, and Nitvary. Kuyafi, it was said, had once had a child by Nitvary, so his claim was a strong one. So also was Mayuva's, as he had recognized sexual rights over her

[9] Cf. Galvão 1960, p. 363.

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still too young to "see," but that when he was older he would learn, since his father was a shaman. Aloari said that he, too, would learn when he was old, as would his son Tsirikoan. Matiwana would instruct Aloari and would receive a payment for this tutelage. Indicative of a possible looseness of inheritance was the fact that Matiwana's son Yati was nowhere mentioned as a prospective shaman.

Dreams were considered to be a way of "seeing" while sleeping. This was known as *ohltaxer*. Dreams were taken seriously, at least by the dreamer. Aloari fully believed that the Waurá would come after he had dreamed it. And Maibu was convinced that he should make the trip to the Indian post on the Paranatinga River because he had dreamed that Climaco, the agent, liked him very much and would give him a rifle. However, individual dreams were not a matter of community concern or interest. Village action was taken on the basis of shamanistic "seeing" only.

Witchcraft

The only known sorcerer in the Trumaí village was Oirupa, the brother-in-law of Aloari. Oirupa was said by one man to have learned witchcraft (*okei*) from the Nahukwa, who, with the other Cariban tribes, were dreaded for their black magic. Oirupa's knowledge made him one of the most hated men in the village, but no action was taken against him for fear of incurring his enmity. Also, there have been no reports of the execution of sorcerers in the upper Xingú, and, from all indications, this mode of retaliation is not customary.

When someone fell ill and witchcraft was suspected, the guilt was usually imputed to a neighboring tribe. It was said that the Trumaí had to leave their old village site near the Kamayurá because the latter were killing them off with witchcraft. Sorcery was probably often practiced against other groups by the Trumaí, and the converse was always feared. Oirupa refused to speak above a whisper one night when the Auetí were said to be using black magic on the Trumaí.

It was Quain's belief that witchcraft was a substitute for open violence among the people of the area; significantly, witchcraft was not practiced by the people of the upper Xingú against the Suyá and other hostile tribes outside the Basin.[4] Intertribal black magic functioned as a check upon violence within the village as well. Certainly, it was more conducive to social order to attribute sorcery to another tribe than to some member of the small and already disrupted Trumaí community.

[4] Cf. Galvão 1949; Oberg 1953.

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Divorce and Adultery

The polygynous unions were extremely brittle. In two cases observed by Quain, they lasted only a few days. In both instances the first wife was responsible for the break-up. The bonds of the second marriage of a plural mating were loose, for Jakwanari's second wife had sexual relations with several Trumaí men with apparent impunity. Such behavior would have been dealt with severely by a husband had his first wife been involved. Divorces also occurred in monogamous marriages; they entailed little more than telling the wife to leave. After the birth of their son, Oirupa sent his Mehinaku wife back to her village and kept the child. The right of the father's village over the children seems to have been general in the area, for Autu had a son by a Waurá husband, whom the Waurá refused to give to the Trumaí.

There is no recorded instance of adultery precipitating a divorce, although this probably occurred. However, the usual procedure was for the injured husband to beat his wife and make a lengthy and heated speech against the offending suitor. The wife of an adulterous husband showed anger toward his paramour and did not speak to her. Hair pulling resulted in some cases. The husband's behavior was viewed as reprehensible by the wife, but she took no action against him. One wife even chuckled a bit over her husband's adventures, although jealousy is the more usual response.

Due to the threat of punishment, the married women engaged far less in extra-marital relations than did their husbands. Both married and unmarried men sought out unattached women, but instances of married men in such liaisons were less numerous. The younger married men and Maibu, the chief, seemed to have been the chief offenders. The latter complained to Quain that all the women in the village were prohibited to him, as they were his wife's cross-cousins. Neither his genealogy nor his activities bore him out, and he often approached the single women and Jakwanari's second wife when the other men were out of the village. Everyone conceded that, although Maibu's wife had not reached menopause, she was "too old." Thus they rationalized his escapades.

The instability of the nuclear family and the vicissitudes to which it was exposed were alleviated by household and kin distribution and by the interdependence of co-resident relatives of the opposite sex for sexually specialized goods and services. These arrangements made possible the economic workability of Trumaí culture. The conjugal family was basic to the culture, however, and marriage was highly desirable to the Trumaí. Despite the shortage of available women and the conflicts which stemmed from it, sex relations between unmarried persons were free and easy and subject to little or no public censure, except insofar as they encroached on the interests of others. Incest

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582 [186] Quain was told that the Kamayurá were "bad," because they permitted marriage with a sister's daughter.[6]

582 595 837 587 Cross-cousin marriage is correlated with sororal polygyny among the Trumaí and with the sexual privileges that a man may take with his wife's sister. No indication was found of the sororate, despite its probable acceptability. There was only one case of the levirate, and that was the marriage of the chief to his dead brother's wife. That the levirate is expected but not compulsory is apparent in the case of Yati and his brother's widow Vatsiat. She resided in Yati's house, and they performed [462] many necessary, sexually specialized functions for each other. Although their hammocks were some distance apart, Vatsiat called him *ece* (husband) and became quite incensed at one of his paramours. However, Yati called her *apizi* (sibling), and apparently felt that there were no marital obligations between them. He had his love-life, which did not [831] include her, and he showed no sign of annoyance at her escapades. It was a standing joke that every man in the village had sexual relations with Vatsiat, except where an incest taboo prohibited it.

582 684 835 Marriage between people of different generations, especially between older women and younger men, was frequent; but the rules governing such unions are obscure. It was specifically frowned upon for a man to marry his mother's brother's widow. However, when one young man did so, he was only mildly ridiculed and censured, and his status in the village was little affected.

Joking Relations

581 602 831 Cross-cousins were not the only acceptable marriage partners, but they were the only ones with whom marriage was expected and especially approved. Also, patterned and expected joking existed only between these kin. Cross-cousins of the same sex, especially males, bantered with each other, but most sexual joking occurred between men and women. Thus, Aloari enjoyed making suggestive remarks to the rather old and ugly Vatsiat and frequently accused her of improprieties with various men. On one occasion, partly for Quain's benefit, he threw her on her back and went through the motions of coitus.

602 605 831 Cross-cousins of the same sex confined their joking to pranks and good-natured raillery, *ami tarajau*, which Quain translates as "cross-cousin talk." Mayuva teased Yati, who had a phobia of frogs, by chasing after him with a frog hanging from a stick. Both men and women made great sport of urging Quain to throw their cross-cousins out of his house. 123 On one occasion, Quain, experimentally, made sexual suggestions to 602 several women who had congregated in his house. They all ran out 831 laughing shrilly, but one came back later to be reassured that it was

[6] Cf. Oberg 1953, p. 44.

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Visits might be made to obtain a bride, engage in trade, participate in some intertribal ceremony, or for a combination of any of these reasons. Most visits were ostensibly of a purely social nature, but they were also used to frighten and impress. Stealing was frequent, especially when the host tribe, like the Trumaí, was weak. The Trumaí rarely protested against thefts while the visitors were still in the village, although they vehemently expressed their indignation later. Such discretion was due more to fear than etiquette.

The inferior position of the Trumaí was most evident when visitors were in the village. The Kamayurá, especially, treated the Trumaí with arrogance and contempt. At times they would enter the Trumaí village without having built the customary warning fire. The Trumaí, on the other hand, did everything possible to please their visitors and prove their generosity and good will toward them. Quain was berated by the Trumaí chief for being too niggardly toward the Kamayurá, and he found that greater respect was accorded to the Kamayurá chief than to either himself or the Trumaí chief. The Kamayurá felt slighted that Quain had not visited them instead of the contemptible Trumaí, and, when Quain went to meet the visiting Kamayurá chief, the latter turned away with an air of bored indifference.

The Kamayurá chief was immediately given a stool to sit on and was plied with cigarettes. When he threw one away after a few puffs, he was promptly given another. Deference was also paid to ordinary Kamayurá, although to a lesser degree. Once when such a member came to the Trumaí village alone, the man who received him rushed to Quain's house to borrow a chair in order to reach some tobacco which had been placed on a high shelf. He was in a great hurry, for it would not be good to keep his guest waiting.

This behavior stands in sharp contrast to a visit to the Kamayurá village made by Quain and a party of Trumaí. The chief delegated their reception to his brother. No special attention was paid to them, although the villagers were active and industrious in an apparent effort to impress. The Trumaí were not even asked to sit on the log in the village center.

Due to the extensive intertribal relations, command of a language besides one's own is common in the area generally. But since Trumaí is an independent tongue and the number of Trumaí small, it is probable that multilingual people were more frequent among them than in other tribes. Their "second" language was usually Kamayurá, but few outsiders spoke Trumaí, although more understood it. When Kamayurá came to visit, conversation was ordinarily in their tongue. Of the three foreign women in the Trumaí village, only the Suyá woman could speak even a broken Trumaí. Since the Suyá had no peaceful relations with the tribes of the headwaters, the Gê language was not widely known there. The other two foreign women merely understood Trumaí.

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between the warlike Gé-speaking Suyá and the peaceful but overbearing Kamayurá, they were an easy prey to these tribes and to others more peripheral to the region, such as the Caiabí and Kayapó. The tribes the Trumaí feared most were those to the north. These included the Suyá, Yuruna, and an unidentified group. The Yuruna, located by Galvão on the Diauarum River, north of the Suyá, were said to have made raids on the headwater villages,[13] but nothing is known of any aggression by the unnamed tribe. There is definite documentation of numerous assaults by the Suyá, whose reputation for ferocity is unequalled in the area.

The Suyá villages are located several days journey to the north on the Suyá Missú River, and forays into the Kuluene-Kuliseu region have become relatively rare since the establishment of local airfields. Quain was of the opinion that the last Suyá raid on the Trumaí took place about twenty years ago when the brother of the Trumaí chief was killed. Two of Quain's informants had been captured by the Suyá as pre-pubescent boys. Suyá raids into the tributaries resulted in great destruction and von den Steinen reported a Trumaí village to have been recently burned and looted by them.[14]

The upper Xingú peoples were not always passive towards the Suyá. A revenge attack was once launched by the combined forces of the Kamayurá, Mehinaku, Waurá, and Trumaí. Their flotilla of twenty canoes assaulted and burned a Suyá village, starting another cycle of attacks and counter-attacks. This is the only known case of an inter-tribal alliance in war, but there have probably been others.

When Quain was with the Trumaí the memory of past attacks was still strong, and the mere mention of the Suyá was sufficient to cause great anxiety. Indicative of their feeling toward the Suyá is the Trumaí creation myth according to which the Sun made all tribes except the Suyá who are descended from snakes.

Among the Kuliseu tribes, the Kamayurá and Nahukwa were the two most feared. The former, especially, by small acts of aggression against the weakened Trumaí, had done great harm. As a result of the widespread hostility and distrust, Trumaí life was pervaded with insecurity. Tension always increased at night, and the slightest sound from the brush was enough to cause panic. Rumors of an impending attack were often brought to the village by visitors from other groups. These were generally false stories intended to frighten the Trumaí, but, reflecting the prevailing anxiety, they were always accepted as true.

The Kamayurá were the chief instigators of these tales. One visitor from the latter group told the Trumaí that the Kamayurá were coming to kill all of them as soon as Quain left. The Kamayurá attempted to

[13] Galvão 1952, p. 489.
[14] Von den Steinen 1897, p. 115.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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level of general anxiety. It was usually the result of several days of rumor, omens, and strange fires in the north.

Late one night during Quain's stay, after most of the village had retired, a near panic occurred when two women shouted that the Suyá were attacking. All the initiated men, even the weak and old, rushed to the village center with their bows and arrows. The women and children from two of the four Trumaí houses hurried with their hammocks to the other two houses. The frightened men milled around in the center of the village with no apparent organization or direction. The chief, who was trembling, did not take command of the situation.

If this had been a real attack, noted Quain, the raiders would have given a loud yell and loosed a volley of arrows. He later made an investigation and found no signs of intruders. One of the women thought that someone had thrown dirt at her. Quain believed this to be a habit of the Suyá, but one that was usually a friendly overture.

The women feared other tribes more than did the men, for one of the main purposes of raids was to capture women. In every upper Xingú community women from other tribes are always found. The dispersal of women takes three forms: capture in warfare (by groups outside the area), open abduction of a woman by intimidation of her fellow-villagers, and peaceful intertribal marriage. According to de Lima, the Suyá raid the Waurá village on the Batoví River for female captives, as the women of the Arawakan tribes are the only potters of the region.[16] The Trumaí lost many young women to the Kamayurá by intimidation, the second of the above means. Most of the women in the Trumaí village were at one time held by the Kamayurá with the result that, in many Trumaí marriages, the woman is several years older than the man. At the time of Quain's visit, Trumaí women were still living among the Kamayurá and other groups. One of them, the sister of the Trumaí chief, ran away from the Kamayurá and returned home because her husband had beaten her, an action that angered the Trumaí greatly. There she picked up the threads of her old life, but after a few weeks a party of Kamayurá took her back to their village. The Trumaí offered no resistance, either physical or verbal, although they outnumbered the visitors, for to have done so would have invited retaliation.

The fact that the Trumaí had lost many women completely, or regained them only after their most fertile years had passed, was probably a contributing factor to the depopulation of the group. The losses were only partially compensated for by the marriage of outside women into the Trumaí village. There were three foreign women in the community in 1938: a Suyá, a Mehinaku, and a Kamayurá. Their status was lower than that of the Trumaí women, and they were at times taunted because of their foreign origin. They did not participate as fully in the

[16] De Lima 1950, p. 5.

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culture as the other women, but their everyday existence was much the same.

Men were also taken as captives, although not to the same extent as were women. Tun and Aloari, two Trumaí men, had lived in captivity among the Yuruna. They had feared their captors at first, but once they had learned the language, they said, they were no longer afraid. Apparently both men had been well treated by the Yuruna, for they were kindly disposed towards that tribe. The elder of the two men had a Yuruna wife, whom he left when he returned to his people. How this was accomplished is not known, but escape could not have been very difficult.

Another factor promoting the incorporation of both women and men into other tribes was the depopulation and extinction of their own groups. When the southern Trumaí village was disbanded many of the survivors joined the northern Trumaí, but some moved in with other tribes. Similarly, de Lima reported that the Yaulapití, who disbanded sometime between 1938 and 1945, were to be found among the Kamayurá, Trumaí, and Auetí.[17]

It is possible that more Yaulapití settled with Arawakan speaking groups, but the three above-named tribes were their closest neighbors. The remnants of a disbanded group might also join villages in which they had close kin or personal relationships. A later report by the Srs. Villas Boas, who maintained the recently established airstrip of the Fundação Brasil Central, stated that, as in the case of the Trumaí, the Yaulapití have reconstituted themselves as a group by the establishment of a one-house village.[18] Clearly, except for the peace that has reigned since the airfield was built, a village of some twenty-five people would not be secure from attack. But while the chances of survival are still far from good, the initiation of such a project shows the eagerness of the participants to preserve their social identity.

The main purposes of warfare in the region are to capture women, take loot, and exact revenge. Captive-taking has a clear economic basis in the sporadic warfare between the Suyá and Waurá, as the Suyá capture Waurá women for their knowledge of pottery-making. Among the tribes of the *xingú* area proper, however, this is not done. Arawakan women are married, but Quain's notes indicate that they do not practice pottery-making in their new villages.

It is possible that male and female captives are taken by upper Xingú groups from tribes outside the region to bolster their waning numerical strength, but infanticide and abortion are also present in the area. However, captives do not have to be reared from infancy, and do not constitute the same strain on the economy that children do. It is also

[17] De Lima 1949, p. 25.

[18] This information was obtained verbally from Dr. Eduardo Galvão. Cf. Oberg 1953, p. 4.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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possible that more women may be needed for polygamous marriages, but the data do not indicate plural marriage to be of great significance.

Pillage, also, inspires raids. The Kamayurá threatened to descend on the Trumaí, after Quain left, to rob them of all the Western goods they had obtained. The Suyá took all the Trumaí pots in a raid which occurred immediately before von den Steinen's second trip through the region.[19] The desire for goods is undoubtedly a motivating factor in particular raids, and it may also be a contributing factor in warfare generally, but since the material surplus is low throughout the area and retaliation almost certain, it is doubtful that this is a basic cause.

Insults, too, could provoke aggression. The Kamayurá threatened to chastise the Trumaí because the latter were rumored to have made defamatory remarks about them. Continuous fear and insecurity can also lead a tribe to attack. Quain observed that the Trumaí worked themselves up into such a state of terror that they were capable of desperate deeds. Needless to say, revenge expeditions tended to perpetuate hostility.

Among the Trumaí, no special prestige was derived from warfare, and the men did not boast of their prowess as warriors. Trumaí men showed scars of old wounds to Quain, but only to impress him with the brutality of other tribes. To the Trumaí, warfare was an occasion for fear, and not an opportunity to enhance one's status.

Warfare, however, is important in maintaining social cohesion within the communities. Quain noted that intra-social harmony and cooperation was low in the Trumaí village. Leadership was weak, and there was little friendliness between the men. However, when an attack threatened, quarrels were forgotten and aggressions and anxieties were directed toward the outside world. Also, when members of other tribes were in the village, the whole tone and tempo of life changed, and the Trumaí presented a united front.

This was made manifest during a visit of several Kamayurá. Despite their apprehension, the Trumaí treated their guests as long absent brothers. There was much forced and nervous jocularity and talk. The men expressed tremendous affection towards each other and the Kamayurá by embraces and linking of arms. Industry and activity were high. The Trumaí men went to catch fish to feed the guests and, upon returning, marched into the village singing gaily and led by their chief. After the Kamayurá left, the village lapsed with relief into its normal way of life. The men ceased to show affection for their comrades, and old quarrels broke out anew.

[19] Von den Steinen 1897, p. 144.

/193 cont./

123 Most of them proffered a piece of beijû as a present and at
576 the same time said "má." My companion took my hat, but I
609 respectfully demanded it back. Everything seemed to be going smoothly; I was among the last, and in front they had already reached our hammocks.

609 Suddenly I hear a shot behind me; Cousin Wilhelm is
152 standing there, without his hat, gesticulating, his Indian guest
123 is sitting in the sand and kicking and striking with all fours; already he leaps up. What panic! Are they afraid that the earth will open up and swallow them? This is primitive fear; there is no question but that we have thunder and lightning at our command. With a few leaps all are in the canoes; they push off; screaming, they row with all their might and do not begin to calm down a bit until they are in the middle of the river. No pleading, no peace demonstrations -- we put down the guns and walk unarmed across the beach -- can persuade them to return.

609 A boat with four of our men is in their midst, I thought
123 /194/ at first with the intention of calming the excited compadres; but it soon became evident that they wanted some of their things back, Manoel's pistol, the hats of Castro, Wilhelm, and Antonio, Quintilian's gun, the ax used for the soundings -- I don't know what all; it is incredible how they could have taken possession of all this in the short time.

609 The entire fleet is already on the left side of the Kuliséu.
● 72 Suddenly a Trumaí shoots an arrow toward our canoes, and in a
123 moment the guns of the soldiers are rattling. They assert that they only fired into the air. A wild scene ensues; all the Indians leap head over heels out of the canoes, abandon these and their weapons, swim to the nearby shore, and disappear among the trees. The soldiers, once having been seized by the furor of battle, continue to shoot eagerly, no matter how much Castro, from the shore, tries to order them: rest arms! Finally it is quiet; they rummage and hunt in all the canoes and start coming back. There is not a Trumaí to be seen anywhere in the forest: like peaceful staffage, their canoes lie peacefully along the shore, and only here and there, like a dead bird, a feather ornament floats on the waves.

/196 cont./

114 The incident, which basically has put me in a bad humor, is all the more unpleasant since the soldiers are very delighted about it; they regard it as a sort of easy victory about which they would like to boast. Many also do not consider the "bravo," the savage, worth better treatment, and those who are full-blooded Indians themselves judge most severely. Antonio is still very dissatisfied, although the feather ornament that he procured for himself in place of the unfortunate hat looks much better on him.

[123] We need not doubt but that none of the Trumaí was hit by a bullet; all the men agree about this. They are very good-hearted by nature; they pulled out of the water one boy who, they say, could not swim.

609 Now and then the view is expressed that the Trumaí had a
721 secret disarmament plan. To be sure, the Bakaïrí had warned us in this respect; they described in detail how the Trumaí would receive strangers in a friendly manner, wheedle their weapons from them, and then attack the unsuspecting ones; they would wrench their arms out of their shoulder joints -- "pok, pok, pok," the narrators graphically described it -- tie their hands together, and toss the thus mutilated bodies into the river.

000 Thanks be to the gods if we have escaped such a fate. For the time being, however, I shall deeply regret this day. In popular Brazilian belief, August is an unlucky month. Well, at least we are already at the thirty-first.

And the poor Trumaí are worse off than we are. When they arrive home in their miserable array, deprived of all their weapons and yet none wounded, what will their beloved wives say? Has anything like that ever happened on the Schingú? It will be difficult for the heroes to report their deeds in such a way that praise and honor will be due them; the two trophies so bravely salvaged will play an important role. If not two heads, at least they are bringing home two hats. One of them plaited out of straw, can be understood, explained, but the other, a gray felt -- where are there forest animals whose skin bears hair not only on the outside, but also on the inside? Oh, riddle of life!

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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culture as the other women, but their everyday existence was much the same.

Men were also taken as captives, although not to the same extent as were women. Tun and Aloari, two Trumaí men, had lived in captivity among the Yuruna. They had feared their captors at first, but once they had learned the language, they said, they were no longer afraid. Apparently both men had been well treated by the Yuruna, for they were kindly disposed towards that tribe. The elder of the two men had a Yuruna wife, whom he left when he returned to his people. How this was accomplished is not known, but escape could not have been very difficult.

Another factor promoting the incorporation of both women and men into other tribes was the depopulation and extinction of their own groups. When the southern Trumaí village was disbanded many of the survivors joined the northern Trumaí, but some moved in with other tribes. Similarly, de Lima reported that the Yaulapití, who disbanded sometime between 1938 and 1945, were to be found among the Kamayurá, Trumaí, and Aueti.[17]

It is possible that more Yaulapití settled with Arawakan speaking groups, but the three above-named tribes were their closest neighbors. The remnants of a disbanded group might also join villages in which they had close kin or personal relationships. A later report by the Srs. Villas Boas, who maintained the recently established airstrip of the Fundação Brasil Central, stated that, as in the case of the Trumaí, the Yaulapití have reconstituted themselves as a group by the establishment of a one-house village.[18] Clearly, except for the peace that has reigned since the airfield was built, a village of some twenty-five people would not be secure from attack. But while the chances of survival are still far from good, the initiation of such a project shows the eagerness of the participants to preserve their social identity.

The main purposes of warfare in the region are to capture women, take loot, and exact revenge. Captive-taking has a clear economic basis in the sporadic warfare between the Suyá and Waurá, as the Suyá capture Waurá women for their knowledge of pottery-making. Among the tribes of the *alurí* area proper, however, this is not done. Arawakan women are married, but Quain's notes indicate that they do not practice pottery-making in their new villages.

It is possible that male and female captives are taken by upper Xingú groups from tribes outside the region to bolster their waning numerical strength, but infanticide and abortion are also present in the area. However, captives do not have to be reared from infancy, and do not constitute the same strain on the economy that children do. It is also

[17] De Lima 1949, p. 25.

[18] This information was obtained verbally from Dr. Eduardo Galvão. Cf. Oberg 1953, p. 4.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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possible that more women may be needed for polygamous marriages, but the data do not indicate plural marriage to be of great significance.

Pillage, also, inspires raids. The Kamayurá threatened to descend on the Trumaí, after Quain left, to rob them of all the Western goods they had obtained. The Suyá took all the Trumaí pots in a raid which occurred immediately before von den Steinen's second trip through the region.[19] The desire for goods is undoubtedly a motivating factor in particular raids, and it may also be a contributing factor in warfare generally, but since the material surplus is low throughout the area and retaliation almost certain, it is doubtful that this is a basic cause.

Insults, too, could provoke aggression. The Kamayurá threatened to chastise the Trumaí because the latter were rumored to have made defamatory remarks about them. Continuous fear and insecurity can also lead a tribe to attack. Quain observed that the Trumaí worked themselves up into such a state of terror that they were capable of desperate deeds. Needless to say, revenge expeditions tended to perpetuate hostility.

Among the Trumaí, no special prestige was derived from warfare, and the men did not boast of their prowess as warriors. Trumaí men showed scars of old wounds to Quain, but only to impress him with the brutality of other tribes. To the Trumaí, warfare was an occasion for fear, and not an opportunity to enhance one's status.

Warfare, however, is important in maintaining social cohesion within the communities. Quain noted that intra-social harmony and cooperation was low in the Trumaí village. Leadership was weak, and there was little friendliness between the men. However, when an attack threatened, quarrels were forgotten and aggressions and anxieties were directed toward the outside world. Also, when members of other tribes were in the village, the whole tone and tempo of life changed, and the Trumaí presented a united front.

This was made manifest during a visit of several Kamayurá. Despite their apprehension, the Trumaí treated their guests as long absent brothers. There was much forced and nervous jocularity and talk. The men expressed tremendous affection towards each other and the Kamayurá by embraces and linking of arms. Industry and activity were high. The Trumaí men went to catch fish to feed the guests and, upon returning, marched into the village singing gaily and led by their chief. After the Kamayurá left, the village lapsed with relief into its normal way of life. The men ceased to show affection for their comrades, and old quarrels broke out anew.

[19] Von den Steinen 1897, p. 144.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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CHAPTER TWO

TRUMAÍ SUBSISTENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Vital Statistics

The population of the Trumaí village in 1938 was 43. This figure includes the 3 foreign women in residence and excludes those few Trumaí who were living with other groups. There were 17 men, 16 women, and 10 pre-pubescent children, of whom 8 were male and only 2 were female. Due to the previously mentioned capture and forced marriage of Trumaí women, the average age of females seems to have been considerably greater than that of males. Two men were considered by the Trumaí as old, while four women were placed in that category. This disparity of age undoubtedly had an influence on the Trumaí birth rate.

Infant mortality seems to have been high, and Quain was of the opinion that it was further aggravated by abortion and infanticide. The fact that there were eight male children and but two girls suggests that infanticide must have been practiced only upon females. Quain's notes, however, give no indication that this was the fact. Pulmonary diseases have devastated all the groups of the upper Xingú, but the drop in the Trumaí population from 43 in 1938 to 25 in 1948 is probably not paralleled in the other villages during that time.

Village and Gardens

The Trumaí settlement was located a scant half-mile from a lagoon that opened directly upon the east shore of the Kuluene just a few miles away. The mouth of the lagoon was narrow, but it broadened out into a lake of moderate size with many small bays and was ringed with swamps. Proximity to the river made insects a continual nuisance during the rainy season. The Kamayurá village, located near the sandy beaches of a lagoon lined with *buriti* palms, was relatively free of insects.

The village consisted of four houses and another under construction. Between the houses and the surrounding forest lay an area of weeds and low underbrush into which refuse was thrown. The ground within the ring of houses was kept comparatively free of weeds and litter. The village "plaza" was about 200 feet wide. In the center were the log bench and fireplace of the men's gathering place. Nearby was a conical wicker cage in which the village harpy eagle was kept for its feathers, which were used in ceremonies.

A /120 cont./
121 Schingú-Koblenz, /Xingu-Coblenz/, in order in this way to ob-
133 tain the exact connection with the geographical survey of the first expedition. It was the place where the Trumaí had appeared, were persuaded with difficulty to land, and had sped away in headlong flight.

A 122 It was not desirable for all of us to take part in this reconnaissance trip, since what mattered above all was to utilize the few hours available for an investigation of the Indians and there was little prospect /Pl. X appears here/ /121/ of coming across T a new tribe on that excursion. To be sure, the villages of the Trumaí would probably be passed, but we knew that they had fled after that battle with the Suyá and were roaming about in our vicinity, for individual Trumaí had appeared among the Auetó, the Yaulapiti, and the Kamayurá. We did not know where the nucleus of the tribe, which had every reason to fear a meeting with us, was hiding. There also had to be considered the possibility that the not very trustworthy Suyá were still somewhere near the mouth of the Kulisehu and had not yet returned home.

A 122 In order to satisfy all interests and at the same time take the necessary precautions, it was decided that Vogel should go to the Auetó harbor and there embark for Koblenz in two canoes with Perrot, Antonio, two soldiers, and a couple of Indians, and that we, on the other hand, would fill the time until his return with our investigations. Thus Vogel left the Kamayurá on 23 October and, as had been agreed, set out on the 25th from the Auetó harbor for the mouth of the Kuluëne.

The rest of us left our dear Kamayurá on 25 October early in the morning. We heard nothing more of Takuní and his desire for the journey to Cuyabá. We were accompanied, however, by a few Indians who carried our collection along the route through the unforgettable mangabeira groves and the forest to the W 122 second Yaulapiti village. Here we again had the stretch with 487 obstacles before us: across the northern lagoon and through a bit of canal to the first Yaulapiti village -- then another embarkation

[Text Continues on P. 110]

/122 cont./

123 half an hour renewed howling and women's screams announced
152 the arrival of Wilhelm and Carlos, who were led up and likewise gave expression to their friendly intentions with words and gestures.

142 /123/ There were mostly small, frail figures with small heads, receding chins, and ugly faces; among the old women there were truly magnificent specimens of witch-models. The
291 women in part wore the triangular uluri, in part a wardrobe garment new to us, a grayish-white bast loop that was drawn over
194 the hips and thickened into a small roll. The language in its cadence reminded us not a little of that of the Suyá, with which it had in common the nagging, squeezed habitus and could be immediately distinguished from all the Kulisehu languages by the frequent terminal sound of ts and by the f.

●727 It was strange that the Trumaí had let themselves be taken by surprise in this way. Probably they had fled from the Suyá who had plundered their villages and from us at the same time. Their scouts, who were roving about among the Auetö, Yaulapiti, and Kamayurá, probably believed that we would not return directly to the Auetö from the Kamayurá, but would go to Schingü-Koblenz in order to join Perrot and Vogel, whose trip was already known to them, and reach the Auetö harbor on the river. The camp of the fugitives presented a spectacle of
[162] disorder and confusion. There were about 50 persons in all;
[352] numerous small fires were burning beside the brown hammocks, bundles of all kinds lay about and hung from the trees; the shelter-huts of the Auetö plantation remained unused. The
[501] Indians had come in part by way of the canals: a small flotilla of canoes had drawn up in the swampy water nearby, many of them in bad shape and where necessary pasted up merely with lumps of loam.

437 The beijús, the filled gourd bowls, and the cigars were necessarily lacking at this reception. They brought small balls of cotton and asked for beads. Unfortunately, we had given away almost everything to the Kamayurá and could therefore not offer much. With the remains, however, a few

T 123 /124 cont./ pocket along the way. A certain amount was obviously missing; I hope it was distributed among various fanciers and taken by them with some success for the skin diseases particularly common among the Yaulapiti.

T 126 Much as we were urged to depart, we still had to undertake at least the most important body measurements and would not relent; seven men were measured in haste, in between our packing, and the only photographic plate left was used for a group shot -- unfortunately ruined later.

T 122 At 9:45 we set out in two canoes, accompanied by four Trumaí. Three times one would have to sleep, they said, before reaching their villages. The Mehinakú could also be reached by way of the canals and only one day was needed to their second village. At 11:00 we landed near the Auetó village, at a place other than where we had left. In the damp T [136] leaves lay huge quantities of giant earthworms; wherever one put his foot, he stepped on them. The path led us to the two huts of the Yaulapiti-Auetó families.

T 361 It is advisable to insert here what Vogel and Perrot reported about the Trumaí villages after their return home from Schingú-Koblenz. They had not caught sight of an Indian, but below the place where the Kulisehu empties into the Kuluëne, on a bank five meters high, they had found one Trumaí village of eight houses and, a kilometer farther east, a second one of five T houses with buildings under construction among them. The 727 Suyá had burned down all the houses and smashed whatever T was left of large pots and utensils. There were plantings of re- 241 markably large size and careful cultivation directly adjoining the T villages. About ten fresh graves were noted; judging from the 764 circular excavation, the corpses had been buried in a squatting position. They seemed to lie deep; at least they were /125/ not uncovered by some superficial subsequent digging. Antonio B had been very alarmed when Perrot said to him: "o doutor Carlos 186 precisa d'uma cabeça /Doctor Carlos wants a head/." It was only with great effort that Antonio had been persuaded to go along on the trip and expose himself to the possibility of meeting the detested Trumaí.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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a certain point at least, the take increases geometrically with the number of persons participating.

In gardening, also, which was not practiced collectively, their small number decreased Trumaí security. It was common for nearly all the village men to plant their gardens in clearings adjacent to those of their neighbors. Obviously, if one part of such a single, extended clearing was improperly fired, or if the crops were destroyed by armadillos or wild pigs, the whole village might be without food. Crop failure for a variety of causes is common in the tropical forests, but most aboriginal communities in South America have several separated garden clearings, each owned by an individual or extended family. If one garden fails, the family can, in a period of emergency, reap from others. Oberg relates that the Trumaí once had to turn for food to the Kamayura,[4] perhaps because of the failure of the village clearing.

It is, of course, possible that in the past the Trumaí organized their gardens along the more rational lines of the Kamayurá;[5] and it is also possible that they never made a proper ecological adaptation subsequent to their arrival in the upper Xingú region. But lacking information on their economy prior to their decimation, we cannot make any firm statement on these points. However, it is certain that, despite their small numbers, the individual Trumaí could have cleared and planted much more land. The average size of the gardens observed by Quain was one-half acre, and this area had to feed up to four people. Many men also had old gardens which were planted only to manioc. According to Quain's calculations, the total acreage of Trumaí gardens was only a little over thirteen. Since yields from forest soils are not high, it is evident that this very small area must have barely met the needs of a population of 43 persons. Manifestly, the Trumaí did not work hard enough; and it seems evident that their lack of application did more to impoverish them than any other single factor.

If the other upper Xingú tribes are used as criteria to establish what Trumaí society was like before its decline, some very serious dysfunctions within Trumaí social structure soon become apparent. To be sure, such a comparison is an arbitrary procedure; and it is only invoked here for its heuristic value. Since village and house patrilocality is the usual mode of residence among the Trumaí, a household similar to that of the Kamayurá, and with like functions, might be expected and might indeed have existed in the past. However, the Trumaí death rate in 1938 was so high that these units disintegrated before they had gone beyond the embryonic stage. House membership was shifting, the number of persons involved small, and leadership nebulous. And since kinship was the principal mechanism for structuring interpersonal relationships in Trumaí society, this lack of a stable, kin-structured unit probably did

[4] Oberg 1953, p. 42. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 45.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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CHAPTER FIVE

The Life Cycle

Birth

843 [842] The Trumaí were well aware of the facts of conception, paternity, and pregnancy. That menstruation ceased after conception was, of course, perfectly obvious to them, but it is uncertain whether this was considered a diagnostic of pregnancy. Maibu related some female gossip to Quain to the effect that Aloari's wife, Yumununwa, was pregnant. When Quain objected on the grounds that she had only recently menstruated, Maibu pointed out as indisputable evidence that her navel was protruding.

847 [732] [848] One of the Trumaí women, the clubfooted, childless, and unmarried Yawala, was pregnant during Quain's stay. She spent most of her time in her hammock and received little attention, except from other women who kept insisting that they perform an abortion upon her. Abortion was usually induced by manipulating the abdomen, but also, it seems, by drinking certain "waters" of which the women had knowledge. Yawala resisted all urgings and maintained that she wanted a child "to hold in my arms."

Abortion was undoubtedly frequent, and infanticide too, and at times without the agreement of the husband. It is not known what, 843 if any, observances and precautions were taken during pregnancy 833 except that sexual intercourse ceased when a woman became very large because "it hurts her."

844 846 Parturition was accompanied by observances led by old Matiwana, during which the men sat and smoked. The women held the laboring woman in a sitting position, in which she gave birth. The role of the husband before and after delivery was not recorded. After Aloari's son was born, however, his wife bled for three moons. During this time he had to drink a certain medicine. Quain's notes suggest that a form of couvade was observed.

[931] After birth, the only economic exchange that took place was a gift which the husband gave to the wife in payment for the child.

Early Childhood

162 The youngest child in the Trumaí village was a girl between one and two years of age. The other girl was about six. Of the boys, one was about

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mitigated by intra-household sharing and the performance of services, normally done by mates, by co-resident relatives of the opposite sex. In this way unmarried persons could be integrated within the Trumai economy.

Among the twenty-eight persons of marriage age in the Trumai village, there were only eight unions involving seventeen persons. The eleven unmarried included one widower with a young child, one divorced man with a child, three widows with children, four unmarried men, and two unmarried women.

One of the widows was married during Quain's sojourn, but the other two were considered too old. One of the unmarried women subsequently took a mate, but the other, who had a clubfoot, was thought to be too old and ugly for marriage, although several men had sexual relations with her. Two of the unmarried men were probably also considered too old for marriage, a third was seeking a wife, and the fourth showed little interest in obtaining one. Neither the widower nor the divorced man were seeking wives at the time.

All these persons had made some sort of adjustment through their relatives. The incorporation of two of the unmarried men and of one of the widows into Nitvary's household shows how a functional interdependence within the household was achieved, despite the lack of a lineage in residence. Living at one end of the house were two old unmarried men, Yahu and Yakuma. At the other end were Nitvary, his wife Kaiti, his widowed mother Fayeru, and his young sister Kayaya. Gift-giving and food-sharing went on between all of the people in the house, but the two single men depended most on Fayeru, whom they called "sister," while Nitvary's needs were provided for by his wife. The members of the household were all dependent on each other, as Kaiti alone would have been hard pressed to do woman's work for two more men. Their presence, however, meant more food for the house.

In Aloari's house his unmarried brother Tun provided food for the cooking pots of Aloari's wife Yumunuwa, while her brother Oirupa exchanged services with his classificatory sister Yawala, the club-footed woman. By this free flow of food and service, which was especially marked between the sexes, each individual was economically fully functional, and everyone in the household was adequately cared for.

Most of the arguments in the village occurred between members of different houses. Aloari, his brother, and his brother-in-law showed considerable personal antipathy toward Maibu and jealousy of his status as chief. When a serious conflict broke out in the village over a marriage, it took the form of verbal quarrels between members of different houses.

The greater amity between co-residents was due to a number of factors. First, closer kinship ties usually prevailed, second, people on

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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All other play was more spontaneous and uncoordinated. Amusement and education were derived from using small bows and arrows which all boys possessed and the older ones knew how to make. Much of their time was spent shooting at insects and other targets in the village, but three or four children might occasionally go together to the lagoon and shoot fish from the banks. Sometimes they would wander off to the clearings when planting was in progress, or travel through the woods to gather guava. Few restraints were placed on their movements.

Nor was the sex play of children greatly inhibited by their elders. Actually there was no heterosexual activity between children, for there were no girls of appropriate age in the village. Thus, pre-pubescent sexual relations occurred between boys or between boys and men, and almost always it was the boys who were the instigators. Quain felt certain that Tay was the only member of the village who might be considered a homosexual. He was an orphan, and although he was fed and housed, he was identified with no family, and no one took any special interest in him. Tay, more than any boy, remained aloof from other children. His sexual advances were directed to a large extent toward the older males, who often cooperated with him. For example, he often wrapped his legs around Jakuma's hips, going through sexual motions. The older man would giggle when he did this and show signs of being mildly stimulated. Mayuva, among others, was less receptive, but his only mode of resistance was to arch his body away from the boy.

The sexual play of a young child might even include his father. Quain observed little Tsirikoan tugging at his father's penis. The father showed some annoyance, but only because he did not want to be bothered. Although children were rarely manipulated in this way by the men, Quain saw Yanahi, a young married man, amusing himself and some boys by pulling Tsirikoan's penis until the child had an erection. The boys whispered to Yanahi that Quain was watching, but this apparently made no difference to him, for he continued his activity.

The minor homosexual engagements that took place between the boys themselves were likewise in the nature of play. Quain saw no homosexuality between adults, and, contrary to Levi-Strauss' inference from Quain's notes, there was no kinship tie that implied permissible homosexual relations.[1]

The facts of sex were certainly no secret to the children. Living in undivided houses and sleeping with or adjacent to their parents, they were aware at an early age of the sexual activities of their elders. No effort was made to keep sexual knowledge from them, and they derived considerable amusement from the sexual affairs of the adults. Tsirikoan and some other boys raised a great hue and cry when they happened

[1] Levi-Strauss 1948, p. 337.

B /195 cont./
*171 naked Suyá women washed their sexual parts at the river in our
291 presence.
831

If the glans constantly threatens to become exposed through
B erections and sexual intercourse, could the wish arise on the
*171 part of maturing men to keep it covered for protection? There is
291 much to be said in favor of this. To be sure this need for pro-
136 tection might least of all be related to underbrush and thorns.
751 More seriously to be considered are the assaults of the animal
T kingdom. If the Trumaí, as was maintained of them, were
171 animals who lived in the water and slept on the bottom of the
291 river, they would be urgently required to close off the urethral
751 136 opening against the little candiru fish (Cetopsis candiru). This transparent, span-long little monster, whose occurrence we noted in the Batovy in 1884, has the peculiar habit of penetrating the body openings accessible to it when human beings are in the water; it slips into the urethra, cannot get back because of its fins, and may easily cause the death of the unfortunate one who has no other recourse but, willy-nilly, to perform the urethrotomia externa with his knife.*

> *The Brazilians' fear of this fish, so harmless in and of itself, is thus probably justified; it is best characterized by a Munchausenism which an officer, with a perfectly straight face, reported to us as true: in the waters beside Villa Cáceres the candiru is so vicious and so consumed with its passion that even when a person relieves himself on the shore it quickly goes up in the jet of water.

T
171 Since, however, the amphibian nature of the Trumaí will
136 justifiably encounter skepticism, and the stay in the water,
291 even for the fisherman or the rower hauling his canoe through the
751 cataracts, plays only an insignificant role, it is /196/ not necessary to grasp at the only occasional danger from the candiru. On

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Diagnosis and Treatment of Disease

Illness was believed to be caused primarily by witchcraft and, secondarily, by the breaking of a taboo or by contagion. Headaches, bloated stomach (*pihl*) and stomach aches were among the common symptoms of bewitchment. The tremendous fear of black magic probably added greatly to the severity of these afflictions. During Quain's stay the women appeared to complain more of sorcery as a cause of their illnesses than did the men, but this self-diagnosis was not always accepted.

Trumaí concepts regarding contagion were generally loose, and they often fused with witchcraft beliefs. Contagion was acknowledged to be a possible cause of illness, but if death followed, it would in all probability be laid to sorcery. The Trumaí knew that epidemics of pulmonary diseases were associated with the coming of white men, and they were especially worried that when the rainy season arrived Quain would give them coughs and fevers. Indeed, one night when Quain complained of illness and retired to his hammock with a headache, this eventuality was vigorously discussed.

The Trumaí called such a threat *tun*, a word that can be translated only as a malignant influence causing disease. *Tun* was said to exist around sick people or in places where there was known to be danger of contamination. Thus, when several of the people of Jakwanari's household were sick, everyone avoided the house, for it was full of *tun*. Aloari said that the waterfront, also, was full of *tun*. He preferred to bathe from a pottery vessel outside his house. Ringworm, however, was known to be caused by natural means.

The word *okei*, while referring to sorcery under certain conditions, was also a general term for medicinal preparations. Thus, *okei* of various kinds were used in different stages of the life crisis rituals and also in the treatment of various ailments. Roots were extensively used for medicinal purposes. Maibu rubbed his wife's head with the extract of a root (*ipox*) when she had a headache. Another root (*murukuyu*) supplied the basic ingredient for eye drops, and still another was prescribed for ringworm.

The Trumaí were subject to severe boils which were treated by piercing. This was a woman's specialty, and it was usually done by the wife or a close relative of the afflicted person. All other curing, both secular and supernatural, was done by men. Herbal medicines were used exclusively for such ailments as ringworm, but most cures involved both botanical and supernatural means used in conjunction.

Illness was treated by both individual curers and group ceremonies. The practice of individual shamanistic curing, known as *jau'kath*, had much in common with similar arts throughout South America. The main techniques employed were tobacco smoke and sucking. Great

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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upon his parents cohabiting; and they immediately told everyone in the village.

Puberty Rites

Male puberty rites were divided into two periods. The first, which was preparatory, covered about three or four years and consisted of the administration of certain medicines (*okeis*) and body-scraping. The second covered a much shorter period and constituted the actual initiation of the boy into the men's group. The observances, starting when a boy was between ten and twelve years of age, increased in frequency and intensity until his final initiation. The purposes, as expressed by the Trumaí, were to make him grow big and strong, give him courage and fortitude, and mark certain achievements on the road to manhood.

Body-scraping was one of the most important means used to accomplish these ends. Two different types of scarification instruments were in use. One was a sort of comb made of fish teeth imbedded in wood; the other was a polished armadillo claw. The former was used during the early phases of scarification, the latter, during the late phases when the whole body was scraped.

The first scraping was limited to the arms or legs. Kamkuti received his initial scarification on the biceps as an aftermath of shooting his first fish. The scraping, painful though it was, was a reward and a recognition of manly achievement. It was also a test of endurance and resistance to pain, and the boy was admonished against flinching or weeping. Such occasions were the first on which the child was exhorted to be manly and courageous.

When the boy reached biological puberty, the scraping became more severe. Arms, legs, flanks, chest, back, and stomach were all scraped, and the operation must have been most painful. Each boy could expect to have this happen to him a few times during the course of his initiation. Jawaku, Maibu's foster-son, had his first overall scarification while Quain was in residence. This was a prelude to the full initiation rites, through which he was soon to pass. Jawaku was a very timid boy, and significantly lacked the assertiveness that was so much a part of Trumaí personality. Katauka, who was officiating, scraped his legs first, then his back, flanks and arms, ending with a light treatment on his chest and stomach. Jawaku looked extremely unhappy, but he did not cry until Katauka began scraping his back. Maibu held him firmly and told him not to cry, while others scolded him for being a baby.

Before the scarification started Jawaku's body was moistened with water from a nearby pot. After it was finished, Katauka rubbed him completely with the bark of the *aruparukatem* tree. This or the bark of the *fi'i'a* tree (the source of the fish poison previously referred to) were always used to treat the wounds made by scraping.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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still too young to "see," but that when he was older he would learn, since his father was a shaman. Aloari said that he, too, would learn when he was old, as would his son Tsirikoan. Matiwana would instruct Aloari and would receive a payment for this tutelage. Indicative of a possible looseness of inheritance was the fact that Matiwana's son Yati was nowhere mentioned as a prospective shaman.

Dreams were considered to be a way of "seeing" while sleeping. This was known as *ohltaxer*. Dreams were taken seriously, at least by the dreamer. Aloari fully believed that the Waurá would come after he had dreamed it. And Maibu was convinced that he should make the trip to the Indian post on the Paranatinga River because he had dreamed that Climaco, the agent, liked him very much and would give him a rifle. However, individual dreams were not a matter of community concern or interest. Village action was taken on the basis of shamanistic "seeing" only.

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When someone fell ill and witchcraft was suspected, the guilt was usually imputed to a neighboring tribe. It was said that the Trumaí had to leave their old village site near the Kamayurá because the latter were killing them off with witchcraft. Sorcery was probably often practiced against other groups by the Trumaí, and the converse was always feared. Oirupa refused to speak above a whisper one night when the Aueti were said to be using black magic on the Trumaí.

It was Quain's belief that witchcraft was a substitute for open violence among the people of the area; significantly, witchcraft was not practiced by the people of the upper Xingú against the Suyá and other hostile tribes outside the Basin.[4] Intertribal black magic functioned as a check upon violence within the village as well. Certainly, it was more conducive to social order to attribute sorcery to another tribe than to some member of the small and already disrupted Trumaí community.

[4] Cf. Galvão 1949; Oberg 1953.

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four, three between five and seven, two between seven and ten, and the other two between ten and twelve. The little girl could not as yet walk alone. The two youngest boys could, although occasionally they still suckled at their mother's breasts.

The Trumaí infant was subjected to very little training. Rarely was the very young child told not to do anything. However, all the children except for Katsits, the infant girl, knew that they should defecate in the bush and urinate away from the village plaza. Katsits very often eliminated in the house, or while she was in her mother's arms. X'utsi, the mother, merely scraped a bit of dirt over the wet spot. She gave no indication to the child that this was an undesirable act, and the child took no note of her own activity. Exactly how a child learned to exert self-control is not clear, but it was probably by emulating older children and adults, whose toilet habits were hardly a secret.

The child suckled until it was five or six years of age, although it began to partake of the ordinary diet by the end of the first year. Yumunuwa said that she suckled Tsirikoan three times a day: morning, noon, and evening. This was not a strict regimen, for the boy often crawled into her lap or straddled her waist and suckled at odd hours. Until about five years old, the child slept in the mother's hammock, or if motherless, with the father. Often it slept with the mother's breast in its mouth, and if it awoke during the night, it suckled until it fell asleep again.

The nursing of older children is a perpetuation of the infantile pattern, and it is indicative of the lack of stress on weaning. Also, because of infanticide and the low birth rate, there is little cause for sibling rivalry among the Trumaí.

Help was given the child in learning to walk and talk. The men appeared to devote more attention to this phase of upbringing than the women. Katsits was often walked about by her father, and sometimes by Maibú or other men who lived in the same house. Her father was eager to have her walk by herself so that he would not need to coach her, but nevertheless he and the other adults showed the greatest indulgence and patience in this task.

Part of the father's anxiety was doubtless due to the taboos which restricted his activity until his child had learned to walk. The most important of these was a ban on sexual intercourse. When Katsits developed colic, it was generally thought to be the outcome of coitus between the parents. Certain foods were also forbidden the father, one being seasoned fish hash, which was a great favorite. It is not known whether the mother was also required to observe food taboos.

More emphasis was placed on teaching the child to speak. The adults and older children made repeated attempts to put words into the mouths of the very young, saying the same phrases over and over again. In this

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compartment in the house for six months, at the end of which time she is accepted as a young woman.[3]

Menstruation caused no special distress to the Trumaí women. They maintained personal cleanliness with the aid of leaves, going out into the brush behind the house to care for themselves. Although the relevant taboos were observed, the women talked frankly to Quain about menstruation, and were interested in learning what white women did during the period. The men, although expressing a fear of menstrual blood, did not shun the subject either. Most of them knew when women in the village were having their menses.

Everyone was extremely shocked when Quain told them that white people often had intercourse during the menstrual period, for such contact would make a Trumaí man fall ill and die. Aloari said that he would surely die of a cough if he copulated with his wife then. The blood itself was considered malignant, infecting whatever it touched. The whole village became very disturbed when Kuyafi dropped some menstrual blood on the path to the gardens. Aloari averred that he would not go for manioc until the rain washed it away.

Fear of polluting forced a menstruating woman to make frequent trips to the weeds, where nobody walked. The danger also extended to her person. During this time she was not allowed to cook, although she could sit around the fire when food was being prepared. (Quain's departure from the Trumaí village was delayed for a day as both the wife and sister-in-law of Aloari, who was to accompany him, were menstruating, and there was only one woman left in the household to make his *beijú* supply.) Nor could the menstruating woman carry water or take a bath. However, a prohibition on eating fish was the only food taboo that she had to observe.

Marriage

A man was ready to seek a mate within one or two years after his initiation, or at the corresponding age level. Women were suitable prospects soon after their puberty rites. It was common for marriages to be arranged by parents while their children were still infants. These infant betrothals were usually between cross-cousins. It is doubtful, however, whether many such arranged marriages were consummated, both because of the high mortality and the fact that most of the Trumaí women were ultimately fought for and won by verbal battles in the men's circle.

Courtships were neither long nor formalized. When a man developed an interest in a woman, he usually expressed it by attempting to seduce her. In most instances, amorous advances were made without any in-

[3] Rodrigues Ferreira 1946, p. 92.

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APPENDIX

Buell Quain, in a letter to the late Dr. Ruth Benedict written from Brazil on December 21, 1938, summarized several aspects of Trumaí culture which have a direct and immediate bearing on their decline. Following are excerpts of ethnological interest from this letter, which was discovered after this monograph was completed:

"They are a dying culture. Each generation improves its imitation of Kamayurá culture. Everyone in the village knows a few Kamayurá words. Almost all the songs in the manioc fertility ceremony are Kamayurá. Half the people in the village can carry on a conversation in Kamayurá with ease. One household (there are four) uses Kamayurá in preference to Trumaí. The mother of the house owner speaks no Trumaí; she is a Kamayurá woman who has lived with the Trumaí for about twenty-five years. The child of the household, a ten year old girl, confuses Kamayurá kinship terms with Trumaí in classifying the village. All Trumaí women between twenty and forty have been captive wives among the Kamayurá (which puts the Trumaí men in a peculiar position which they fully but fruitlessly resent) .... They have lots of disorganized leisure. They are sleepy (in part because of insects and fear throughout the night). They are ready to imitate not only the Kamayurá, but me, in petty daily habits. No outsider speaks Trumaí.

"There is nobody among them who volunteers information of ethnological value. For three months I dug for structure and got very little... Dullness cannot be attributed to the climate.

"The village is small .... Each of the four households — now five because of a recent split — are organized, or perhaps disorganized, according to different sociological principals. Three of the seventeen women are of foreign birth; one is Kamayurá, one is Mehinaku, and one is Suyá. The first two speak no Trumaí. A fourth woman with ringworm and two sick children is said to be Yaulapití, but she is well set in Trumaí culture. Nobody claims her as a relative (in part because of aversion toward her ringworm); hence she is used as a prostitute by every man in the village — she is the village joke. Among the men, I have found remarkably uniform responses to various 'tests'. (I said 'Draw a picture of a woman and a man.' Every man but one drew the woman first and oriented her in a distinctive way on the paper. The women showed no such regularity. One Kamayurá man tested also lacked this stereotyped response.)

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626 828 154 On these occasions the men usually unburdened themselves in the village center. Malice was expressed either by a verbal interchange with the opponent or an angry speech. The substance of the latter type of demonstration often was not related to the cause of the dispute or to the speaker's discontent. Manifestly, the function of the harangue was to provide an emotional outlet rather than a forum. Maibu's suggestion that Quain should make a speech in his own language underlines the fact that the externalization of anger was the paramount purpose.

154 626 123 Emotional release could also be found in contrived performances. Quain, feeling depressed one evening, refused to sing when the Trumaí asked him to. However, when Maibu proposed a mock argument, Quain, being a good ethnologist, complied. Facing each other in the village center, the two men hurled epithets and insults at each other at the top of their voices. When Quain was at a loss for something to say, Maibu suggested that he repeat a speech he had made about the theft of his supplies. At the conclusion Quain reported, "I felt very good when I shouted at him for a while, and I was quite willing to sing."

683 692 In cases of physical harm, settlement could be obtained by paying the injured person. Quain was told that after the spear-throwing contest, the Kamayurá and the Trumaí each paid indemnities for bruises inflicted.[9] No case of physical violence was observed by Quain, but when [173] he slapped the flour from the boy's hand, and again when he stepped on a child's foot, the Trumaí suggested that he pay something. The latter case was an obvious attempt at petty extortion, for a week later the same child had his foot stepped on by a Trumaí, but this time the only result was an admonition from his father to be quiet.

626 954 [186] Still another alternative to violence was found in witchcraft. Only one or two Trumaí knew the practice of sorcery, and these men were said to have learned it from the Nahukwa, who were much feared because of their dangerous skill. Sorcery was usually invoked covertly, but at least once in an argument its use was openly threatened. This, however, was regarded as a most reprehensible action.

578 154 The chief source of conflict in the village was sex. Quarrels over who was to marry the three available women raged throughout Quain's stay. Bride-capture, the large percentage of older women, and polygamy combined to make the allotment of women an extremely sore point. The story of the battle over one woman is worth reporting, as it illustrates both patterned interpersonal relationships and the ways in which anger could be expressed and channeled.

578 584 154 Three men wanted to marry Kuyafi, a widow with a child. They were Oirupa the sorcerer, Mayuva, her sister's husband, and Nitvary. Kuyafi, it was said, had once had a child by Nitvary, so his claim was a strong one. So also was Mayuva's, as he had recognized sexual rights over her

[9] Cf. Galvão 1950, p. 363.

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because she was his sister-in-law. Mayuva, however, was afraid of Nitvary, as the latter had close ties with the Kamayurá and had threatened Mayuva with witchcraft at their hands. After Nitvary returned from a trip to the Kamayurá village, Mayuva complained of severe headaches and said he was going to die. Although he denied to Quain that his condition was due to Kamayurá sorcery, the threats against him apparently had the desired result: a short time later Kuyafi moved into Nitvary's house. The union last only two days, for Nitvary's jealous wife drove her out in a fit of anger. The field, it would seem, was clear for Oirupa, the third suitor.

Oirupa, however, had been trying to marry Kuyafi for years. Her father, Matiwana, refused to give his consent and Oirupa, in revenge, was said to have killed two of Matiwana's children by witchcraft. Relations between their families were understandably strained, and they were further aggravated by the marriage of Matiwana's son Yati and Oirupa's sister Kerami, which occurred during Quain's stay. This union was unhappy and short-lived. When Kerami left him, Yati and his father held Oirupa and his co-resident affinals, Tun and Aloari, responsible. Yati bitterly asserted that he (and Matiwana) would go to live among his mother's people, the Kuikuru of the upper Kuluene. There, he said, women were much easier to get.

With this background of conflict and suspicion, it is not surprising that the quarrel again broke out in earnest when Oirupa tried to seduce Kuyafi. Angered by her rejection he threw *piquí* pits at her. In the afternoon Matiwana spoke out against Oirupa from his house. (This was proper behavior, since a parent is expected to take his offspring's part in such disputes.) That evening the two men indulged in the usual loud shouting and wrestled with barely restrained hostility. Kuyafi added her bit from the house as did another of Matiwana's daughters. The other men pretended indifference. Yati remained silent, although he was vitally interested in the dispute; for, besides being Matiwana's son, he was involved in an enduring respect relationship with his former brother-in-law, even after his marriage was dissolved. Public opinion, however, was on the side of Matiwana, for Oirupa had committed an offense by hitting Kuyafi with the pits, and he had also threatened to use witchcraft. To this last Matiwana tauntingly replied that had Oirupa's witchcraft been really effective, he would have been dead long ago. As of the time Quain left the Trumaí, Kuyafi's future was still undecided.

The Men's Circle

The men's circle served a number of functions. It was the place in which initiated males gathered, talked, argued, and smoked. It was not taboo to young boys, as it was to women, but youngsters rarely joined

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with prestige. Aloari, who later became chief, was classified as a *camara* at the time of Quain's visit.

At the top of the Trumaí prestige scale was the chief. His authority was limited, but he was more respected than any other man. The two sub-chiefs enjoyed some, but not much, prestige. Matiwana was an old man, and old age decreases status among the Trumaí. He took the lead in group curing ceremonies, however, and was the repository of much Trumaí lore and learning. Nor was Katauka, the other sub-chief, very influential. And neither official had the privilege of "talking" to the people as Maibu did. That Katauka was a shaman and Matiwana the chief curer of the village contributed more to their prestige than did their position as sub-chiefs or their membership in the *aek* class. Tun, the shaman, and Oirupa, the sorcerer, ranked just below the chief in importance. The former enjoyed some standing as his prognostications of enemy movements were relied upon and respected by everybody. Oirupa had added power only because he was feared.

The only other criteria of status were youth and aggressiveness. Property was not a point of prestige, but those whose assertive attitudes gave them some status and influence were also those who manifested an accumulative attitude toward property. Youth and sexual prowess were highly regarded. Boasting about sexual exploits was usually done privately, but great pride was taken in them. This was related to the general esteem in which youth, size and vigor were held. To be a successful wrestler, therefore, enhanced a man's position. The Trumaí were also impressed by Quain's height and wanted to know what kind of medicines white men used to make them so tall. There was no warrior class and no special status for success in combat, except insofar as it was an indication of strength and courage.

As noted above, the status of old men was very low, except when they had special knowledge or office. Yet these attributes did not protect Matiwana from being contemptuously referred to as an old man. Moreover, Quain was severely criticized for giving presents to old Yahu, most of whose property had already been claimed by others, since the Trumaí did not think it proper that one so old should have any possessions beyond fishing and hunting equipment and other necessities. A favorite insult among the Trumaí was to tell someone he was old, and by implication that he no longer bathed or was able to fornicate.

Prestige variations, on the whole, were not great in the Trumaí village. The community had no clearly defined social groupings based on status, nor were there social mechanisms for human exploitation. Variations in wealth were slight, and their only significance was that one man might have more tools and trinkets than another. It is possible, however, that before the Trumaí had declined to their present low estate, prestige and authority were more clearly patterned, as they still were in the Kamayurá village.

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pursue their individual affairs. Maibu made speeches in the evening men's circle or in the early morning, telling the men to plant their gardens or urging all to gather *piquí* fruit. Such proddings had little meaning, as they were usually made during the appropriate season for these activities, and most people would have planted or gathered as a matter of course.

Those who did not choose to do what Maibu suggested went their own way, whether it was to fish or sleep. Maibu was a gadfly; yet he was the conscience of the Trumaí. Perhaps more people would have procrastinated if it had not been for his admonitions. He was truly interested in the good of the village. He asked Quain for presents only for others, never for himself.

Cooperative work on the community level was usually organized by Maibu. The decision to perform such work was generally made by common agreement, but it was the chief's function to recruit the necessary labor and see that the task was done. This he did with varying degrees of success, for his power was limited.

The chief was accorded much more respect by his housemates and close kinsmen than by the rest of the villagers. The people resisted him in varying degrees, depending on their relationship to him and their individual personalities. His control over the women was particularly weak. When Quain first arrived, they refused to carry water for him, despite Maibu's orders. When they realized that they were to be given gifts for their trouble they grudgingly consented to do so, but, in the meantime, the chief had fetched the water, since the performance of such tasks for an outsider was the responsibility of the village as a whole, and no other man would do women's work.

Referring to the limitations on chiefly powers, Quain noted, "Maibu has to put up with a lot of booing and do a lot of talking. Obedience comes to him only after a long time. He seems to have no 'big stick.'" The Trumaí chief had no coercive power whatsoever. This particular headman was not a powerful shaman, although such a combination was possible and would undoubtedly have enhanced his position. The only act of a supernatural nature that he could perform was curing by sucking and blowing smoke, which was practiced by almost every adult Trumaí male.

Maibu was often completely ignored, and some of the men made a point of flouting his authority. The men of Aloari's house were extremely antagonistic toward him and told Quain that he was not a true "*aek*." These men rarely took part in the few group work projects and usually they were also absent from the wrestling matches. Their own prestige motives and individual inclinations brought them into frequent conflict with Maibu, both in his capacity as the man of highest status and as the village goad. Their resentment of authority never resulted in

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clouds of tobacco smoke were first blown over the affected area by the curer who then, with noisy inhalations, sucked that part of the body in which the ailment appeared to be localized. Insofar as Quain was able to determine, no foreign objects were "extracted," and he was not given any explanation as to why the treatment worked.

Knowledge of curing was widespread among the men. All the men knew how to use botanicals, and over half, all said to have been taught by Matiwana, knew the art of *jau'kath*. Men cured their wives, children, or other close blood relatives. When Aloari was treating his son's ringworm he was asked by Quain whether he would also treat a young boy who was only indirectly related. Aloari refused because the boy had closer kinsmen who could perform this act. Kayaru developed a swollen breast, and it was Yanahi, her sister's son, who performed *jau'kath* on it. All men treated the members of their biological families with medicines, but those who did not know the shamanistic cure relied on a practitioner from outside the immediate family.

Matiwana treated his son Yati without recompense, but when his daughter's husband became ill, the latter paid him for the cure with a pot. The kinship ties by which curing was free to certain relatives probably corresponded closely to the pattern of gift-giving obligations. Payments for medical treatment were called *okei pop* (medicine gift). Quain was usually given small payments for the many cures he performed for the Trumaí. In no case could it be said that any curer derived a significant income from his services.

Group Curing Ceremony

The only time that Quain witnessed the group curing ceremony (*kevere*) was on an occasion two weeks after his arrival. He noted the formal aspects carefully, but he was unable to ascertain their meanings, since his command of the language at that time was so meagre.

Maibu's wife, Matavitsa, was sick and wasted when Quain arrived in the village. Her husband had been treating her for some time by the shamanistic means of tobacco smoke and sucking, but with little success. It was decided to hold a ceremonial cure, although shamanistic techniques were not ruled out. Nearly all the adult men of the village gathered in Maibu's house for the ritual, which lasted for three hours. No women were admitted, and the door was kept closed. The *kevere* was strictly prohibited to females, and the men would not even talk of it in their presence. The women seemed to regard Quain's status as doubtful, for Maibu's sister told him that he would die if he entered. He refused to be dissuaded, and upon entering was motioned to a seat.

The men were ranged in a broad semi-circle along the side of the house opposite the sick woman's hammock. Matiwana, who was in charge of

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Matiwana, who was in charge of
the proceedings, was seated somewhere near the center; Maibu, the husband of the sick woman, at one end of the line. Matiwana was chanting while the others merely shouted words at irregular intervals. Each man held a rattle in one hand and a branch with leaves in the other, except for two who held a branch in each hand. Approaching Matavitsa's hammock in succession, and, with arms extended, each stamped on his heels, causing his rattle and leaves to shake, as he moved up and down the length of the sick woman's body several times. This done, he passed the rattle and leaves from her head to her feet, and then clapped the two objects together so as to suggest that he was brushing off something undesirable. He repeated this sequence two to four times, and before taking his seat, he carefully picked up all the leaves that had fallen to the floor.

While awaiting their turns, the other men rubbed their rattles against their forearms and kept up a steady, disorganized chant. They also smoked, but this apparently was not part of the ceremony.

Turns started at one end of the line and, when the other end was reached, the next series began there. A pause was observed between each series. Some variation was to be noted. One man passed his leaves under Matavitsa's hammock, while another gave special attention to her head. Maibu, during one turn, sucked in the area of her navel.

Quain noted that during the ceremony "there was an amazing lack of affective tension. The men seemed inattentive and disinterested." He was able to ask questions about the ceremony while it was going on, for not everyone participated. Paradoxically, one of the active performers was Oirupa, who was suspected of having brought about Matavitsa's condition through witchcraft.

The Ole Ceremony

In the Trumaí village no ritual was more important or consumed more time than the *ole* (manioc) ceremony.[5] Its purpose was essentially to insure an abundant manioc crop, and much of the symbolism involved was clearly oriented around the concept of fertility. The supernatural techniques that were employed were practiced almost daily from the middle of August to the end of September. (It will be remembered that planting lasted from mid-September until early October.) The whole ceremony was loosely knit. After it started it reached no special climax,

[5] Oberg (1953, p. 58) describes a Kamayurá ceremony which also takes place at the beginning of the rainy season and, in form, closely resembles the Trumaí *ole* ritual. He calls it, however, the *Kwarúp*, a "special ceremony in commemoration of the dead," and states that the Kamayurá manioc ceremony was not held during his stay in the field. If the ceremonies observed by Quain in the Trumaí village and by Oberg among the Kamayurá are not the same, a great similarity of ritual forms for different religious purposes is indicated.

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pursue their individual affairs. Maibu made speeches in the evening men's circle or in the early morning, telling the men to plant their gardens or urging all to gather *piquí* fruit. Such proddings had little meaning, as they were usually made during the appropriate season for these activities, and most people would have planted or gathered as a matter of course.

Those who did not choose to do what Maibu suggested went their own way, whether it was to fish or sleep. Maibu was a gadfly; yet he was the conscience of the Trumaí. Perhaps more people would have procrastinated if it had not been for his admonitions. He was truly interested in the good of the village. He asked Quain for presents only for others, never for himself.

Cooperative work on the community level was usually organized by Maibu. The decision to perform such work was generally made by common agreement, but it was the chief's function to recruit the necessary labor and see that the task was done. This he did with varying degrees of success, for his power was limited.

The chief was accorded much more respect by his housemates and close kinsmen than by the rest of the villagers. The people resisted him in varying degrees, depending on their relationship to him and their individual personalities. His control over the women was particularly weak. When Quain first arrived, they refused to carry water for him, despite Maibu's orders. When they realized that they were to be given gifts for their trouble they grudgingly consented to do so, but, in the meantime, the chief had fetched the water, since the performance of such tasks for an outsider was the responsibility of the village as a whole, and no other man would do women's work.

Referring to the limitations on chiefly powers, Quain noted, "Maibu has to put up with a lot of booing and do a lot of talking. Obedience comes to him only after a long time. He seems to have no 'big stick.'" The Trumaí chief had no coercive power whatsoever. This particular headman was not a powerful shaman, although such a combination was possible and would undoubtedly have enhanced his position. The only act of a supernatural nature that he could perform was curing by sucking and blowing smoke, which was practiced by almost every adult Trumaí male.

Maibu was often completely ignored, and some of the men made a point of flouting his authority. The men of Aloari's house were extremely antagonistic toward him and told Quain that he was not a true "*aek*." These men rarely took part in the few group work projects and usually they were also absent from the wrestling matches. Their own prestige motives and individual inclinations brought them into frequent conflict with Maibu, both in his capacity as the man of highest status and as the village goad. Their resentment of authority never resulted in

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the group, and they never participated in any of its activities. Occasionally men gathered in the village center during the day, but at night the circle always formed, generally lasting from sundown until about nine o'clock. In the afternoon it was often the scene of wrestling matches. Talk usually went on then also, but the gatherings were smaller than at night.

At night most of the men were present, and conversation ranged over a variety of topics. Of greatest interest were neighboring tribes, past warfare and present threats to peace. Gossip, usually about sex, found ready ears. This was the time when the chief made most of his speeches, and the time when plans for a fishing trip, for salt manufacture, or for a journey to the Waurá for pots were discussed. The men's circle was also the place where the shaman practiced his art, and, as noted above, where grievances were aired.

The social life of the males was centered almost completely in these gatherings, and it was in them that the mechanisms of village authority and social control were expressed. Also, the men's circle underlined the cleavage between the activities of the men and of the women. The women had no formal grouping such as the men's circle, but they showed solidarity when the need arose. While men were dominant, as Quain said, they "look on the women as an ungoverned force," and open group quarrels were not infrequent between the sexes.

Status

Aek, the Trumaí word for chief, also denoted membership in the upper half of what is nominally a status class. Members of the lower half of this class were loosely referred to as *camara*, a term which, according to Galvão, probably diffused into the region from rural Brazil, where workers are called *camaradas*.[10] There was some uncertainty on the part of Quain's informants as to who were members of the *aek* division. In general, it included the chief, the two sub-chiefs, and their families. But while the status appears to have been hereditary, its transmission was loose and uncertain. For instance, Maibu was an *aek*, but he refused to classify his brothers as such. However, the fathers of both Maibu and Katauka, one of the sub-chiefs, were *aek*. Matiwana's three daughters and his son derived their status from him, further supporting the case for patrilineality. On the other hand, the children of one of the daughters were *aek*, even though their father was a *camara*. The significance of being *aek* had probably declined with the weakening of leadership patterns and the lessened importance of the sub-chiefs. Today, the *aek-camara* division is non-functional, membership is confused, and, except for the chieftainship, it is correlated only vaguely

[10] Galvão 1949, p. 60.

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with prestige. Aloari, who later became chief, was classified as a *camara* at the time of Quain's visit.

At the top of the Trumaí prestige scale was the chief. His authority was limited, but he was more respected than any other man. The two sub-chiefs enjoyed some, but not much, prestige. Matiwana was an old man, and old age decreases status among the Trumaí. He took the lead in group curing ceremonies, however, and was the repository of much Trumaí lore and learning. Nor was Katauka, the other sub-chief, very influential. And neither official had the privilege of "talking" to the people as Maibu did. That Katauka was a shaman and Matiwana the chief curer of the village contributed more to their prestige than did their position as sub-chiefs or their membership in the *aek* class. Tun, the shaman, and Oirupa, the sorcerer, ranked just below the chief in importance. The former enjoyed some standing as his prognostications of enemy movements were relied upon and respected by everybody. Oirupa had added power only because he was feared.

The only other criteria of status were youth and aggressiveness. Property was not a point of prestige, but those whose assertive attitudes gave them some status and influence were also those who manifested an accumulative attitude toward property. Youth and sexual prowess were highly regarded. Boasting about sexual exploits was usually done privately, but great pride was taken in them. This was related to the general esteem in which youth, size and vigor were held. To be a successful wrestler, therefore, enhanced a man's position. The Trumaí were also impressed by Quain's height and wanted to know what kind of medicines white men used to make them so tall. There was no warrior class and no special status for success in combat, except insofar as it was an indication of strength and courage.

As noted above, the status of old men was very low, except when they had special knowledge or office. Yet these attributes did not protect Matiwana from being contemptuously referred to as an old man. Moreover, Quain was severely criticized for giving presents to old Yahu, most of whose property had already been claimed by others, since the Trumaí did not think it proper that one so old should have any possessions beyond fishing and hunting equipment and other necessities. A favorite insult among the Trumaí was to tell someone he was old, and by implication that he no longer bathed or was able to fornicate.

Prestige variations, on the whole, were not great in the Trumaí village. The community had no clearly defined social groupings based on status, nor were there social mechanisms for human exploitation. Variations in wealth were slight, and their only significance was that one man might have more tools and trinkets than another. It is possible, however, that before the Trumaí had declined to their present low estate, prestige and authority were more clearly patterned, as they still were in the Kamayurá village.

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CHAPTER FOUR

Religious Beliefs and Practices

182 The lapse of many religious practices and the lessening of interest in
771 those aspects of culture that we classify as religion were striking features
829 of this dying society. Older informants remembered the time when there were ceremonial masks, the flute house, and other traits that are still found among certain tribes of the upper Xingú. Indeed, if it were not for Matiwana's unusual age, the Trumaí would be even more lacking in ceremonial knowledge. Yet there seems to have been little regret on the part of either the older or younger generations for this culture loss. They shrugged it off, saying that their grandfathers had had such
[177] practices, but that they did not. This indifference is not too surprising, since much of their religion was borrowed from their upper Xingú neighbors not too long ago.[1]

771 Despite the decline in interest in the ceremonial cycle and the dis-
105 appearance of certain religious traits, the main outlines of Trumaí religion were still observable in Quain's time. Shamanism was still practiced extensively, but it was simple both in form and supporting ideology. Ceremonialism was related to subsistence and curing. The shaman's individualized power resulted in a specialization of religious functions as did the individual ownership of ceremonial songs and
[193] dances. Some Trumaí, like old Matiwana, were better versed in the religious rites than others, but they did not constitute a priestly class. While no one person interceded with the supernatural on behalf of the
[182] whole village, the group ceremonials provided a focal point for social participation and village cooperation, and many of them were undertaken by the community for the benefit of all.

Shamanism

756 The shamanistic art of curing was known and employed by nearly
[184] all the adult males of the village, and in this sense parallels the practices recorded among the Kamayurá by Oberg.[2] There is, however, a type

[1] Kamayurá ceremonial and religious life, much of which was once shared by the Trumaí, is discussed by Oberg (1953) and Galvão (1949, 1950). The extent of Trumaí culture loss can be roughly inferred from these sources and from the work of the earlier ethnologists.

[2] Oberg 1953, p. 60.

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of specialist among the Trumaí that is not reported for the Kamayurá, and it is to this type that the term "shaman" is applied in the following description. The Trumaí "shaman," in this sense, is a man who possessed extra-visionary powers through which he could locate enemy war parties and "see" the afterworld.

The source of the visionary shaman's and also the curing shaman's power is revealed nowhere in Quains' notes, nor do we have any information on other aspects of the associated belief system. Oberg's Kamayurá informants told him that personal spirits are acquired during illness, and it is contact with one's spirit which gives the power.[3] This may well be true in Trumaí culture also, but the very fact that Quain did not perceive this, even granting the language barrier, might indicate a decline in the strength of animistic belief.

"Seeing," as Quain translates Trumaí shamanism, took place only at night. (Quain was told that if a shaman inhaled large quantities of tobacco smoke during the day, his temples would pound.) Since one of the main purposes of shamanism was to detect enemies and the fear of attack was greatest at night, it was then that knowledge was felt to be most necessary. Shamanism, it should be stressed, revolved around one of the central themes in Trumaí life, fear of other tribes; the pronouncements of the shaman were almost always that enemies were near and that danger was acute. These were generally believed without question by his audience.

The procedure was simple. When the talk in the men's circle stressed the possibility of a raid, the shaman was called upon to "see." A hushed silence fell over the group. Even Quain was asked to stop speaking and using his typewriter. The shaman turned his back on the assembly, inhaled large amounts of tobacco smoke, his only paraphernalia, and seemed to concentrate deeply. Quain could detect no traces of tobacco narcosis, but it was possible that a mild reaction was produced. After a few minutes of intense concentration, the shaman faced about and announced the results of his activity. This was usually to the effect that he had seen Suyá, or, less often, Bororo, Yuruna, or a tribe of the immediate region. A Trumaí shaman could also find lost articles, but this was secondary to "seeing" the enemy. One shaman claimed to have seen the land of the dead, but there was no suggestion that he had communicated with the deceased.

Only certain older men were visionary shamans. There is no evidence that women were admitted to the practice anywhere in the region. Inheritance of shamanistic power was nominally patrilineal. In 1938 there were three shamans: Yakuma, the chief's oldest biological brother, Aloari's brother Tun, and Matiwana. Tun was the most active practitioner, while Yakuma seldom "saw." Maibu said that the latter was

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

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still too young to "see," but that when he was older he would learn, since his father was a shaman. Aloari said that he, too, would learn when he was old, as would his son Tsirikoan. Matiwana would instruct Aloari and would receive a payment for this tutelage. Indicative of a possible looseness of inheritance was the fact that Matiwana's son Yati was nowhere mentioned as a prospective shaman.

Dreams were considered to be a way of "seeing" while sleeping. This was known as *ohltaxer*. Dreams were taken seriously, at least by the dreamer. Aloari fully believed that the Waurá would come after he had dreamed it. And Maibu was convinced that he should make the trip to the Indian post on the Paranatinga River because he had dreamed that Climaco, the agent, liked him very much and would give him a rifle. However, individual dreams were not a matter of community concern or interest. Village action was taken on the basis of shamanistic "seeing" only.

Witchcraft

The only known sorcerer in the Trumaí village was Oirupa, the brother-in-law of Aloari. Oirupa was said by one man to have learned witchcraft (*okei*) from the Nahukwa, who, with the other Cariban tribes, were dreaded for their black magic. Oirupa's knowledge made him one of the most hated men in the village, but no action was taken against him for fear of incurring his enmity. Also, there have been no reports of the execution of sorcerers in the upper Xingú, and, from all indications, this mode of retaliation is not customary.

When someone fell ill and witchcraft was suspected, the guilt was usually imputed to a neighboring tribe. It was said that the Trumaí had to leave their old village site near the Kamayurá because the latter were killing them off with witchcraft. Sorcery was probably often practiced against other groups by the Trumaí, and the converse was always feared. Oirupa refused to speak above a whisper one night when the Auetí were said to be using black magic on the Trumaí.

It was Quain's belief that witchcraft was a substitute for open violence among the people of the area; significantly, witchcraft was not practiced by the people of the upper Xingú against the Suyá and other hostile tribes outside the Basin.[4] Intertribal black magic functioned as a check upon violence within the village as well. Certainly, it was more conducive to social order to attribute sorcery to another tribe than to some member of the small and already disrupted Trumaí community.

[4] Cf. Galvão 1949; Oberg 1953.

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the banks, while men crowded into a canoe. The reptile was located, but instead of the one-foot diameter that it was at first said to have, it turned out to be only three inches thick. But, as Quain laconically observed, it was hungry. The men shouted at Jawaku to jump in the water and grab it.

The boy approached the reptile cautiously and with obvious fear. The anaconda, aroused, slithered through the water to the other side of the lagoon. Jawaku's unwillingness to fight was now apparent. There were shouts that he was frightened. These goads temporarily overcame his reluctance, and he waded through the water and grabbed the snake around the middle, lifting it out of the water. The anaconda began throwing its coils, while striking at the boy. In a panic, Jawaku stumbled blindly for the shore, tripped over a log, and released his hold on the snake. All the men shouted, "He's afraid!" as the crestfallen boy dragged himself out of the water and silently walked home.

That night, Maibu made a lengthy speech in which he absolved himself from any responsibility for Jawaku's cowardice. The next day another reptile was sighted, but Jawaku did not even bother to look at it.

On the other hand, Autsuki measured up to what was expected of him, and thus was able to continue the ritual that marked his maturation. Immediately upon the successful outcome of his struggle with an anaconda, he went to his house. He had now entered the seclusion phase of his puberty rites. Tun, his mother's brother, who was acting as next of kin, built a partition screening him off from the rest of the house. He was allowed nothing to eat but a medicinal preparation called *wyryx*, and he could leave his confinement to defecate only when everyone was asleep.

The seclusion period was to last until the ear-piercing festival which was to be held several months later, but Autsuki was cheerful about it. In accordance with normal practice, he had his arms scraped shortly after he entered confinement, and he was also given the adult tonsure.

There remained only one more step in the cycle of initiation rites: initiation into the shamanistic art of curing. Completion of this final phase was necessary for full participation in the men's circle and for the privilege of smoking tobacco.[3] All of the uninitiated Trumaí youths knew how to smoke and occasionally did so, but the adults referred to this as "lying smoking." In order to "really" smoke it was necessary to have a ceremony performed by Matiwana. Exactly when this occurred is open to question, but ideally it was supposed to follow the final seclusion and ear-piercing. Aloari had not yet had the ceremony performed, although he was married and had a child. In his own words, he was still "too young." Aloari was evidently equating maturation with the puberty rites.

[3] Oberg (1953, p. 60) reports that uninitiated men may not smoke among the Kamayurá, either.

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888 [561] [181] grades except in the broadest sense, as the term for "younger" covered everyone from infants to people in the prime of life. The terms, however, indicate a keen consciousness that those who have passed their prime are distinct from those who are still developing or are at the height of their physical powers.

The Trumaí believed that it was good to be young, vigorous, and strong, while advancing years were a stigma. Quain always met with a stout denial whenever he suggested to someone that he was older than someone else. An old person, they said with contempt, was one who did not bathe or shave the crown of his head any more. Mayuva did not [676] bother to bathe one morning and was derided by Kerami, who accused him of being old. A short time later he reappeared freshly bathed.

[162] While several individuals were considered "older," the only ones who fell into the Trumaí category of true old age were Matiwana and Yahu. The latter's status was further lowered by the fact that he was con- [563] sidered to be a Kamayurá; his father was a member of that tribe and he had a son living with them. However, Yahu was still sexually potent and a full participant in the economy.

[195] A person of truly advanced old age was called *dewan*. This term, which has uncomplimentary connotations, was applied only to men "whose penis is dead" or to women past menopause. Matiwana was the only person of either sex who fitted the *dewan* category. The only tasks for which he was suited were light craft work, gathering firewood, and an occasional fishing trip. He was, however, the fount of nearly all Trumaí ceremonial knowledge. Matiwana was well cared for by his son and by his household. The son's affection and loyalty to his father were deep, and he was the old man's constant companion. The rest of the villagers remained aloof from Matiwana.

888 554 [756] The Trumaí abhorred the thought of their own future old age, and they transferred some of this fear to the persons of the aged. Status declined with age, and Matiwana had his ceremonial lore and shamanistic skill to thank for what position he still maintained.

Death

768 764 Neither the village site nor the house of the deceased had to be abandoned following death. Burial took place in the village plaza. The corpse was interred lying on its back in an extended position, wrapped and bound in its hammock. Numerous cooking utensils, including a *ja'meo* (ceramic griddle for baking *beijú*) were buried with both male and female deceased.

765 No deaths occurred while Quain was in residence, but mourning was still going on for a man who had recently died. The burden of mourning fell on the female relatives of the deceased. The only observance in-

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Diagnosis and Treatment of Disease

Illness was believed to be caused primarily by witchcraft and, secondarily, by the breaking of a taboo or by contagion. Headaches, bloated stomach (*pihl*) and stomach aches were among the common symptoms of bewitchment. The tremendous fear of black magic probably added greatly to the severity of these afflictions. During Quain's stay the women appeared to complain more of sorcery as a cause of their illnesses than did the men, but this self-diagnosis was not always accepted.

Trumaí concepts regarding contagion were generally loose, and they often fused with witchcraft beliefs. Contagion was acknowledged to be a possible cause of illness, but if death followed, it would in all probability be laid to sorcery. The Trumaí knew that epidemics of pulmonary diseases were associated with the coming of white men, and they were especially worried that when the rainy season arrived Quain would give them coughs and fevers. Indeed, one night when Quain complained of illness and retired to his hammock with a headache, this eventuality was vigorously discussed.

The Trumaí called such a threat *tun*, a word that can be translated only as a malignant influence causing disease. *Tun* was said to exist around sick people or in places where there was known to be danger of contamination. Thus, when several of the people of Jakwanari's household were sick, everyone avoided the house, for it was full of *tun*. Aloari said that the waterfront, also, was full of *tun*. He preferred to bathe from a pottery vessel outside his house. Ringworm, however, was known to be caused by natural means.

The word *okei*, while referring to sorcery under certain conditions, was also a general term for medicinal preparations. Thus, *okei* of various kinds were used in different stages of the life crisis rituals and also in the treatment of various ailments. Roots were extensively used for medicinal purposes. Maibu rubbed his wife's head with the extract of a root (*ipox*) when she had a headache. Another root (*murukuyu*) supplied the basic ingredient for eye drops, and still another was prescribed for ringworm.

The Trumaí were subject to severe boils which were treated by piercing. This was a woman's specialty, and it was usually done by the wife or a close relative of the afflicted person. All other curing, both secular and supernatural, was done by men. Herbal medicines were used exclusively for such ailments as ringworm, but most cures involved both botanical and supernatural means used in conjunction.

Illness was treated by both individual curers and group ceremonies. The practice of individual shamanistic curing, known as *jau'kath*, had much in common with similar arts throughout South America. The main techniques employed were tobacco smoke and sucking. Great

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The Trumaí called such a threat *tun*, a word that can be translated only as a malignant influence causing disease. *Tun* was said to exist around sick people or in places where there was known to be danger of contamination. Thus, when several of the people of Jakwanari's household were sick, everyone avoided the house, for it was full of *tun*. Aloari said that the waterfront, also, was full of *tun*. He preferred to bathe from a pottery vessel outside his house. Ringworm, however, was known to be caused by natural means.

The word *okei*, while referring to sorcery under certain conditions, was also a general term for medicinal preparations. Thus, *okei* of various kinds were used in different stages of the life crisis rituals and also in the treatment of various ailments. Roots were extensively used for medicinal purposes. Maibu rubbed his wife's head with the extract of a root (*ipox*) when she had a headache. Another root (*murukuyu*) supplied the basic ingredient for eye drops, and still another was prescribed for ringworm.

The Trumaí were subject to severe boils which were treated by piercing. This was a woman's specialty, and it was usually done by the wife or a close relative of the afflicted person. All other curing, both secular and supernatural, was done by men. Herbal medicines were used exclusively for such ailments as ringworm, but most cures involved both botanical and supernatural means used in conjunction.

Illness was treated by both individual curers and group ceremonies. The practice of individual shamanistic curing, known as *jau'kath*, had much in common with similar arts throughout South America. The main techniques employed were tobacco smoke and sucking. Great

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clouds of tobacco smoke were first blown over the affected area by the curer who then, with noisy inhalations, sucked that part of the body in which the ailment appeared to be localized. Insofar as Quain was able to determine, no foreign objects were "extracted," and he was not given any explanation as to why the treatment worked.

Knowledge of curing was widespread among the men. All the men knew how to use botanicals, and over half, all said to have been taught by Matiwana, knew the art of *jau'kath*. Men cured their wives, children, or other close blood relatives. When Aloari was treating his son's ringworm he was asked by Quain whether he would also treat a young boy who was only indirectly related. Aloari refused because the boy had closer kinsmen who could perform this act. Kayaru developed a swollen breast, and it was Yanahi, her sister's son, who performed *jau'kath* on it. All men treated the members of their biological families with medicines, but those who did not know the shamanistic cure relied on a practitioner from outside the immediate family.

Matiwana treated his son Yati without recompense, but when his daughter's husband became ill, the latter paid him for the cure with a pot. The kinship ties by which curing was free to certain relatives probably corresponded closely to the pattern of gift-giving obligations. Payments for medical treatment were called *okei pop* (medicine gift). Quain was usually given small payments for the many cures he performed for the Trumaí. In no case could it be said that any curer derived a significant income from his services.

Group Curing Ceremony

The only time that Quain witnessed the group curing ceremony (*kevere*) was on an occasion two weeks after his arrival. He noted the formal aspects carefully, but he was unable to ascertain their meanings, since his command of the language at that time was so meagre.

Maibu's wife, Matavitsa, was sick and wasted when Quain arrived in the village. Her husband had been treating her for some time by the shamanistic means of tobacco smoke and sucking, but with little success. It was decided to hold a ceremonial cure, although shamanistic techniques were not ruled out. Nearly all the adult men of the village gathered in Maibu's house for the ritual, which lasted for three hours. No women were admitted, and the door was kept closed. The *kevere* was strictly prohibited to females, and the men would not even talk of it in their presence. The women seemed to regard Quain's status as doubtful, for Maibu's sister told him that he would die if he entered. He refused to be dissuaded, and upon entering was motioned to a seat.

The men were ranged in a broad semi-circle along the side of the house opposite the sick woman's hammock. Matiwana, who was in charge of

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took the axe, and this is why they have been able to build a great civilization. Indeed, white men, although first encountered in 1884, figure in many Trumaí myths. For instance, Waniwani once seduced Uluwa's wife and took her to the land of the white men, which was thought to lie either downstream near the Yuruna or beyond the headwaters of the Kuluene River.

Many ceremonies were first taught by Sun. He presented Maibu's deceased brother with a spear-thrower and taught him the spear-throwing contest. He also first made the masks which the Trumaí once used. The people of the area received cotton and tobacco from Sun, and he gave the fishtrap to the Mehinaku.

The foregoing creation myths collected by Quain were probably only a small part of the Trumaí cycle. Paradoxically, the historic legend of their migration into the area and the subsequent borrowing of culture elements from their neighbors would seem to negate the creation myths in which the Trumaí appear to have always lived in the upper Xingú area. Quain states that they have reconciled the inconsistencies, but he does not support this point with any concrete data. Undoubtedly this problem bothered the ethnographer far more than the Trumaí.

The After-Life

Waniwani, the village of the afterworld, was located in the heavens. In order to get there one had to travel the Milky Way. This was the abode of Panther, and the road was lined with many panthers who inflicted dangerous wounds on the wayfarers. After passing through this gamut, the dead entered the Trumaí village. Here many Trumaí resided, and the rivers and lagoons teemed with *kute* fish. These were usually caught by poisoning, as the *tawasi* tree grew in abundance. There was no death in this afterworld; it was only on earth that death was feared, said the Trumaí.

Jemenary and Kelenewary

The last of the Trumaí myths collected by Quain concerned Jemenary and his trickster nephew Kelenewary. This story, which has a decided Oedipus theme with the maternal uncle in the father role, was the only context in which these two appeared, and they cannot be identified further than to say that they were mythological beings who lived in the "long ago" of the Trumaí.

Jemenary was angry with Kelenewary because the latter, his *deta*, or sister's son, was sleeping with his wife. Kelenewary knew no shame, for a good Trumaí would never have done such a thing. Jemenary tried by a series of ruses to rid himself of his nephew. He ordered him to

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post-natal sexual taboos is a serious social problem. A large group of not very pretty bachelors must use the woman with ringworm or the Suyá captive, whose present marriage is considered dishonorable. These women have no brothers or fathers. In contrast with Karajá, there is no stylized homosexuality. Yet the complete freedom of sexual play results in activities which might be considered overt homosexuality. But to the Trumaí such activity has little emotional content. It does not seem to set up special personal relationships.

"Women are in constant fear of attack. Yet a wife tyrannizes her husband by withholding her favors and pulling the hair of anyone whom she suspects her husband has used sexually. Between married people, sex occurs at night,— preferably when everyone else is asleep — or while going to the forest on various gathering tasks. A man and his wife engage in many things together, such as afternoon relaxation, fishing, and gardening. There is companionship even between those spouses among whom the wife is much older and no longer of interest to the man sexually.

"Between themselves, the men are extremely individualistic. Cooperation rarely exceeds kin limits even at the explicit order of the chief. Only when outsiders are present do men band together in a mock display of solid cooperation.... There is only one old man, who is about seventy — all others are under 45 ..... All death is murder. Nobody expects to live longer than the next rainy season. Men always carry bows and arrows for protection. Shamans keep the village in constant fear of attack from the Suyá or Kamayurá.... There are imaginary attacks quite often. Men gather in terror at the center of the village — the most exposed spot — and wait to be shot at from the dark bushes at the margin of the village....

"Authority is lax. The patrilineally hereditary chief does no work and is a parasite on his household. He is self-conscious of the rank of his wife whose marriage has elevated her. He lounges in his hammock, but it is his duty to orate from the center of the village at night and sometimes in the morning, urging the men to undertake group projects. He is the only man who has the courage to be an executive. This contrasts with the Kamayurá where there are several chiefs who, uniquely in their culture, are shy and ashamed to speak and whose orders must be referred through special talkers. It also contrasts with the Karajá where the chief is the best worker .... When the season changes, the Trumaí chief urges the people to engage in the new work, which they would do anyway. An example of the complete independence of spirit is illustrated by the two brothers who would not help the brother-in-law of one build the house in which they all were living, because they thought the mosquitoes would be bad in that location during the rainy season. The brother-in-law built the tremendous house all by himself — the two brothers lived comfortably in it.

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Crow appeared as a trickster and, although not a creator deity, managed to bring forth new things in the process of his machinations. Waniwani, the name of an abandoned Trumaí village site, was also a village in the heavens — the home of a mythical person of the same name. Jemenary, Kelenewary, and Nane were three other mythological characters. The second was the sister's son (*deta*) of the first, and an inveterate trickster. Although they appear in a Trumaí tale of mythological times, they had no part in the creative process.

Rain (Ka'wixu) was apparently the only Trumaí deity capable of interfering with the world in its present form. Although he appeared as a character in the mythology, he was also believed to be the active agent behind rains and storms. The Trumaí were extremely frightened of thunder and lightning, and thought storms to be the result of someone's having antagonized Rain. During a violent equinoctial thunder storm, Aloari came rushing into Quain's house, imploring him to turn out his light and stop working as he was angering Rain. Despite their fear of displeasing Rain, the Trumaí on a few occasions tried to drive away the clouds. One man blew at the clouds to push them back, while Quain was told to fire his rifle to frighten Rain away.

There was also a class of malignant beings that were important as omens. The Trumaí could not look at a snake called *lesilesi*, seemingly the rattlesnake. Aloari said that shortly after he saw one, two of his brothers died. Jakwalu saw one while she was harvesting manioc in the garden, and it was generally believed that for this reason she would not live long. Quain was uncertain whether this was the immediate result of seeing the snake, or whether the snake was an omen that the Kamayurá were practicing witchcraft on her. Similarly, anyone seeing the *le*, a bird with a red forehead, would die. And finally there were sirens inhabiting the woods to the northeast of the Trumaí village. Their call exerted an attraction, and anyone seeing them or cohabiting with them would surely die. These women had long hair, wore bark cloth pubic coverings, and did not depilate. Significantly, the direction of their abode and their appearance correspond to those of Suyá women. Omens, such as cloud formations and canine howls, indicate the imminence of an enemy attack.

The Origin of Things

Most of the Trumaí mythology is devoted to explaining the origin of the natural world, people, and culture. The chief creator deities are Sun and Wamutsini.

In the beginning there was only Wamutsini. His origin is not explained, and he is probably thought to have always existed. He made daughters out of wood. One of them married Panther, who lived in the

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The Trumaí believed that it was good to be young, vigorous, and strong, while advancing years were a stigma. Quain always met with a stout denial whenever he suggested to someone that he was older than someone else. An old person, they said with contempt, was one who did not bathe or shave the crown of his head any more. Mayuva did not [626] bother to bathe one morning and was derided by Kerami, who accused him of being old. A short time later he reappeared freshly bathed.

[162] While several individuals were considered "older," the only ones who fell into the Trumaí category of true old age were Matiwana and Yahu. The latter's status was further lowered by the fact that he was con- [563] sidered to be a Kamayurá; his father was a member of that tribe and he had a son living with them. However, Yahu was still sexually potent and a full participant in the economy.

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888 The Trumaí abhorred the thought of their own future old age, and 554 they transferred some of this fear to the persons of the aged. Status [756] declined with age, and Matiwana had his ceremonial lore and shamanistic skill to thank for what position he still maintained.

Death

768 Neither the village site nor the house of the deceased had to be 764 abandoned following death. Burial took place in the village plaza. The corpse was interred lying on its back in an extended position, wrapped and bound in its hammock. Numerous cooking utensils, including a *ja'meo* (ceramic griddle for baking *beijú*) were buried with both male and female deceased.

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T 123 /124 cont./ pocket along the way. A certain amount was obviously missing; I hope it was distributed among various fanciers and taken by them with some success for the skin diseases particularly common among the Yaulapiti.

T 126 Much as we were urged to depart, we still had to undertake at least the most important body measurements and would not relent; seven men were measured in haste, in between our packing, and the only photographic plate left was used for a group shot -- unfortunately ruined later.

T 122 At 9:45 we set out in two canoes, accompanied by four Trumaí. Three times one would have to sleep, they said, before reaching their villages. The Mehinakú could also be reached by way of the canals and only one day was needed to their second village. At 11:00 we landed near the Auetó village, at a place other than where we had left. In the damp T [136] leaves lay huge quantities of giant earthworms; wherever one put his foot, he stepped on them. The path led us to the two huts of the Yaulapiti-Auetó families.

T 361 It is advisable to insert here what Vogel and Perrot reported about the Trumaí villages after their return home from Schingú-Koblenz. They had not caught sight of an Indian, but below the place where the Kulisehu empties into the Kuluëne, on a bank five meters high, they had found one Trumaí village of eight houses and, a kilometer farther east, a second one of five T 727 houses with buildings under construction among them. The Suyá had burned down all the houses and smashed whatever T 241 was left of large pots and utensils. There were plantings of remarkably large size and careful cultivation directly adjoining the T 764 villages. About ten fresh graves were noted; judging from the circular excavation, the corpses had been buried in a squatting position. They seemed to lie deep; at least they were /125/ not uncovered by some superficial subsequent digging. Antonio B 186 had been very alarmed when Perrot said to him: "o doutor Carlos precisa d'uma cabeça /Doctor Carlos wants a head/." It was only with great effort that Antonio had been persuaded to go along on the trip and expose himself to the possibility of meeting the detested Trumaí.

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cumbent upon the males was a prohibition against wearing body paint for several months after the death. This ban extended to women, also. In addition, the female mourner could not sing in any of the ceremonies, and she cut her hair immediately after the death. Marriage was also forbidden her during the mourning period. (Autu came under censure as she had married her dead husband's sister's son — which at any time was reprehensible — even though her hair, cut when he died, had not yet grown back.) The woman was also required to wail occasionally for the dead person during the time of mourning, and she made flat mud discs, about one inch high, in the village center. Quain never found out the reason for this, although Kayaru made several of these markers for her dead brother. No special reverence or respect was given to the markers as they were usually demolished during the wrestling matches.

Recreation and Amusement

Trading sessions have been referred to as "games" because they are a form of amusement, but this appellation is in a way misleading, as the economic aspect of the "trade game" is very important. Actually, except for the intertribal spear-throwing contest, the only organized recreation is wrestling, and this is immensely popular throughout the whole upper Xingú area.[4] Wrestling matches were especially frequent during intertribal visits and ceremonials. These occasions aroused keen interest, and competitive spirits ran high, but the onlookers made it a point of etiquette to show no partisanship, and the contestants made every effort to conceal latent intertribal hostility. They were always friendly to each other, and at the end of the match they exchanged a friendly embrace. This was not necessary between fellow Trumaí or close kinsmen of different villages. The most effusive behavior was always shown toward those who were most disliked and mistrusted.

Wrestling matches always took place in the afternoon. All that was needed to start a match was a quorum of four or five men. These small bouts were usually informal and more in the nature of practice than competitive contests. When most of the men were in the village the contests attracted more attention and required more preparation. Bodies were painted and arm and leg bands were worn. The hair was usually combed and plastered down.

The men lined up on the log in the men's circle or brought stools. The women and young boys watched from the periphery. Uninitiated boys were not allowed to take part in the men's wrestling, but the older ones were generally permitted to sit with the men.

Each wrestler tried for a grip by grabbing at the body of the other. A variant of the half-Nelson was frequently attempted. The match

[4] Cf. Galvão 1949, p. 44.

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on a man's property, as did also, in the following order, his sister's son and his brother's son. Within the household, food was freely shared, and correspondingly, a co-resident could ask for a material object. These requests, however, were not always granted. A common excuse was to say that the object was promised to someone having a stronger claim. Despite these evasions, the patterns of gift-giving created a constant circulation of food and objects throughout the village.

Inheritance

Transmission of property was accomplished chiefly through trade and gift. There is no information on the disposal of the material possessions of the deceased. The only available data on inheritance concern the office of chief and the possession of certain songs sung at the *ole* (manioc) ceremony. The former was inherited patrilineally and will be discussed later. The ceremonial songs were inherited either through the mother's brother or the mother's father. Thus, old Matiwana would some day teach his *ole* songs to Amanatain, his daughter's eldest son. Nitvary, another of the three men who knew *ole* songs, learned them from Jawaku's father, who was his mother's brother. Since cross-cousin marriage was practiced, Jawaku might marry Nitvary's sister, and their child would inherit the songs from Nitvary. In this way the *ole* songs returned to the direct patrilineal line every other generation.

In response to careful questioning, Quain was assured that these songs could be obtained only from the mother's brother and mother's father, and not from the father or the father's brother. The combination of this matrilineal trait and patrilineal elements is characteristic of the bilaterality in upper Xingú culture.

The Trade Game

The trade game was a mechanism of inter- and intra-community distribution. Even more importantly it provided a framework for social participation, leisure time relaxation, and general enjoyment. As such it was one of the few integrating factors in Trumaí society.

Afternoons, especially rainy afternoons, were dull times in the Trumaí village. In Quain's words, "These people are bored but don't realize it! Wrestling provides some diversion, but nothing quickens spirits more than a brisk trade game (*kawirxo*). All that is needed is for one of the men to stride through the village with a bundle of goods to trade and suggest a *kawirxo*. Shouts go up on all sides, everybody crowds into one of the houses, and the game is on. Enthusiasm is even greater when there are visitors in the village."

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ted plants as beans and gourds and for the flat manioc flour cake, the *beijú*, are almost identical with the corresponding Kamayurá words.

The pre-contact history of the Trumaí is largely inferential and their recent history is poorly documented. The white explorers and scientists who visited the upper Xingú frequently did not encounter the Trumaí, and almost never visited their villages. Historical data indicate that in von den Steinen's time and possibly as late as the 1931 trip of Petrullo the Trumaí lived in two villages. Von den Steinen showed an abandoned Trumaí village, in substantially its present location, and another on the lower end of the Tsahuku, a network of waterways and lagoons west of and parallel to the Kuliseu River.[6] Although Meyer's map did not show this southern village in 1896,[7] it appears in Schmidt's map for 1901.[8] Petrullo encountered Trumaí, most probably of the southern village, on the west bank of the Kuliseu, between the locales of the Nahukwa and Mehinaku villages.[9] M. Moennich, one of a party of American missionaries who descended the Kuliseu in 1937, did not, however, note a Trumaí village near this site.[10] When Quain arrived in 1938 there was only one Trumaí village, which was located at the northern site. This would suggest that the southern village was abandoned in 1937–38, but it is possible that those Trumaí seen by Petrullo and Moennich were the same ones whom Quain visited.

The northern and southern villages mentioned in the literature are the only ones recorded. It is certain that since 1884 there have only been two communities, although each has been located in many different places. Unfortunately, the exact locations of the abandoned sites and their periods of occupation are not well known. Each of the old village locales had a name, and these designations are still known. Among them are Morena, Waniwani, Karajaja, Iakare, Jawpew, and Wahldat. Some of the names, such as Iakare, are obviously of Tupian origin. Jawpew was the name of the northern Trumaí village at the time of von den Steinen's expeditions. Karajaja was the last location before the one in which Quain resided. This site was located near the Kamayurá village on the Tsahuku and appears on Petrullo's map. The Trumaí said that it was a good village, but that they had to move because the Kamayurá and Auetí were practicing sorcery against them. The village to which they moved, and where Quain visited them, was named Anariatan.

People were often referred to by other Trumaí according to the village in which they were born. Thus, a *Wahldat jaxlo* was, literally, a son of Wahldat. Also, garden sites were most commonly named after an abandoned village. The old villages were looked on with reverence as the homes of the ancestors of the Trumaí. They were considered to be places of great interest, and Quain was repeatedly urged to visit them.

[6] *Ibid.*, 1897, p. 93. [7] Meyer 1897, Plate I. [8] Schmidt 1942.
[9] Petrullo 1932, p. 180. [10] Moennich 1942.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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CHAPTER FOUR

Religious Beliefs and Practices

182 771 829 The lapse of many religious practices and the lessening of interest in those aspects of culture that we classify as religion were striking features of this dying society. Older informants rememered the time when there were ceremonial masks, the flute house, and other traits that are still found among certain tribes of the upper Xingú. Indeed, if it were not for Matiwana's unusual age, the Trumaí would be even more lacking in ceremonial knowledge. Yet there seems to have been little regret on the part of either the older or younger generations for this culture loss. They shrugged it off, saying that their grandfathers had had such [177] practices, but that they did not. This indifference is not too surprising, since much of their religion was borrowed from their upper Xingú neighbors not too long ago.[1]

791 105 Despite the decline in interest in the ceremonial cycle and the disappearance of certain religious traits, the main outlines of Trumaí religion were still observable in Quain's time. Shamanism was still practiced extensively, but it was simple both in form and supporting ideology. Ceremonialism was related to subsistence and curing. The shaman's individualized power resulted in a specialization of religious functions as did the individual ownership of ceremonial songs and dances. Some Trumaí, like old Matiwana, were better versed in the [193] religious rites than others, but they did not constitute a priestly class. While no one person interceded with the supernatural on behalf of the [182] whole village, the group ceremonials provided a focal point for social participation and village cooperation, and many of them were undertaken by the community for the benefit of all.

Shamanism

756 [184] The shamanistic art of curing was known and employed by nearly all the adult males of the village, and in this sense parallels the practices recorded among the Kamayurá by Oberg.[2] There is, however, a type

[1] Kamayurá ceremonial and religious life, much of which was once shared by the Trumaí, is discussed by Oberg (1953) and Galvão (1949, 1950). The extent of Trumaí culture loss can be roughly inferred from these sources and from the work of the earlier ethnologists.

[2] Oberg 1953, p. 60.

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Deities and Mythology

The Trumaí were certainly not preoccupied with the supernatural. Quain makes no mention of the spirit owners of animal, plant, and fish species that figure so prominently in the Kamayurá belief system, nor does he speak of the "*ole* spirits" attributed to the Trumaí by Oberg.[8] Beliefs, which are a more covert part of culture, are particularly difficult for an ethnographer who lacks familiarity with the language to learn about, and it is understandable that Quain's notes are weak on this point.

Magic, except for sorcery, was not observed by Quain, unless shamanistic curing is considered a magical practice. No objects, such as charms or amulets, were thought to have a magical effect, and the already discarded ceremonial objects were the only inanimate items that could be said to have some inherent religious value. In short, the day-to-day world of the Trumaí was little influenced by extra-corporeal forces or personages. The deities were nearly all culture heroes and creators, who did their work in the dim past of the "grandfathers of all the Trumaí."

With some variation the mythology of the Trumaí was quite similar to that of the Kamayurá. The most important of the Trumaí creation deities was Sun (Atehle). This was not the visible, celestial sun. The Trumaí explained that the celestial sun was only the *ation* (pet) of the real Sun, who was important in all the creation myths. Sun no longer actively intervened in life, but in the days of the creation he was an anthropomorphic personage having great supernatural powers. Sun's mother was the wife of Panther (Fetde), who appears in the tales of the after life. This woman, in turn, was the daughter of Wamutsini, or Grandfather. The latter had an important part in the creation, for he was the original deity from whom the other supernaturals sprang. Wamutsini's daughter was not important in these stories.

The identity and character of Moon were ill-defined. At one time Moon was in the heavens with Sun, who, however, became angry with him and cast him out to his present isolated position. Moon was once eaten by Awalanaxe, a fish. Sun, upon learning of this, made a fishhook, caught Awalanaxe, and disembowelled him. Moon was found inside quite chewed up, but Sun molded him back into shape. A fly then crawled up the nostril of the unconscious Moon causing him to sneeze. He thought that he had merely been asleep, but Sun explained that he had been eaten.

Moon's sex was highly ambivalent, being a male in some tales and a female in others. He was not, however, important as a creator. Awalanaxe appeared frequently in the mythology as did Wakpanehene, another fish.

[8] Oberg 1953, p. 54.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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105 serious damage to the individual personality. Also, many individuals could not enact whole sets of kin-determined roles because they had no relatives of the proper complementary status. For example, parents-in-law normally exerted considerable influence and control over younger married couples, but hardly anyone in the village had such relatives. Similarly, cross-cousin marriage was the preferred union, but cross-cousins were generally unavailable. Moreover, because of the shortage of women, marriage came to be more a cause of conflict than a consolidator of kinship bonds.

105 Not only was the family world of the Trumaí crumbling, but all lines of authority and social control were weak. The Trumaí seemed unable to unite for such culturally approved purposes as economic cooperation or hospitality. Trumaí leadership, like that of many primitive peoples, was predicated on the existence of strong bonds of kinship, economic interdependence, and a general agreement on goals and policies. These preconditions were no longer found among the Trumaí. In this structural vacuum, the Trumaí chief was less and less able to cope with the growing self-assertiveness of certain men, and was increasingly forced into a neutral role. As the community weakened, his position weakened.

105 A number of reasons account for the factionalism which developed within the Trumaí village. Some are a function of personality, others of the diminished population. Obviously women were at a premium and many men were compelled to do without mates. The resultant competition was, as we have seen, a festering sore in the body politic. Connected with it, but having further ramifications, the bonds of kinship and the expected behavior between kinsmen underwent attrition and upset what social balance could have been achieved under more normal conditions. Indeed fear of the outside world more than internal forces of cohesion held the Trumaí community together.

Other integrative mechanisms in Trumaí culture were also disappearing. Conspicuous among them was the gradual abandonment of many elements in the Trumaí ceremonial cycle. (Significantly this left the highly individual practice of shamanism as the most active religious expression in Trumaí culture). In part, this loss may have been due to the inability of the Trumaí to amass a sufficiently large food surplus for the feasting that was required when visitors from other tribes were present. Not enough is known about the ritual of the Trumaí to warrant any broad generalizations on the effects of depopulation on ceremonial participation, but their numbers may well have been approaching the minimum necessary to carry out the rites. Only a few men who had depended heavily on one old man for their instruction possessed the requisite ceremonial knowledge. When this old man died, Trumaí culture must have suffered a severe blow. Younger men were little interested in learning the ritual and lore. Moreover, the small number of bearers of

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Trumaí culture and the shortness of their average life span must have seriously interfered with the instruction of the young. In addition, the very eclecticism of Trumaí culture militated against conservatism and is indicative of the low value which they placed on their own culture.

In the chapter on religion, the disinterest of the people in their religious activities was often noted. Such behavior may appear paradoxical, but ethnographic literature provides many instances of the decline of traditional belief systems in the face of cultural crisis. In the case of the Trumaí, disinterest in the religious sphere was closely related to disinterest in other aspects of their culture. The Trumaí world view had become a philosophy of despair. While depopulation was causing social and cultural disintegration, cultural factors in their turn were furthering depopulation. The Trumaí were set in a steady downward spiral.

In summary it can be said that, on the basis of Quain's notes, the Trumaí were an anxiety ridden people. They were extremely sensitive and their feelings were easily hurt. They demanded individual recognition and attention. They were disinclined to work in their own interest or to join with each other in community projects. Apathetic towards their own world, they were distrustful of the world outside. These observations find considerable confirmation in de Lima's comments on the Trumaí:

> The behavior of this tribe which lives today in a state of humiliation and withdrawal in the face of the other peoples, is quite different from that of the Tupians. They are extremely distrustful Indians; they do not have a frank and happy expression and no matter how long one lives with them they remain always shut off. They do not have the dynamism, nor the disposition to work of the Kamayurá.[6]

It seems certain that this personality structure was not a survival of their more prosperous pre-contact period, when the Trumaí enjoyed some renown as warriors, but was a product of the growing distress which emerged during the period when the their whole security system of the individual — kinship and community — was breaking down. Under the new circumstances the individual Trumaí was no longer lodged in the matrix of the extended family. No longer did the rules of kinship that had formerly guided interpersonal relations operate smoothly for him. No longer did a vigorous community intervene between him and the outside world. There was no strong family, community, or tradition with which he could identify himself. The weakening of the socio-cultural structure precipitated him into conflict with his fellows; and it caused him to transfer some of his dependence to other and stronger groups. And in this effort also, he was unsuccessful, for other tribes looked down upon him as a member of an irredeemably inferior group.

[6] De Lima 1949, p. 25.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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"Angry stylized quarreling is a legal device. The village hoots in derision at him whose argument is poor. The chief must be a master at this kind of argument, but all men and even women participate .... Though everyone makes speeches, it is only the chief who makes executive speeches. Quarrels have always been about women, with the exception of the one which occurred upon my arrival in the village (one party disapproved of me...). The chief does not interfere in personal quarrels. The other men sit quietly in the center of the village smoking and trying to disregard the quarrel, which may be going on over their very heads. When the contenders have retired from the village green, they are perfectly calm. The argument is suspended until it can be carried on publicly. There seem to be no secret alliances among the men.

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"Another thing I must mention is the complete lack of emotional content in religious ceremonies. These are mildly pleasant chores. Although their structure is designed for a public pageant, nobody pays attention."

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between the warlike Gé-speaking Suyá and the peaceful but overbearing Kamayurá, they were an easy prey to these tribes and to others more peripheral to the region, such as the Caiabí and Kayapó. The tribes the Trumaí feared most were those to the north. These included the Suyá, Yuruna, and an unidentified group. The Yuruna, located by Galvão on the Diauarum River, north of the Suyá, were said to have made raids on the headwater villages,[13] but nothing is known of any aggression by the unnamed tribe. There is definite documentation of numerous assaults by the Suyá, whose reputation for ferocity is unequalled in the area.

The Suyá villages are located several days journey to the north on the Suyá Missú River, and forays into the Kuluene-Kuliseu region have become relatively rare since the establishment of local airfields. Quain was of the opinion that the last Suyá raid on the Trumaí took place about twenty years ago when the brother of the Trumaí chief was killed. Two of Quain's informants had been captured by the Suyá as pre-pubescent boys. Suyá raids into the tributaries resulted in great destruction and von den Steinen reported a Trumaí village to have been recently burned and looted by them.[14]

The upper Xingú peoples were not always passive towards the Suyá. A revenge attack was once launched by the combined forces of the Kamayurá, Mehinaku, Waurá, and Trumaí. Their flotilla of twenty canoes assaulted and burned a Suyá village, starting another cycle of attacks and counter-attacks. This is the only known case of an inter-tribal alliance in war, but there have probably been others.

When Quain was with the Trumaí the memory of past attacks was still strong, and the mere mention of the Suyá was sufficient to cause great anxiety. Indicative of their feeling toward the Suyá is the Trumaí creation myth according to which the Sun made all tribes except the Suyá who are descended from snakes.

Among the Kuliseu tribes, the Kamayurá and Nahukwa were the two most feared. The former, especially, by small acts of aggression against the weakened Trumaí, had done great harm. As a result of the widespread hostility and distrust, Trumaí life was pervaded with insecurity. Tension always increased at night, and the slightest sound from the brush was enough to cause panic. Rumors of an impending attack were often brought to the village by visitors from other groups. These were generally false stories intended to frighten the Trumaí, but, reflecting the prevailing anxiety, they were always accepted as true.

The Kamayurá were the chief instigators of these tales. One visitor from the latter group told the Trumaí that the Kamayurá were coming to kill all of them as soon as Quain left. The Kamayurá attempted to

[13] Galvão 1952, p. 469.
[14] Von den Steinen 1897, p. 115.

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[8] Oberg 1953, p. 84.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Crow appeared as a trickster and, although not a creator deity, managed to bring forth new things in the process of his machinations. Waniwani, the name of an abandoned Trumaí village site, was also a village in the heavens — the home of a mythical person of the same name. Jemenary, Kelenewary, and Nane were three other mythological characters. The second was the sister's son (*deta*) of the first, and an inveterate trickster. Although they appear in a Trumaí tale of mythological times, they had no part in the creative process.

Rain (Ka'wixu) was apparently the only Trumaí deity capable of interfering with the world in its present form. Although he appeared as a character in the mythology, he was also believed to be the active agent behind rains and storms. The Trumaí were extremely frightened of thunder and lightning, and thought storms to be the result of someone's having antagonized Rain. During a violent equinoctial thunder storm, Aloari came rushing into Quain's house, imploring him to turn out his light and stop working as he was angering Rain. Despite their fear of displeasing Rain, the Trumaí on a few occasions tried to drive away the clouds. One man blew at the clouds to push them back, while Quain was told to fire his rifle to frighten Rain away.

There was also a class of malignant beings that were important as omens. The Trumaí could not look at a snake called *lesilesi*, seemingly the rattlesnake. Aloari said that shortly after he saw one, two of his brothers died. Jakwalu saw one while she was harvesting manioc in the garden, and it was generally believed that for this reason she would not live long. Quain was uncertain whether this was the immediate result of seeing the snake, or whether the snake was an omen that the Kamayurá were practicing witchcraft on her. Similarly, anyone seeing the *le*, a bird with a red forehead, would die. And finally there were sirens inhabiting the woods to the northeast of the Trumaí village. Their call exerted an attraction, and anyone seeing them or cohabiting with them would surely die. These women had long hair, wore bark cloth pubic coverings, and did not depilate. Significantly, the direction of their abode and their appearance correspond to those of Suyá women. Omens, such as cloud formations and canine howls, indicate the imminence of an enemy attack.

The Origin of Things

Most of the Trumaí mythology is devoted to explaining the origin of the natural world, people, and culture. The chief creator deities are Sun and Wamutsini.

In the beginning there was only Wamutsini. His origin is not explained, and he is probably thought to have always existed. He made daughters out of wood. One of them married Panther, who lived in the

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793 Milky Way, and gave birth to Sun and Moon; but whether Panther begot them is not known. No myth was found for the creation of the Earth, but the river waters were the result of a dispute between Sun and Wamutsini. In the region of the abandoned village of Morena there was a semicircular bay in which Wamutsini decided to take a bath.[9] He did not tell Sun of this place, as he was angry with him, and Sun, apparently in retaliation, told Crow to bring water, from which the rivers were formed. In other versions Moon and the *kate* fish also appear.

The region near Morena is important in the Trumaí myth cycle. In this section Waniwani stole Sun's wife and took her to his village. A sparse place in the brush nearby served Sun as a path to his bathing place. His house was also in the brush nearby, but no one had ever seen it, for fear of angering him.

Sun was responsible for many other features of the natural order. Sun shot the otter in the posterior, thus forming his anus; before this the otter could eliminate only through his mouth. He also made certain that man would get his work done by creating the gnat (*pejot*) which prevented the people from sleeping during the day. That man had to be so goaded into earning his subsistence is an interesting commentary on the economic ethic of the Trumaí.

Quain also recorded a number of stories of how human beings were created. In one, Awalanaxe Kute was the first human, but he swam in the water and was much like a fish. Wamutsini, who was dissatisfied with his form, baited a fishhook with a cigarette, caught him, and molded him into his present beautiful shape, as one Trumaí man explained while stroking his own body narcissistically. In another, the Sun made all people; and in still another the Sun made all good people out of arrows. (The Suyá were the offspring of a snake.) The Sun then distributed the land among the Kuluene-Kuliseu tribes, but the Suyá, who were left out, fled to their present home. The Bakairí and the white men were also made by the Sun. The Trumaí found it hard to understand why Quain did not observe rules of affinal avoidance, for "did not the Sun make the white men, too?"

There is also a myth in which Moon's wife is a Trumaí woman who was seduced by Sun. Trumaí children were born of this mating.

Sun also gave cultures to those whom he created. Long ago, Sun laid a bow, a pot, some beeswax, and a steel axe on the ground and told the Trumaí, Waurá, Kamayurá, and the white men to choose from among them. The Trumaí chose the beeswax, which made Sun angry with them. The Kamayurá chose the bow, and the Waurá, the pot. The white men

[9] Morena, the locale where Warputsini is said by the Trumaí to have created humanity, is, according to Oberg (1953, p. 49), claimed by the Kamayurá to have been the village where their Mávutsiné, the equivalent of the Trumaí Wamutsini, created the Kamayurá.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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took the axe, and this is why they have been able to build a great civilization. Indeed, white men, although first encountered in 1884, figure in many Trumaí myths. For instance, Waniwani once seduced Uluwa's wife and took her to the land of the white men, which was thought to lie either downstream near the Yuruna or beyond the headwaters of the Kuluene River.

Many ceremonies were first taught by Sun. He presented Maibu's deceased brother with a spear-thrower and taught him the spear-throwing contest. He also first made the masks which the Trumaí once used. The people of the area received cotton and tobacco from Sun, and he gave the fishtrap to the Mehinaku.

The foregoing creation myths collected by Quain were probably only a small part of the Trumaí cycle. Paradoxically, the historic legend of their migration into the area and the subsequent borrowing of culture elements from their neighbors would seem to negate the creation myths in which the Trumaí appear to have always lived in the upper Xingú area. Quain states that they have reconciled the inconsistencies, but he does not support this point with any concrete data. Undoubtedly this problem bothered the ethnographer far more than the Trumaí.

The After-Life

Waniwani, the village of the afterworld, was located in the heavens. In order to get there one had to travel the Milky Way. This was the abode of Panther, and the road was lined with many panthers who inflicted dangerous wounds on the wayfarers. After passing through this gamut, the dead entered the Trumaí village. Here many Trumaí resided, and the rivers and lagoons teemed with *kate* fish. These were usually caught by poisoning, as the *tawasi* tree grew in abundance. There was no death in this afterworld; it was only on earth that death was feared, said the Trumaí.

Jemenary and Kelenewary

The last of the Trumaí myths collected by Quain concerned Jemenary and his trickster nephew Kelenewary. This story, which has a decided Oedipus theme with the maternal uncle in the father role, was the only context in which these two appeared, and they cannot be identified further than to say that they were mythological beings who lived in the "long ago" of the Trumaí.

Jemenary was angry with Kelenewary because the latter, his *deta*, or sister's son, was sleeping with his wife. Kelenewary knew no shame, for a good Trumaí would never have done such a thing. Jemenary tried by a series of ruses to rid himself of his nephew. He ordered him to

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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773 gather some vegetable dye in a tree in which he had put a snake. The wily nephew made designs on his leg with the dye which caused the snake to fall out of the tree. He returned home and resumed his relations with his uncle's wife.

Jemenary then ordered Kelenewary to cross a river in which there was a fish that would surely eat him. The nephew suffered some bites, but these he cured by smearing with another vegetable dye. The infuriated uncle then sent him to the village of Rain, Kelenewary's cross-cousin, to get a highly prized wood which Rain guarded closely. Kelenewary arrived at Rain's village and repeatedly urged Rain to have sexual intercourse with his wife. After many wakeful nights, the couple, exhausted, fell into deep sleep. Kelenewary stole the wood, and returned to his uncle's house, where he continued to sleep with his uncle's wife.

Later, when the two men were building an eagle cage, Kelenewary, who was sitting on top of it, angered his uncle by saying that the eagle was no larger than one of his wife's pubic hairs. The enraged Jemenary released the vertical poles in the framework of the structure, catapulting the insolent nephew through the air and into the branches of a tree. Kelenewary was hurt, and Nane, a creature having a human form but capable of flying, carried him to his village. Under Nane's care, he drank medicines that restored him to health and caused him to grow to a tremendous size. The uncle, in despair, created the deer with the intention of having it kill his nephew. Kelenewary, however, lassoed the animal with his armband, and it killed the uncle instead. The opposition thus removed, the nephew returned to the embraces of his dead uncle's wife.

Lore and Learning

821 [775] The cosmology of the Trumaí was not very elaborate. Many stars and constellations were known and named. As noted above, the Milky Way entered into their beliefs of an after-life. Special attention was also given to the Hesperides, which may be the constellation that dates their ceremonial season at the end of the rains. Quain was told by Thomas Young, the missionary, that the planting time was determined by astral phenomena. Quain was not able to confirm this, but he noted that the Trumaí knew the proper time for burning the felled brush. This knowledge was important as the rains arrive suddenly, and once the brush becomes wet it is almost impossible to fire.

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805 824 825 Flora and fauna also served as markers of seasonal passage. One such sign was an insect that issued a shrill and pleasant whistle from dusk until far into the night in the weeks immediately preceding the rainy season.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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of specialist among the Trumaí that is not reported for the Kamayurá, and it is to this type that the term "shaman" is applied in the following description. The Trumaí "shaman," in this sense, is a man who possessed extra-visionary powers through which he could locate enemy war parties and "see" the afterworld.

The source of the visionary shaman's and also the curing shaman's power is revealed nowhere in Quains' notes, nor do we have any information on other aspects of the associated belief system. Oberg's Kamayurá informants told him that personal spirits are acquired during illness, and it is contact with one's spirit which gives the power.[3] This may well be true in Trumaí culture also, but the very fact that Quain did not perceive this, even granting the language barrier, might indicate a decline in the strength of animistic belief.

"Seeing," as Quain translates Trumaí shamanism, took place only at night. (Quain was told that if a shaman inhaled large quantities of tobacco smoke during the day, his temples would pound.) Since one of the main purposes of shamanism was to detect enemies and the fear of attack was greatest at night, it was then that knowledge was felt to be most necessary. Shamanism, it should be stressed, revolved around one of the central themes in Trumaí life, fear of other tribes; the pronouncements of the shaman were almost always that enemies were near and that danger was acute. These were generally believed without question by his audience.

The procedure was simple. When the talk in the men's circle stressed the possibility of a raid, the shaman was called upon to "see." A hushed silence fell over the group. Even Quain was asked to stop speaking and using his typewriter. The shaman turned his back on the assembly, inhaled large amounts of tobacco smoke, his only paraphernalia, and seemed to concentrate deeply. Quain could detect no traces of tobacco narcosis, but it was possible that a mild reaction was produced. After a few minutes of intense concentration, the shaman faced about and announced the results of his activity. This was usually to the effect that he had seen Suyá, or, less often, Bororo, Yuruna, or a tribe of the immediate region. A Trumaí shaman could also find lost articles, but this was secondary to "seeing" the enemy. One shaman claimed to have seen the land of the dead, but there was no suggestion that he had communicated with the deceased.

Only certain older men were visionary shamans. There is no evidence that women were admitted to the practice anywhere in the region. Inheritance of shamanistic power was nominally patrilineal. In 1938 there were three shamans: Yakuma, the chief's oldest biological brother, Aloari's brother Tun, and Matiwana. Tun was the most active practitioner, while Yakuma seldom "saw." Maibu said that the latter was

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

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took the axe, and this is why they have been able to build a great civilization. Indeed, white men, although first encountered in 1884, figure in many Trumaí myths. For instance, Waniwani once seduced Uluwa's wife and took her to the land of the white men, which was thought to lie either downstream near the Yuruna or beyond the headwaters of the Kuluene River.

Many ceremonies were first taught by Sun. He presented Maibu's deceased brother with a spear-thrower and taught him the spear-throwing contest. He also first made the masks which the Trumaí once used. The people of the area received cotton and tobacco from Sun, and he gave the fishtrap to the Mehinaku.

The foregoing creation myths collected by Quain were probably only a small part of the Trumaí cycle. Paradoxically, the historic legend of their migration into the area and the subsequent borrowing of culture elements from their neighbors would seem to negate the creation myths in which the Trumaí appear to have always lived in the upper Xingú area. Quain states that they have reconciled the inconsistencies, but he does not support this point with any concrete data. Undoubtedly this problem bothered the ethnographer far more than the Trumaí.

The After-Life

Waniwani, the village of the afterworld, was located in the heavens. In order to get there one had to travel the Milky Way. This was the abode of Panther, and the road was lined with many panthers who inflicted dangerous wounds on the wayfarers. After passing through this gamut, the dead entered the Trumaí village. Here many Trumaí resided, and the rivers and lagoons teemed with *kate* fish. These were usually caught by poisoning, as the *tawasi* tree grew in abundance. There was no death in this afterworld; it was only on earth that death was feared, said the Trumaí.

Jemenary and Kelenewary

The last of the Trumaí myths collected by Quain concerned Jemenary and his trickster nephew Kelenewary. This story, which has a decided Oedipus theme with the maternal uncle in the father role, was the only context in which these two appeared, and they cannot be identified further than to say that they were mythological beings who lived in the "long ago" of the Trumaí.

Jemenary was angry with Kelenewary because the latter, his *deta*, or sister's son, was sleeping with his wife. Kelenewary knew no shame, for a good Trumaí would never have done such a thing. Jemenary tried by a series of ruses to rid himself of his nephew. He ordered him to

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773 gather some vegetable dye in a tree in which he had put a snake. The wily nephew made designs on his leg with the dye which caused the snake to fall out of the tree. He returned home and resumed his relations with his uncle's wife.

Jemenary then ordered Kelenewary to cross a river in which there was a fish that would surely eat him. The nephew suffered some bites, but these he cured by smearing with another vegetable dye. The infuriated uncle then sent him to the village of Rain, Kelenewary's cross-cousin, to get a highly prized wood which Rain guarded closely. Kelenewary arrived at Rain's village and repeatedly urged Rain to have sexual intercourse with his wife. After many wakeful nights, the couple, exhausted, fell into deep sleep. Kelenewary stole the wood, and returned to his uncle's house, where he continued to sleep with his uncle's wife.

Later, when the two men were building an eagle cage, Kelenewary, who was sitting on top of it, angered his uncle by saying that the eagle was no larger than one of his wife's pubic hairs. The enraged Jemenary released the vertical poles in the framework of the structure, catapulting the insolent nephew through the air and into the branches of a tree. Kelenewary was hurt, and Nane, a creature having a human form but capable of flying, carried him to his village. Under Nane's care, he drank medicines that restored him to health and caused him to grow to a tremendous size. The uncle, in despair, created the deer with the intention of having it kill his nephew. Kelenewary, however, lassoed the animal with his armband, and it killed the uncle instead. The opposition thus removed, the nephew returned to the embraces of his dead uncle's wife.

Lore and Learning

821 [775] The cosmology of the Trumaí was not very elaborate. Many stars and constellations were known and named. As noted above, the Milky Way entered into their beliefs of an after-life. Special attention was also given to the Hesperides, which may be the constellation that dates their ceremonial season at the end of the rains. Quain was told by Thomas Young, the missionary, that the planting time was determined by astral phenomena. Quain was not able to confirm this, but he noted that the Trumaí knew the proper time for burning the felled brush. This knowledge was important as the rains arrive suddenly, and once the brush becomes wet it is almost impossible to fire.

[241] [805]

805 824 825 Flora and fauna also served as markers of seasonal passage. One such sign was an insect that issued a shrill and pleasant whistle from dusk until far into the night in the weeks immediately preceding the rainy season.

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Deities and Mythology

The Trumaí were certainly not preoccupied with the supernatural. Quain makes no mention of the spirit owners of animal, plant, and fish species that figure so prominently in the Kamayurá belief system, nor does he speak of the "*ole* spirits" attributed to the Trumaí by Oberg.[8] Beliefs, which are a more covert part of culture, are particularly difficult for an ethnographer who lacks familiarity with the language to learn about, and it is understandable that Quain's notes are weak on this point.

Magic, except for sorcery, was not observed by Quain, unless shamanistic curing is considered a magical practice. No objects, such as charms or amulets, were thought to have a magical effect, and the already discarded ceremonial objects were the only inanimate items that could be said to have some inherent religious value. In short, the day-to-day world of the Trumaí was little influenced by extra-corporeal forces or personages. The deities were nearly all culture heroes and creators, who did their work in the dim past of the "grandfathers of all the Trumaí."

With some variation the mythology of the Trumaí was quite similar to that of the Kamayurá. The most important of the Trumaí creation deities was Sun (Atehle). This was not the visible, celestial sun. The Trumaí explained that the celestial sun was only the *aton* (pet) of the real Sun, who was important in all the creation myths. Sun no longer actively intervened in life, but in the days of the creation he was an anthropomorphic personage having great supernatural powers. Sun's mother was the wife of Panther (Fetde), who appears in the tales of the after life. This woman, in turn, was the daughter of Wamutsini, or Grandfather. The latter had an important part in the creation, for he was the original deity from whom the other supernaturals sprang. Wamutsini's daughter was not important in these stories.

The identity and character of Moon were ill-defined. At one time Moon was in the heavens with Sun, who, however, became angry with him and cast him out to his present isolated position. Moon was once eaten by Awalanaxe, a fish. Sun, upon learning of this, made a fishhook, caught Awalanaxe, and disembowelled him. Moon was found inside quite chewed up, but Sun molded him back into shape. A fly then crawled up the nostril of the unconscious Moon causing him to sneeze. He thought that he had merely been asleep, but Sun explained that he had been eaten.

Moon's sex was highly ambivalent, being a male in some tales and a female in others. He was not, however, important as a creator. Awalanaxe appeared frequently in the mythology as did Wakpanehene, another fish.

[8] Oberg 1953, p. 84.

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Crow appeared as a trickster and, although not a creator deity, managed to bring forth new things in the process of his machinations. Waniwani, the name of an abandoned Trumaí village site, was also a village in the heavens — the home of a mythical person of the same name. Jemenary, Kelenewary, and Nane were three other mythological characters. The second was the sister's son (*deta*) of the first, and an inveterate trickster. Although they appear in a Trumaí tale of mythological times, they had no part in the creative process.

Rain (Ka'wixu) was apparently the only Trumaí deity capable of interfering with the world in its present form. Although he appeared as a character in the mythology, he was also believed to be the active agent behind rains and storms. The Trumaí were extremely frightened of thunder and lightning, and thought storms to be the result of someone's having antagonized Rain. During a violent equinoctial thunder storm, Aloari came rushing into Quain's house, imploring him to turn out his light and stop working as he was angering Rain. Despite their fear of displeasing Rain, the Trumaí on a few occasions tried to drive away the clouds. One man blew at the clouds to push them back, while Quain was told to fire his rifle to frighten Rain away.

There was also a class of malignant beings that were important as omens. The Trumaí could not look at a snake called *lesilesi*, seemingly the rattlesnake. Aloari said that shortly after he saw one, two of his brothers died. Jakwalu saw one while she was harvesting manioc in the garden, and it was generally believed that for this reason she would not live long. Quain was uncertain whether this was the immediate result of seeing the snake, or whether the snake was an omen that the Kamayurá were practicing witchcraft on her. Similarly, anyone seeing the *le*, a bird with a red forehead, would die. And finally there were sirens inhabiting the woods to the northeast of the Trumaí village. Their call exerted an attraction, and anyone seeing them or cohabiting with them would surely die. These women had long hair, wore bark cloth pubic coverings, and did not depilate. Significantly, the direction of their abode and their appearance correspond to those of Suyá women. Omens, such as cloud formations and canine howls, indicate the imminence of an enemy attack.

The Origin of Things

Most of the Trumaí mythology is devoted to explaining the origin of the natural world, people, and culture. The chief creator deities are Sun and Wamutsini.

In the beginning there was only Wamutsini. His origin is not explained, and he is probably thought to have always existed. He made daughters out of wood. One of them married Panther, who lived in the

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Diagnosis and Treatment of Disease

Illness was believed to be caused primarily by witchcraft and, secondarily, by the breaking of a taboo or by contagion. Headaches, bloated stomach (*pihl*) and stomach aches were among the common symptoms of bewitchment. The tremendous fear of black magic probably added greatly to the severity of these afflictions. During Quain's stay the women appeared to complain more of sorcery as a cause of their illnesses than did the men, but this self-diagnosis was not always accepted.

Trumaí concepts regarding contagion were generally loose, and they often fused with witchcraft beliefs. Contagion was acknowledged to be a possible cause of illness, but if death followed, it would in all probability be laid to sorcery. The Trumaí knew that epidemics of pulmonary diseases were associated with the coming of white men, and they were especially worried that when the rainy season arrived Quain would give them coughs and fevers. Indeed, one night when Quain complained of illness and retired to his hammock with a headache, this eventuality was vigorously discussed.

The Trumaí called such a threat *tun*, a word that can be translated only as a malignant influence causing disease. *Tun* was said to exist around sick people or in places where there was known to be danger of contamination. Thus, when several of the people of Jakwanari's household were sick, everyone avoided the house, for it was full of *tun*. Aloari said that the waterfront, also, was full of *tun*. He preferred to bathe from a pottery vessel outside his house. Ringworm, however, was known to be caused by natural means.

The word *okei*, while referring to sorcery under certain conditions, was also a general term for medicinal preparations. Thus, *okei* of various kinds were used in different stages of the life crisis rituals and also in the treatment of various ailments. Roots were extensively used for medicinal purposes. Maibu rubbed his wife's head with the extract of a root (*ipox*) when she had a headache. Another root (*murukuyu*) supplied the basic ingredient for eye drops, and still another was prescribed for ringworm.

The Trumaí were subject to severe boils which were treated by piercing. This was a woman's specialty, and it was usually done by the wife or a close relative of the afflicted person. All other curing, both secular and supernatural, was done by men. Herbal medicines were used exclusively for such ailments as ringworm, but most cures involved both botanical and supernatural means used in conjunction.

Illness was treated by both individual curers and group ceremonies. The practice of individual shamanistic curing, known as *jau'kath*, had much in common with similar arts throughout South America. The main techniques employed were tobacco smoke and sucking. Great

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He then started a song about the post in which he was joined by Nitvary and the women. After two repetitions, the women poured a bowl of the soup on Matiwana's head and shoulders, making a dripping mess of him. He retired amid general laughter. The second bowl of soup was then poured over the pole. A full explanation of the beliefs surrounding the *ole* posts was not obtained.

Due to the fact that Quain had only recently arrived in the village when the ceremony was held, there is also a lack of clarity in the system of relationships known as *ole aton*. The word "*aton*" means "pet" in Trumaí, but in the present context it applies to a temporary ceremonial identification between people, and between people and the *ole* posts. The interpersonal ties set up were only between persons of opposite sex. However, a man could have more than one woman for *aton*, and vice versa.

Kinship may be the determinant of these ties, but the data are inconclusive. Interestingly, the greatest number of *ole aton* relationships existed between people of the previously mentioned pairs of houses, suggesting a ceremonial reinforcement of this moiety-like arrangement.

Except for reciprocal gift-giving obligations, nothing is known of the behavioral roles called for by these connections. The owners of the *ole* posts were said to have their particular posts for *atons*. Their chief ceremonial duties were to peel and paint the pole, and supply it with food offerings. It may be hypothesized that the posts represent certain spirits with which individuals are identified, perhaps as the result of shamanistic experiences, as described by Oberg for the Kamayurá.[6]

During the *ole* ceremony, as during the cure described above, Quain was impressed by the lack of interest in the proceedings. Those who were not part of the immediate activity sat and smoked, indulging in the usual topics of conversation. The loose patterning and secularity which characterized the ritual bespoke the general lassitude that permeated all aspects of the culture.

The Piquí Ceremony

The *piquí (tsinon)* ceremony occurred at the end of the harvest of that fruit, during the first half of the rainy season. It was similar to the *ole* celebration, but not as lengthy nor as important. Quain's information on the festival, obtained from Aloari, is very limited. Jakwanari, the main functionary, occupied a position similar to that of Matiwana and Nitvary in the *ole* ceremony. As Aloari phrased it, "Jakwanari had *tsinon* as *aton*." There was house-to-house dancing by the women, accompanied by singing of a certain series of songs. At the end of the dancing Jakwanari's wife made a large quantity of *t'ak*, the *piquí* flour cake, which

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

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but the frequent repetitions and the small number of pitches made accompaniment possible, and their voices fell consistently into the fourth interval below those of the men. The women, however, enjoyed their role thoroughly and gave far better support than the men, who made little effort to coordinate their activities. 796 243 533

The songs were arranged in a series of three verses. Each time a new house was entered, the singer started a new series. Matiwana's songs were more elaborate than Nitvary's. Occasionally the old man would make a mistake and have to start the verse over again, but these lapses merely amused him. The only musical instrument used was the tapir hoof rattle. [534]

Quain gives no detailed information on the dances involved, but apparently they were simple, and perhaps partially improvised. Nitvary was the sole person to take special pains with his toilet before leading a dance. At such a time he usually wore a feather headdress and painted his body ornately. [535] [302]

One of the more important parts of the *ole* ceremony was the complex of activities surrounding the *ole* posts. A few days after the ceremony began several poles were brought into the clearing just outside the village, and the bark was peeled from them. They were rubbed with white clay and painted in colored designs. Each man placed the pole he had decorated upon his shoulders and brought it into the village with shouts and singing. With the poles on their shoulders, they danced about the village, finally placing their burdens upright in holes that had been dug previously in the village plaza. The children helped by packing dirt around them. The women then smeared red *urucú* dye on the bases of the poles and just below the upper ends. Tufts of cotton were put on top by both men and women. An offering in the form of fish on *beijú* was placed in front of the posts. Later in the afternoon, and early every afternoon for the next two weeks, the men ate together among these poles. Their attitude in this ceremonial milieu was certainly not one of special reverence, for they draped two blankets Quain had given them over the posts for shade. 796 243 [386] [782]

Nearly every day additional food offerings were placed in front of the posts. One post was given special attention. This was Nukekerehe, which was said to be malignant. However, fear of Nukekerehe was mixed with jokes. Quain was told one night that the men would not go to bed until he did, for if he stayed up long Nukekerehe would surely eat him. Weeks later, when the posts were pulled up and brought into the houses of their owners, the man carrying this pole stamped his feet at the children and pretended anger, much to everyone's amusement. On one occasion Matiwana performed a ritual in which he was apparently acting the part of Nukekerehe. He made wrathful noises and jumped about in front of the post, before which were two bowls of manioc soup. [782] 796 243 532 [247]

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because she was his sister-in-law. Mayuva, however, was afraid of Nitvary, as the latter had close ties with the Kamayurá and had threatened Mayuva with witchcraft at their hands. After Nitvary returned from a trip to the Kamayurá village, Mayuva complained of severe headaches and said he was going to die. Although he denied to Quain that his condition was due to Kamayurá sorcery, the threats against him apparently had the desired result: a short time later Kuyafi moved into Nitvary's house. The union last only two days, for Nitvary's jealous wife drove her out in a fit of anger. The field, it would seem, was clear for Oirupa, the third suitor.

Oirupa, however, had been trying to marry Kuyafi for years. Her father, Matiwana, refused to give his consent and Oirupa, in revenge, was said to have killed two of Matiwana's children by witchcraft. Relations between their families were understandably strained, and they were further aggravated by the marriage of Matiwana's son Yati and Oirupa's sister Kerami, which occurred during Quain's stay. This union was unhappy and short-lived. When Kerami left him, Yati and his father held Oirupa and his co-resident affinals, Tun and Aloari, responsible. Yati bitterly asserted that he (and Matiwana) would go to live among his mother's people, the Kuikuru of the upper Kuluene. There, he said, women were much easier to get.

With this background of conflict and suspicion, it is not surprising that the quarrel again broke out in earnest when Oirupa tried to seduce Kuyafi. Angered by her rejection he threw *piqui* pits at her. In the afternoon Matiwana spoke out against Oirupa from his house. (This was proper behavior, since a parent is expected to take his offspring's part in such disputes.) That evening the two men indulged in the usual loud shouting and wrestled with barely restrained hostility. Kuyafi added her bit from the house as did another of Matiwana's daughters. The other men pretended indifference. Yati remained silent, although he was vitally interested in the dispute; for, besides being Matiwana's son, he was involved in an enduring respect relationship with his former brother-in-law, even after his marriage was dissolved. Public opinion, however, was on the side of Matiwana, for Oirupa had committed an offense by hitting Kuyafi with the pits, and he had also threatened to use witchcraft. To this last Matiwana tauntingly replied that had Oirupa's witchcraft been really effective, he would have been dead long ago. As of the time Quain left the Trumaí, Kuyafi's future was still undecided.

The Men's Circle

The men's circle served a number of functions. It was the place in which initiated males gathered, talked, argued, and smoked. It was not taboo to young boys, as it was to women, but youngsters rarely joined the group, and they never participated in any of its activities.

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Jakwanari then presented to the dancers as payment. In another part of the ceremony, a gourd of the *piqui* fruit drink was poured on Jakwanari in the same manner that the manioc gruel was poured on Matiwana during the *ole* festival.

The Spear-Throwing Contest

The spear-throwing contest involved intertribal participation and was completely secular. The core of the celebration, which took place at the end of the rainy season, was a duel between rival teams representing the tribes of the area. The purpose of the duel was for a member of the team on the offensive to strike a member of the defending team with a blunt-ended spear propelled by an *atlatl*, or spear-thrower. The defendant held a few sticks vertically, one end resting on the ground, and tried to deflect the oncoming spear with them. The distance between the two was about twenty paces and hits were frequently scored. After each turn, the defender went on the offensive. The games were conducted in a spirit of friendship and festivity. Bruises, some of which must have been severe, were compensated for by gift exchanges.

The participants painted their bodies elaborately for the combat. One informant erroneously stated that the masks for which the area is famous (but which were no longer made by the Trumaí) were worn during one part of the festival.[1] Intertribal wrestling matches were also held at this gathering.

The Bull Roarer

Information on the defunct bull roarer rites, as for other ceremonies, is extremely meagre. As the Trumaí express it, they have "buried the *kulh*" (bull roarer), but most of the adult men knew the ritual connected with it and remembered when it was still in use. The Trumaí formerly went to the Kamayurá village and took part in the ceremony there. One man told Quain that dancing in the Trumaí village preceded the ritual, whereupon they all went to the Kamayurá village and "did things that the women cannot see." Then, he said, there was a great deal of wrestling and copulation. Yati, Maibu, and Tun played a ceremonial role known only to them, while Yati, Oirupa, and Nitvary sang certain songs at night when everyone was asleep. The ceremonial flutes found throughout the upper Xingú are not mentioned in Quain's notes. Apparently, they were no longer used by the Trumaí.

[1] These masks are worn during a ceremony called the *jakui* by the Kamayurá, which, according to Galvão (1950, p. 385.) takes place in the same season, thus explaining the confusion.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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of specialist among the Trumaí that is not reported for the Kamayurá, and it is to this type that the term "shaman" is applied in the following description. The Trumaí "shaman," in this sense, is a man who possessed extra-visionary powers through which he could locate enemy war parties and "see" the afterworld.

The source of the visionary shaman's and also the curing shaman's power is revealed nowhere in Quains' notes, nor do we have any information on other aspects of the associated belief system. Oberg's Kamayurá informants told him that personal spirits are acquired during illness, and it is contact with one's spirit which gives the power.[3] This may well be true in Trumaí culture also, but the very fact that Quain did not perceive this, even granting the language barrier, might indicate a decline in the strength of animistic belief.

"Seeing," as Quain translates Trumaí shamanism, took place only at night. (Quain was told that if a shaman inhaled large quantities of tobacco smoke during the day, his temples would pound.) Since one of the main purposes of shamanism was to detect enemies and the fear of attack was greatest at night, it was then that knowledge was felt to be most necessary. Shamanism, it should be stressed, revolved around one of the central themes in Trumaí life, fear of other tribes; the pronouncements of the shaman were almost always that enemies were near and that danger was acute. These were generally believed without question by his audience.

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[3] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

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still too young to "see," but that when he was older he would learn, since his father was a shaman. Aloari said that he, too, would learn when he was old, as would his son Tsirikoan. Matiwana would instruct Aloari and would receive a payment for this tutelage. Indicative of a possible looseness of inheritance was the fact that Matiwana's son Yati was nowhere mentioned as a prospective shaman.

Dreams were considered to be a way of "seeing" while sleeping. This was known as *ohltaxer*. Dreams were taken seriously, at least by the dreamer. Aloari fully believed that the Waurá would come after he had dreamed it. And Maibu was convinced that he should make the trip to the Indian post on the Paranatinga River because he had dreamed that Climaco, the agent, liked him very much and would give him a rifle. However, individual dreams were not a matter of community concern or interest. Village action was taken on the basis of shamanistic "seeing" only.

Witchcraft

The only known sorcerer in the Trumaí village was Oirupa, the brother-in-law of Aloari. Oirupa was said by one man to have learned witchcraft (*okei*) from the Nahukwa, who, with the other Cariban tribes, were dreaded for their black magic. Oirupa's knowledge made him one of the most hated men in the village, but no action was taken against him for fear of incurring his enmity. Also, there have been no reports of the execution of sorcerers in the upper Xingú, and, from all indications, this mode of retaliation is not customary.

When someone fell ill and witchcraft was suspected, the guilt was usually imputed to a neighboring tribe. It was said that the Trumaí had to leave their old village site near the Kamayurá because the latter were killing them off with witchcraft. Sorcery was probably often practiced against other groups by the Trumaí, and the converse was always feared. Oirupa refused to speak above a whisper one night when the Aueti were said to be using black magic on the Trumaí.

It was Quain's belief that witchcraft was a substitute for open violence among the people of the area; significantly, witchcraft was not practiced by the people of the upper Xingú against the Suyá and other hostile tribes outside the Basin.[4] Intertribal black magic functioned as a check upon violence within the village as well. Certainly, it was more conducive to social order to attribute sorcery to another tribe than to some member of the small and already disrupted Trumaí community.

[4] Cf. Galvão 1949; Oberg 1953.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Crow appeared as a trickster and, although not a creator deity, managed to bring forth new things in the process of his machinations. Waniwani, the name of an abandoned Trumaí village site, was also a village in the heavens — the home of a mythical person of the same name. Jemenary, Kelenewary, and Nane were three other mythological characters. The second was the sister's son (*deta*) of the first, and an inveterate trickster. Although they appear in a Trumaí tale of mythological times, they had no part in the creative process.

Rain (Ka'wixu) was apparently the only Trumaí deity capable of interfering with the world in its present form. Although he appeared as a character in the mythology, he was also believed to be the active agent behind rains and storms. The Trumaí were extremely frightened of thunder and lightning, and thought storms to be the result of someone's having antagonized Rain. During a violent equinoctial thunder storm, Aloari came rushing into Quain's house, imploring him to turn out his light and stop working as he was angering Rain. Despite their fear of displeasing Rain, the Trumaí on a few occasions tried to drive away the clouds. One man blew at the clouds to push them back, while Quain was told to fire his rifle to frighten Rain away.

There was also a class of malignant beings that were important as omens. The Trumaí could not look at a snake called *lesilesi*, seemingly the rattlesnake. Aloari said that shortly after he saw one, two of his brothers died. Jakwalu saw one while she was harvesting manioc in the garden, and it was generally believed that for this reason she would not live long. Quain was uncertain whether this was the immediate result of seeing the snake, or whether the snake was an omen that the Kamayurá were practicing witchcraft on her. Similarly, anyone seeing the *le*, a bird with a red forehead, would die. And finally there were sirens inhabiting the woods to the northeast of the Trumaí village. Their call exerted an attraction, and anyone seeing them or cohabiting with them would surely die. These women had long hair, wore bark cloth pubic coverings, and did not depilate. Significantly, the direction of their abode and their appearance correspond to those of Suyá women. Omens, such as cloud formations and canine howls, indicate the imminence of an enemy attack.

The Origin of Things

Most of the Trumaí mythology is devoted to explaining the origin of the natural world, people, and culture. The chief creator deities are Sun and Wamutsini.

In the beginning there was only Wamutsini. His origin is not explained, and he is probably thought to have always existed. He made daughters out of wood. One of them married Panther, who lived in the

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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It was Quain's good fortune that a lunar eclipse occurred while he was still in the company of the Trumaí who were escorting him back to civilization. On about November 7, 1938, the moon eclipsed shortly after it rose. When it was first noticed, one man asked Quain to fire his gun. Another danced and shot a burning arrow at the moon. 921 789

The eclipse lasted for more than an hour, and during this time the Indians refused to proceed further. It was necessary to frighten away whatever was eating the moon. To right the disturbance of the natural harmony, Maibu drew himself up to his full stature and addressed the moon at great length. All the tribes in the area, Quain was told, were taking similar measures.

The eclipse was thought to be a harbinger of evil. One man decided to return home in the belief that now the white men would kill him. Yati, who had an infected hand, was sad because Matiwana, his father, would think by this sign that he, Yati, had been "killed" by Mehinaku witchcraft. As Yati's hand grew worse, the rest of the party began to believe that the eclipse was caused by old Matiwana's tears. [787]

Seasons were recognized as "sunny times" and "rainy times," and the number of moons and their phases were used as time-markers. Long periods were reckoned as "when my father was small" or "when I was a boy;" short periods by adding up the passing nights. This latter method was ineffectual for anything after ten days, as ten marked the upper limit of Trumaí counting. 805 [802]

Enumeration of objects was shown by holding up the appropriate combination of fingers. There were words for the numbers one through ten, but ten also signified "a great many." Large quantities could be expressed by gesture as well. When Maibu wanted to indicate many *beijá*, he held up his hand to their height when stacked. 802

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Deities and Mythology

The Trumaí were certainly not preoccupied with the supernatural. Quain makes no mention of the spirit owners of animal, plant, and fish species that figure so prominently in the Kamayurá belief system, nor does he speak of the "*ole* spirits" attributed to the Trumaí by Oberg.[8] Beliefs, which are a more covert part of culture, are particularly difficult for an ethnographer who lacks familiarity with the language to learn about, and it is understandable that Quain's notes are weak on this point.

Magic, except for sorcery, was not observed by Quain, unless shamanistic curing is considered a magical practice. No objects, such as charms or amulets, were thought to have a magical effect, and the already discarded ceremonial objects were the only inanimate items that could be said to have some inherent religious value. In short, the day-to-day world of the Trumaí was little influenced by extra-corporeal forces or personages. The deities were nearly all culture heroes and creators, who did their work in the dim past of the "grandfathers of all the Trumaí."

With some variation the mythology of the Trumaí was quite similar to that of the Kamayurá. The most important of the Trumaí creation deities was Sun (Atehle). This was not the visible, celestial sun. The Trumaí explained that the celestial sun was only the *aton* (pet) of the real Sun, who was important in all the creation myths. Sun no longer actively intervened in life, but in the days of the creation he was an anthropomorphic personage having great supernatural powers. Sun's mother was the wife of Panther (Fetde), who appears in the tales of the after life. This woman, in turn, was the daughter of Wamutsini, or Grandfather. The latter had an important part in the creation, for he was the original deity from whom the other supernaturals sprang. Wamutsini's daughter was not important in these stories.

The identity and character of Moon were ill-defined. At one time Moon was in the heavens with Sun, who, however, became angry with him and cast him out to his present isolated position. Moon was once eaten by Awalanaxe, a fish. Sun, upon learning of this, made a fishhook, caught Awalanaxe, and disembowelled him. Moon was found inside quite chewed up, but Sun molded him back into shape. A fly then crawled up the nostril of the unconscious Moon causing him to sneeze. He thought that he had merely been asleep, but Sun explained that he had been eaten.

Moon's sex was highly ambivalent, being a male in some tales and a female in others. He was not, however, important as a creator. Awalanaxe appeared frequently in the mythology as did Wakpanehene, another fish.

[8] Oberg 1953, p. 54.

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CHAPTER FOUR

Religious Beliefs and Practices

182 771 829 The lapse of many religious practices and the lessening of interest in those aspects of culture that we classify as religion were striking features of this dying society. Older informants rememered the time when there were ceremonial masks, the flute house, and other traits that are still found among certain tribes of the upper Xingú. Indeed, if it were not for Matiwana's unusual age, the Trumaí would be even more lacking in ceremonial knowledge. Yet there seems to have been little regret on the part of either the older or younger generations for this culture loss. They shrugged it off, saying that their grandfathers had had such [177] practices, but that they did not. This indifference is not too surprising, since much of their religion was borrowed from their upper Xingú neighbors not too long ago.[1]

771 105 Despite the decline in interest in the ceremonial cycle and the disappearance of certain religious traits, the main outlines of Trumaí religion were still observable in Quain's time. Shamanism was still practiced extensively, but it was simple both in form and supporting ideology. Ceremonialism was related to subsistence and curing. The shaman's individualized power resulted in a specialization of religious functions as did the individual ownership of ceremonial songs and dances. Some Trumaí, like old Matiwana, were better versed in the [193] religious rites than others, but they did not constitute a priestly class. While no one person interceded with the supernatural on behalf of the [182] whole village, the group ceremonials provided a focal point for social participation and village cooperation, and many of them were undertaken by the community for the benefit of all.

Shamanism

756 [184] The shamanistic art of curing was known and employed by nearly all the adult males of the village, and in this sense parallels the practices recorded among the Kamayurá by Oberg.[2] There is, however, a type

[1] Kamayurá ceremonial and religious life, much of which was once shared by the Trumaí, is discussed by Oberg (1953) and Galvão (1949, 1950). The extent of Trumaí culture loss can be roughly inferred from these sources and from the work of the earlier ethnologists.

[2] Oberg 1953, p. 60.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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clouds of tobacco smoke were first blown over the affected area by the curer who then, with noisy inhalations, sucked that part of the body in which the ailment appeared to be localized. Insofar as Quain was able to determine, no foreign objects were "extracted," and he was not given any explanation as to why the treatment worked.

Knowledge of curing was widespread among the men. All the men knew how to use botanicals, and over half, all said to have been taught by Matiwana, knew the art of *jau'kath*. Men cured their wives, children, or other close blood relatives. When Aloari was treating his son's ringworm he was asked by Quain whether he would also treat a young boy who was only indirectly related. Aloari refused because the boy had closer kinsmen who could perform this act. Kayaru developed a swollen breast, and it was Yanahi, her sister's son, who performed *jau'kath* on it. All men treated the members of their biological families with medicines, but those who did not know the shamanistic cure relied on a practitioner from outside the immediate family.

Matiwana treated his son Yati without recompense, but when his daughter's husband became ill, the latter paid him for the cure with a pot. The kinship ties by which curing was free to certain relatives probably corresponded closely to the pattern of gift-giving obligations. Payments for medical treatment were called *okei pop* (medicine gift). Quain was usually given small payments for the many cures he performed for the Trumaí. In no case could it be said that any curer derived a significant income from his services.

Group Curing Ceremony

The only time that Quain witnessed the group curing ceremony (*kevere*) was on an occasion two weeks after his arrival. He noted the formal aspects carefully, but he was unable to ascertain their meanings, since his command of the language at that time was so meagre.

Maibu's wife, Matavitsa, was sick and wasted when Quain arrived in the village. Her husband had been treating her for some time by the shamanistic means of tobacco smoke and sucking, but with little success. It was decided to hold a ceremonial cure, although shamanistic techniques were not ruled out. Nearly all the adult men of the village gathered in Maibu's house for the ritual, which lasted for three hours. No women were admitted, and the door was kept closed. The *kevere* was strictly prohibited to females, and the men would not even talk of it in their presence. The women seemed to regard Quain's status as doubtful, for Maibu's sister told him that he would die if he entered. He refused to be dissuaded, and upon entering was motioned to a seat.

The men were ranged in a broad semi-circle along the side of the house opposite the sick woman's hammock. Matiwana, who was in charge of

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Matiwana, who was in charge of
the proceedings, was seated somewhere near the center; Maibu, the husband of the sick woman, at one end of the line. Matiwana was chanting while the others merely shouted words at irregular intervals. Each man held a rattle in one hand and a branch with leaves in the other, except for two who held a branch in each hand. Approaching Matavitsa's hammock in succession, and, with arms extended, each stamped on his heels, causing his rattle and leaves to shake, as he moved up and down the length of the sick woman's body several times. This done, he passed the rattle and leaves from her head to her feet, and then clapped the two objects together so as to suggest that he was brushing off something undesirable. He repeated this sequence two to four times, and before taking his seat, he carefully picked up all the leaves that had fallen to the floor.

While awaiting their turns, the other men rubbed their rattles against their forearms and kept up a steady, disorganized chant. They also smoked, but this apparently was not part of the ceremony.

Turns started at one end of the line and, when the other end was reached, the next series began there. A pause was observed between each series. Some variation was to be noted. One man passed his leaves under Matavitsa's hammock, while another gave special attention to her head. Maibu, during one turn, sucked in the area of her navel.

Quain noted that during the ceremony "there was an amazing lack of affective tension. The men seemed inattentive and disinterested." He was able to ask questions about the ceremony while it was going on, for not everyone participated. Paradoxically, one of the active performers was Oirupa, who was suspected of having brought about Matavitsa's condition through witchcraft.

The Ole Ceremony

In the Trumaí village no ritual was more important or consumed more time than the *ole* (manioc) ceremony.[5] Its purpose was essentially to insure an abundant manioc crop, and much of the symbolism involved was clearly oriented around the concept of fertility. The supernatural techniques that were employed were practiced almost daily from the middle of August to the end of September. (It will be remembered that planting lasted from mid-September until early October.) The whole ceremony was loosely knit. After it started it reached no special climax,

[5] Oberg (1953, p. 56) describes a Kamayurá ceremony which also takes place at the beginning of the rainy season and, in form, closely resembles the Trumaí *ole* ritual. He calls it, however, the *Kwarúp*, a "special ceremony in commemoration of the dead," and states that the Kamayurá manioc ceremony was not held during his stay in the field. If the ceremonies observed by Quain in the Trumaí village and by Oberg among the Kamayurá are not the same, a great similarity of ritual forms for different religious purposes is indicated.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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but continued at the same pace for about three weeks, and then slowly died down. It would be impossible to say on what day the *ole* ceremony ended.

When the *ole* cycle began it consisted of little except songs and dances. These were usually held shortly before daybreak and at night. About a week afterwards decorated posts were erected in the village center. These "*ole* posts" served as "shrines" to which food offerings were made. In the meantime, dancing and singing went on almost every day. On some days two or three *ole* songs and dances were performed; on others there was little activity.

The intensity of the ritual varied with the number of people in the village and according to whim. The participants changed from day to day, and some took part more often than others. Only certain men knew the songs and dances, and they served as leaders. Other men occasionally joined in and performed an accompanying role, while the women followed the dancers and served as a chorus. The usual procedure was for the men to sing and dance their way from the nearby forest into the plaza, where they were joined by the female chorus. They then made the rounds of all the houses, pausing to sing at each.

Only Matiwana and Nitvary served as leaders of the dance processions, as they had inherited the necessary songs. Makurawa also knew *ole* songs, but his role was always secondary. Nitvary, due to his youth and vigor, was the principal dance leader. Most of the other adult men did not participate in the dances and seemed bored by the activity at times. There was no rule governing female participation in the dance. One of the men initiated the performance without consulting the other men, and the women flocked from their houses of their own will to join the procession, falling in behind the older boys. Quain thought this reflected well the respective roles of the men and women in Trumaí culture. Children always followed in the rear and cried out at the beginning and end of each major sequence in the performance.

There were also *ole* songs for solo performance without choral accompaniment, which were not considered to be the special property of any one man. The soloist made the rounds of all the houses, stopping at each to perform a song and a simple dance. Even the women sang certain *ole* songs, and on one occasion Quain observed two women making the customary rounds together without male accompaniment.

Quain mentioned one song as being quite melodious, and stated that there was greater variation of pitch in songs which were distributed throughout the upper Xingú area. The Trumaí had borrowed songs heavily from their neighbors, and, in fact, had probably borrowed the whole ceremony. Kamayurá verses were most frequently heard, but there was also a significant sprinkling of Cariban words.

The chorus that followed Matiwana and Nitvary gave only the sketchiest accompaniment. The women did not seem to know the songs,

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but the frequent repetitions and the small number of pitches made accompaniment possible, and their voices fell consistently into the fourth interval below those of the men. The women, however, enjoyed their role thoroughly and gave far better support than the men, who made little effort to coordinate their activities. 796 243 533

The songs were arranged in a series of three verses. Each time a new house was entered, the singer started a new series. Matiwana's songs were more elaborate than Nitvary's. Occasionally the old man would make a mistake and have to start the verse over again, but these lapses merely amused him. The only musical instrument used was the tapir hoof rattle. [534]

Quain gives no detailed information on the dances involved, but apparently they were simple, and perhaps partially improvised. Nitvary was the sole person to take special pains with his toilet before leading a dance. At such a time he usually wore a feather headdress and painted his body ornately. [535] [302]

One of the more important parts of the *ole* ceremony was the complex of activities surrounding the *ole* posts. A few days after the ceremony began several poles were brought into the clearing just outside the village, and the bark was peeled from them. They were rubbed with white clay and painted in colored designs. Each man placed the pole he had decorated upon his shoulders and brought it into the village with shouts and singing. With the poles on their shoulders, they danced about the village, finally placing their burdens upright in holes that had been dug previously in the village plaza. The children helped by packing dirt around them. The women then smeared red *urucú* dye on the bases of the poles and just below the upper ends. Tufts of cotton were put on top by both men and women. An offering in the form of fish on *beijú* was placed in front of the posts. Later in the afternoon, and early every afternoon for the next two weeks, the men ate together among these poles. Their attitude in this ceremonial milieu was certainly not one of special reverence, for they draped two blankets Quain had given them over the posts for shade. 796 243 [386] [782]

Nearly every day additional food offerings were placed in front of the posts. One post was given special attention. This was Nukekerehe, which was said to be malignant. However, fear of Nukekerehe was mixed with jokes. Quain was told one night that the men would not go to bed until he did, for if he stayed up long Nukekerehe would surely eat him. Weeks later, when the posts were pulled up and brought into the houses of their owners, the man carrying this pole stamped his feet at the children and pretended anger, much to everyone's amusement. On one occasion Matiwana performed a ritual in which he was apparently acting the part of Nukekerehe. He made wrathful noises and jumped about in front of the post, before which were two bowls of manioc soup. [782] 796 243 522 [247]

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796 He then started a song about the post in which he was joined by Nitvary
243 and the women. After two repetitions, the women poured a bowl of the
522 soup on Matiwana's head and shoulders, making a dripping mess of him. He retired amid general laughter. The second bowl of soup was then poured over the pole. A full explanation of the beliefs surrounding the *ole* posts was not obtained.

796 Due to the fact that Quain had only recently arrived in the village
243 when the ceremony was held, there is also a lack of clarity in the system
608 of relationships known as *ole aton*. The word "*aton*" means "pet" in Trumaí, but in the present context it applies to a temporary ceremonial identification between people, and between people and the *ole* posts. The
[571] interpersonal ties set up were only between persons of opposite sex. However, a man could have more than one woman for *aton*, and vice versa.

Kinship may be the determinant of these ties, but the data are inconclusive. Interestingly, the greatest number of *ole aton* relationships existed between people of the previously mentioned pairs of houses, suggesting a ceremonial reinforcement of this moiety-like arrangement.

Except for reciprocal gift-giving obligations, nothing is known of the behavioral roles called for by these connections. The owners of the *ole* posts were said to have their particular posts for *atons*. Their chief
[782] ceremonial duties were to peel and paint the pole, and supply it with
[778] food offerings. It may be hypothesized that the posts represent certain spirits with which individuals are identified, perhaps as the result of shamanistic experiences, as described by Oberg for the Kamayurá.[6]

796 During the *ole* ceremony, as during the cure described above, Quain
829 was impressed by the lack of interest in the proceedings. Those who
181 were not part of the immediate activity sat and smoked, indulging in the usual topics of conversation. The loose patterning and secularity which characterized the ritual bespoke the general lassitude that permeated all aspects of the culture.

The Piqui Ceremony

796 The *piqui (tsinon)* ceremony occurred at the end of the harvest of that fruit, during the first half of the rainy season. It was similar to the *ole* celebration, but not as lengthy nor as important. Quain's information on the festival, obtained from Aloari, is very limited. Jakwanari, the main functionary, occupied a position similar to that of Matiwana and Nitvary in the *ole* ceremony. As Aloari phrased it, "Jakwanari had *tsinon* as *aton*." There was house-to-house dancing by the women, accompanied by singing of a certain series of songs. At the end of the dancing Jak-
[262] wanari's wife made a large quantity of *t'ak*, the *piqui* flour cake, which

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Jakwanari then presented to the dancers as payment. In another part of the ceremony, a gourd of the *piquí* fruit drink was poured on Jakwanari in the same manner that the manioc gruel was poured on Matiwana during the *ole* festival.

The Spear-Throwing Contest

The spear-throwing contest involved intertribal participation and was completely secular. The core of the celebration, which took place at the end of the rainy season, was a duel between rival teams representing the tribes of the area. The purpose of the duel was for a member of the team on the offensive to strike a member of the defending team with a blunt-ended spear propelled by an *atlatl*, or spear-thrower. The defendant held a few sticks vertically, one end resting on the ground, and tried to deflect the oncoming spear with them. The distance between the two was about twenty paces and hits were frequently scored. After each turn, the defender went on the offensive. The games were conducted in a spirit of friendship and festivity. Bruises, some of which must have been severe, were compensated for by gift exchanges.

The participants painted their bodies elaborately for the combat. One informant erroneously stated that the masks for which the area is famous (but which were no longer made by the Trumaí) were worn during one part of the festival.[1] Intertribal wrestling matches were also held at this gathering.

The Bull Roarer

Information on the defunct bull roarer rites, as for other ceremonies, is extremely meagre. As the Trumaí express it, they have "buried the *kuik*" (bull roarer), but most of the adult men knew the ritual connected with it and remembered when it was still in use. The Trumaí formerly went to the Kamayurá village and took part in the ceremony there. One man told Quain that dancing in the Trumaí village preceded the ritual, whereupon they all went to the Kamayurá village and "did things that the women cannot see." Then, he said, there was a great deal of wrestling and copulation. Yatí, Maibu, and Tun played a ceremonial role known only to them, while Yatí, Oirupa, and Nitvary sang certain songs at night when everyone was asleep. The ceremonial flutes found throughout the upper Xingú are not mentioned in Quain's notes. Apparently, they were no longer used by the Trumaí.

[1] These masks are worn during a ceremony called the *jabut* by the Kamayurá, which, according to Galvão (1950, p. 385.) takes place in the same season, thus explaining the confusion.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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526 would be terminated by mutual consent and without the need for either contestant to concede defeat.[8] The wrestlers were often pushed around [152] considerably, but except for grunts of effort, there were no expressions of pain or anger. However, when Quain tried to teach the Trumaí men to box, even the lightest punch caused them to retire. They claimed that the *karahiba* sport was much too rough.

562 Trumaí women do not "know how" to wrestle, but the Kamayurá 526 women wrestled to entertain guests. It was common opinion in the region 186 that Trumaí women did not compare favorably with Kamayurá women. 649 Even the Trumaí men agreed on this point. After a visit to the Kama- yurá village, the precocious young Yanahi was vociferous in his approval 171 of them. His admiration was due chiefly to the *jamyrikuma*, a Kamayurá female song and dance in which the women flapped their breasts and went through other provocative motions. He also described how they had pushed their twine belts down low on their buttocks, which to him was a very suggestive act. After the dance the women wrestled. Jakwalu, a Mehinaku, was the only woman in the Trumaí village who could wrestle, a fact that suggests that the females of this group also practiced the sport. She demonstrated her ability only on intertribal visits.

574 The Trumaí women did not entertain guests, except insofar as visitors 535 forced their attentions on the unmarried ones. The only occasions on which they were known to sing and dance were at certain ceremonies when they served as a chorus to the men.

533 Except for the use of pan-pipes, which the men played in the morning, [534] all music was connected with religious ceremonial. The pan-pipes con- 096 sisted of a half-dozen hollow reeds of different lengths laced together. Ceremonial singing was melodious, and the Trumaí enjoyed singing. They frequently requested Quain to sing in the men's circle. The requests were always phrased on behalf of the women and children. [123] Visits from members of other tribes always called for a performance by the ethnographer.

522 Humor consisted mostly of practical jokes played at the expense of 571 others. Jokes were always perpetrated by the men; the women served occasionally as butts. This does not mean that the men were gayer or more light-hearted than the women, for the contrary was actually the case. The women enjoyed each other's company more. They gossiped and laughed together, worked together, and generally wore a pleasanter expression. For the men, jokes were important as a means of recognition and assertion. They were always performed for an audience.

Teasing the women was also a popular male diversion. This was often done by ignoring them completely during a conversation. Yati was a

[8] This may be true only of bouts between Trumaí, as Oberg (1953, p. 59) notes that a man is defeated when he is thrown on his back.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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105 174 571 602 serious damage to the individual personality. Also, many individuals could not enact whole sets of kin-determined roles because they had no relatives of the proper complementary status. For example, parents-in-law normally exerted considerable influence and control over younger married couples, but hardly anyone in the village had such relatives. [582] Similarly, cross-cousin marriage was the preferred union, but cross-cousins were generally unavailable. Moreover, because of the shortage of women, marriage came to be more a cause of conflict than a consolidator of kinship bonds.

105 182 626 Not only was the family world of the Trumaí crumbling, but all lines of authority and social control were weak. The Trumaí seemed unable to unite for such culturally approved purposes as economic cooperation or hospitality. Trumaí leadership, like that of many primitive peoples, was predicated on the existence of strong bonds of kinship, economic interdependence, and a general agreement on goals and policies. These preconditions were no longer found among the Trumaí. In this structural vacuum, the Trumaí chief was less and less able to cope with the growing self-assertiveness of certain men, and was increasingly forced into a neutral role. As the community weakened, his position weakened.

105 182 578 A number of reasons account for the factionalism which developed within the Trumaí village. Some are a function of personality, others of the diminished population. Obviously women were at a premium and many men were compelled to do without mates. The resultant competition was, as we have seen, a festering sore in the body politic. Connected with it, but having further ramifications, the bonds of kinship and the expected behavior between kinsmen underwent attrition and upset what social balance could have been achieved under more normal conditions. Indeed fear of the outside world more than internal forces of cohesion held the Trumaí community together.

[1096] 105 182 771 Other integrative mechanisms in Trumaí culture were also disappearing. Conspicuous among them was the gradual abandonment of many elements in the Trumaí ceremonial cycle. (Significantly this left the highly individual practice of shamanism as the most active religious expression in Trumaí culture). In part, this loss may have been due to the inability of the Trumaí to amass a sufficiently large food surplus for the feasting that was required when visitors from other tribes were present. Not enough is known about the ritual of the Trumaí to warrant any broad generalizations on the effects of depopulation on ceremonial participation, but their numbers may well have been approaching the minimum necessary to carry out the rites. Only a few men who had depended heavily on one old man for their instruction possessed the requisite ceremonial knowledge. When this old man died, Trumaí culture must have suffered a severe blow. Younger men were little interested in learning the ritual and lore. Moreover, the small number of bearers of

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105 626 578 [622] [123] 622 105 182 771 796

"Angry stylized quarreling is a legal device. The village hoots in derision at him whose argument is poor. The chief must be a master at this kind of argument, but all men and even women participate .... Though everyone makes speeches, it is only the chief who makes executive speeches. Quarrels have always been about women, with the exception of the one which occurred upon my arrival in the village (one party disapproved of me...). The chief does not interfere in personal quarrels. The other men sit quietly in the center of the village smoking and trying to disregard the quarrel, which may be going on over their very heads. When the contenders have retired from the village green, they are perfectly calm. The argument is suspended until it can be carried on publicly. There seem to be no secret alliances among the men.

"Another thing I must mention is the complete lack of emotional content in religious ceremonies. These are mildly pleasant chores. Although their structure is designed for a public pageant, nobody pays attention." —

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ted plants as beans and gourds and for the flat manioc flour cake, the *beijú*, are almost identical with the corresponding Kamayurá words.

The pre-contact history of the Trumaí is largely inferential and their recent history is poorly documented. The white explorers and scientists who visited the upper Xingú frequently did not encounter the Trumaí, and almost never visited their villages. Historical data indicate that in von den Steinen's time and possibly as late as the 1931 trip of Petrullo the Trumaí lived in two villages. Von den Steinen showed an abandoned Trumaí village, in substantially its present location, and another on the lower end of the Tsahuku, a network of waterways and lagoons west of and parallel to the Kuliseu River.[8] Although Meyer's map did not show this southern village in 1896,[7] it appears in Schmidt's map for 1901.[8] Petrullo encountered Trumaí, most probably of the southern village, on the west bank of the Kuliseu, between the locales of the Nahukwa and Mehinaku villages.[9] M. Moennich, one of a party of American missionaries who descended the Kuliseu in 1937, did not, however, note a Trumaí village near this site.[10] When Quain arrived in 1938 there was only one Trumaí village, which was located at the northern site. This would suggest that the southern village was abandoned in 1937–38, but it is possible that those Trumaí seen by Petrullo and Moennich were the same ones whom Quain visited.

The northern and southern villages mentioned in the literature are the only ones recorded. It is certain that since 1884 there have only been two communities, although each has been located in many different places. Unfortunately, the exact locations of the abandoned sites and their periods of occupation are not well known. Each of the old village locales had a name, and these designations are still known. Among them are Morena, Waniwani, Karajaja, Iakare, Jawpew, and Wahldat. Some of the names, such as Iakare, are obviously of Tupian origin. Jawpew was the name of the northern Trumaí village at the time of von den Steinen's expeditions. Karajaja was the last location before the one in which Quain resided. This site was located near the Kamayurá village on the Tsahuku and appears on Petrullo's map. The Trumaí said that it was a good village, but that they had to move because the Kamayurá and Auetí were practicing sorcery against them. The village to which they moved, and where Quain visited them, was named Anariatan.

People were often referred to by other Trumaí according to the village in which they were born. Thus, a *Wahldat jaxlo* was, literally, a son of Wahldat. Also, garden sites were most commonly named after an abandoned village. The old villages were looked on with reverence as the homes of the ancestors of the Trumaí. They were considered to be places of great interest, and Quain was repeatedly urged to visit them.

[8] *Ibid.*, 1897, p. 93. [7] Meyer 1897, Plate I. [8] Schmidt 1942.
[9] Petrullo 1932, p. 180. [10] Moennich 1943.

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was working on the roof, the other thatched the wall facing the forest, and the house was subsequently occupied while work was still proceeding on that wall. The wall toward the village was temporarily hung with cloth drapes for privacy, although for purposes of protection from enemies the opposite side was thatched first. 342

Additional thatch was placed on the house at the beginning of the rainy season. At that time light poles were bound to the frame for greater support. The chief's house began to sag from the weight of the thatch, and braces had to be put under the ridge pole. Two posts, as heavy as the center posts, were crossed just below the ridge pole and bound together. A few men got behind each post and pushed so that the poles would assume a more nearly vertical position and give firmer support to the ridge poles. When this had been accomplished, the bases of the posts were set in holes. 342 335

Quain had the opportunity to observe two houses being constructed: his own and a fifth dwelling being built by two Trumaí men. His own small house took one week to build. The work started off with a great burst of effort, and in four hours all the wall posts, center posts and the ridge pole were in place. However, every day thereafter progress became increasingly slower. 123 342 461

House styles and construction were not rigidly conventionalized. The Trumaí helped build a house for the missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Young, and they thought that Quain, being a *karaíba* (white man), would like one such as the Youngs had designed for themselves. When they were half finished with the frame, Quain realized what was happening, and asked for a haystack house like theirs. The revision was made easily and the result was a hybrid. This, added to the fact that two of the houses in the village were much larger than the other two, indicated a certain flexibility and willingness to imitate. The Kamayurá classified the different posts and poles that went into house building, but the Trumaí had only very broad terms for the corresponding parts. 123 341 [197] [192] [335]

The heavy work of raising the ridge pole, stepping in braces, and carrying and inserting center posts was done cooperatively. These joint labors, although brief and infrequent, made for a festive occasion and gave rise to laughter and gaiety, an unusual thing among the men. With the exception of operations requiring the combined efforts of more men, the house was built by the males who were to occupy it. Women took no part in the building. Yanahi and Mayuva, who were building a new house, shared the work unequally, Yanahi doing the larger part. They did not always work at the same time, and, when they did, they worked on separate sections of the house. 335 342 476 [462]

Quain's house was built cooperatively because he was an outsider, and it was the obligation of the whole community to accommodate him. 123 342 476 574

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Necklaces were made by tying feathers to a cotton cord with *buriti* fibers. Headdresses included one consisting of a ring of cotton threads with colored feathers attached. The front feathers were long and formed a sort of plume. Another headdress, a feather topknot tied to a cotton headnet, was captured in warfare with the Caiabí. A third was a crown woven of bamboo splints traded from the Waurá for arrow feathers. There were probably many other kinds, as intertribal trade in headdresses was lively.

Belts and anklets were also traded between tribes. A few Brazilian type shirts and hats had found their way into the Trumaí village. They had been obtained from travelers in the region, and especially from the missionaries, Thomas Young and his wife.

The men wore their hair cut straight around the head on a line even with the tops of the ears. A small patch on the crown was plucked, but Quain noted that the Trumaí were much less careful about keeping these parts free of new growth than were the neighboring groups. The scissors which Quain gave to one of the men replaced the old method of hair cutting with an instrument made of *piranha* teeth. A composite comb (*kuwau*) was also used. The back was made of two parallel pieces of cane joined by cotton thread and the teeth of splints from the small roots of a palm-like shrub.

The Trumaí used several vegetable paints to decorate their bodies. This method of adornment was always invoked for ceremonies, and often for wrestling, or when there were guests. The paint most commonly used was the red *urucú* (*matdot*) which was grown in the gardens. The *urucú* was made into a paste by mixing it with oil from the visceral fat of a fish. The paste could be rolled into a ball and applied directly, or spread with the fingers or a spatula made from the middle rib of the *buriti* leaf.

Other body paints were *tawariri*, a black tree gum mixed with soot, and a preparation made from *piquí* fruit and fish oil. There was also a dye, *atdot*, which was not described, and one or two other paints which Quain was unable to identify. *Jany*, a non-decorative paste made from the liver of a fish, was used to ward off insects.

Designs included dots, crescents, zig-zags, circles, curves, straight lines, and combinations of these. Quain observed several standard patterns, many of which were symbolic; others were possibly symbolic representations also, but he was unable to learn their meanings.

One man painted crescents on his chest above either nipple which he said represented vaginas. A rattlesnake design consisted of a half ellipse on the flanks with dots in the center. Quain was told that a design of red spots, with two near the nipples ringed in black, was a boa constrictor. Another snake pattern, made by painting zig-zags down the sides and back, was used on one of the posts erected during the *ole* ceremony.

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The eclipse lasted for more than an hour, and during this time the Indians refused to proceed further. It was necessary to frighten away whatever was eating the moon. To right the disturbance of the natural harmony, Maibu drew himself up to his full stature and addressed the moon at great length. All the tribes in the area, Quain was told, were taking similar measures.

The eclipse was thought to be a harbinger of evil. One man decided to return home in the belief that now the white men would kill him. Yati, who had an infected hand, was sad because Matiwana, his father, would think by this sign that he, Yati, had been "killed" by Mehinaku witchcraft. As Yati's hand grew worse, the rest of the party began to believe that the eclipse was caused by old Matiwana's tears. [787]

Seasons were recognized as "sunny times" and "rainy times," and the number of moons and their phases were used as time-markers. Long periods were reckoned as "when my father was small" or "when I was a boy;" short periods by adding up the passing nights. This latter method was ineffectual for anything after ten days, as ten marked the upper limit of Trumaí counting. 805 [802]

Enumeration of objects was shown by holding up the appropriate combination of fingers. There were words for the numbers one through ten, but ten also signified "a great many." Large quantities could be expressed by gesture as well. When Maibu wanted to indicate many *beiʃé*, he held up his hand to their height when stacked. 802

/405 cont./

000 a whole into its halves. Objects furnish the empirical limit of the "2" gesture. Dependence on sense of touch. Confirmation by etymology.

B 171 802 [128] The art of counting was the least developed among the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/. With regard to the other tribes I shall limit myself to a few remarks, since I am giving the numbers in the word list /omitted in the translation; see the foreign text, pp. 524-547/.

B 171 802 I 171 802 All tribes counted the fingers of both hands first and then the toes of both feet. With the exception of the Bakaïrí, they commenced with the thumb of the right hand, counted up to 5 on the fingers, went over to the thumb of the left hand, counted up to 10 here, and repeated the procedure in exactly the same way for the feet.

If one regards the number words in terms of their formation, one observes among all the tribes that they have separate words for 1, 2, 3, with the exception of the Bakaïrí, whom I shall ignore for the time being, and the Trumaí, for whom, however, the records contain much that is uncertain; among the Trumaí the word for 2, hurs, is contained in the one for 3, hurstamẽ. On the other hand, the Trumaí and, besides them, only the Waurá (uncertain) and the Kamayurá /Camayura/ have an entirely new word for 4, whereas among all the others 4 is represented by 2 altered by an addition.

For 5 the Trumaí and the Auetó have a new word that has nothing to do with "hand." Among all the others, always with the exception of the Bakaïrí, "hand" is contained in the 5. The Kamayurá say "hand stops," yenepó momáp (Guaraní mombáb, to stop), the potter tribes say "1 hand," the Nahuquá simply "hand."

The numbers 6, 7, 8, 9 are formed out of 1, 2, 3, 4 with an addition. It is only among the Kamayurá that the latter is different for 6 and 7 than for 8 and 9. For 6 and 7 = 1 and 2 + verowák, the meaning (Guaraní guerobág) seems to be: 1 or 2 are interchanged, alternate.

/406/ Among the potter tribes and probably also the Auetó 10 contains the hands, among the others the word is a new one.

/406 cont./

B 171 802 T 171 802 With 11, among all of them, the foot enters, specified by an addition, and 12, 13, 14 are = 2, 3, 4 + foot and this addition. The Nahuquá, however, instead of their word for foot, use the word vúro, which, however, from a comparison with other Karaiben /Carib/ languages, is recognizable as a stem with the same meaning,* and now count from 11-15: "1, 2, 3, 4, 5 foot"

* vuro = upu-lu (-lu pronominal suffix);
Makusí, Island Karaiben, upu, foot.

on the right toes and from 16-20 on the left "1, 2, 3, 4, 10 foot."

From 15-19 matters are very confused; with 15 a new addition usually appears and the formations run parallel to those of the second hand from 6-9 or those of the first foot from 11-14. Among the Yaulapiti, whose numbers are formed very regularly, 1 foot means 15, whereas among the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ 11, in the former instance because the foot is finished, in the latter because it is just beginning. Thus, among the Mehinakú, the following oddity occurs: 5 = 1 hand, 11 = 1 foot, 12 = 2 foot, 13 = 3 foot, 14 = 4 foot and (since 5 = 1 hand) 15 = 1 hand, foot!

All have the feet in the 20 except the Auetó. Among the Yaulapiti the same addition which was with the hand = 10, is with the foot = 20. Among the Kustenaú /Custenau/ 15 is precariously similar to 20.

B 802 Let us now turn to the more backward Bakaírí, with whom I practiced all kinds of arithmetical exercises.

The names of their counting apparatus, the fingers, have nothing to do with numbers. The thumb means "father"; the little finger, "child" or "little one"; the middle finger, as among us, "the middle one"; index finger and ring finger are called the "neighbor" -- at least that is the probable meaning -- in the case of the former, of the "father," and, in the case of the latter, the "neighbor" of the "little one."

They count in words up to 6:

1 = tokále	4 = ahége ahége
2 = ahége	5 = ahége ahége tokále
3 = ahége tokále or ahewáo	6 = ahége ahége ahége

As may be seen, they have individual words only for the numbers from 1 to 3, and the numbers from 4 to 6 are made up out of ahége and tokále. It was only on the second expedition

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773 gather some vegetable dye in a tree in which he had put a snake. The wily nephew made designs on his leg with the dye which caused the snake to fall out of the tree. He returned home and resumed his relations with his uncle's wife.

Jemenary then ordered Kelenewary to cross a river in which there was a fish that would surely eat him. The nephew suffered some bites, but these he cured by smearing with another vegetable dye. The infuriated uncle then sent him to the village of Rain, Kelenewary's cross-cousin, to get a highly prized wood which Rain guarded closely. Kelenewary arrived at Rain's village and repeatedly urged Rain to have sexual intercourse with his wife. After many wakeful nights, the couple, exhausted, fell into deep sleep. Kelenewary stole the wood, and returned to his uncle's house, where he continued to sleep with his uncle's wife.

Later, when the two men were building an eagle cage, Kelenewary, who was sitting on top of it, angered his uncle by saying that the eagle was no larger than one of his wife's pubic hairs. The enraged Jemenary released the vertical poles in the framework of the structure, catapulting the insolent nephew through the air and into the branches of a tree. Kelenewary was hurt, and Nane, a creature having a human form but capable of flying, carried him to his village. Under Nane's care, he drank medicines that restored him to health and caused him to grow to a tremendous size. The uncle, in despair, created the deer with the intention of having it kill his nephew. Kelenewary, however, lassoed the animal with his armband, and it killed the uncle instead. The opposition thus removed, the nephew returned to the embraces of his dead uncle's wife.

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Deities and Mythology

The Trumaí were certainly not preoccupied with the supernatural. Quain makes no mention of the spirit owners of animal, plant, and fish species that figure so prominently in the Kamayurá belief system, nor does he speak of the "*ole* spirits" attributed to the Trumaí by Oberg.[8] Beliefs, which are a more covert part of culture, are particularly difficult for an ethnographer who lacks familiarity with the language to learn about, and it is understandable that Quain's notes are weak on this point.

Magic, except for sorcery, was not observed by Quain, unless shamanistic curing is considered a magical practice. No objects, such as charms or amulets, were thought to have a magical effect, and the already discarded ceremonial objects were the only inanimate items that could be said to have some inherent religious value. In short, the day-to-day world of the Trumaí was little influenced by extra-corporeal forces or personages. The deities were nearly all culture heroes and creators, who did their work in the dim past of the "grandfathers of all the Trumaí."

With some variation the mythology of the Trumaí was quite similar to that of the Kamayurá. The most important of the Trumaí creation deities was Sun (Atehle). This was not the visible, celestial sun. The Trumaí explained that the celestial sun was only the *aton* (pet) of the real Sun, who was important in all the creation myths. Sun no longer actively intervened in life, but in the days of the creation he was an anthropomorphic personage having great supernatural powers. Sun's mother was the wife of Panther (Fetde), who appears in the tales of the after life. This woman, in turn, was the daughter of Wamutsini, or Grandfather. The latter had an important part in the creation, for he was the original deity from whom the other supernaturals sprang. Wamutsini's daughter was not important in these stories.

The identity and character of Moon were ill-defined. At one time Moon was in the heavens with Sun, who, however, became angry with him and cast him out to his present isolated position. Moon was once eaten by Awalanaxe, a fish. Sun, upon learning of this, made a fishhook, caught Awalanaxe, and disembowelled him. Moon was found inside quite chewed up, but Sun molded him back into shape. A fly then crawled up the nostril of the unconscious Moon causing him to sneeze. He thought that he had merely been asleep, but Sun explained that he had been eaten.

Moon's sex was highly ambivalent, being a male in some tales and a female in others. He was not, however, important as a creator. Awalanaxe appeared frequently in the mythology as did Wakpanehene, another fish.

[8] Oberg 1953, p. 54.

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Crow appeared as a trickster and, although not a creator deity, managed to bring forth new things in the process of his machinations. Waniwani, the name of an abandoned Trumaí village site, was also a village in the heavens — the home of a mythical person of the same name. Jemenary, Kelenewary, and Nane were three other mythological characters. The second was the sister's son (*deta*) of the first, and an inveterate trickster. Although they appear in a Trumaí tale of mythological times, they had no part in the creative process.

Rain (Ka'wixu) was apparently the only Trumaí deity capable of interfering with the world in its present form. Although he appeared as a character in the mythology, he was also believed to be the active agent behind rains and storms. The Trumaí were extremely frightened of thunder and lightning, and thought storms to be the result of someone's having antagonized Rain. During a violent equinoctial thunder storm, Aloari came rushing into Quain's house, imploring him to turn out his light and stop working as he was angering Rain. Despite their fear of displeasing Rain, the Trumaí on a few occasions tried to drive away the clouds. One man blew at the clouds to push them back, while Quain was told to fire his rifle to frighten Rain away.

There was also a class of malignant beings that were important as omens. The Trumaí could not look at a snake called *lesilesi*, seemingly the rattlesnake. Aloari said that shortly after he saw one, two of his brothers died. Jakwalu saw one while she was harvesting manioc in the garden, and it was generally believed that for this reason she would not live long. Quain was uncertain whether this was the immediate result of seeing the snake, or whether the snake was an omen that the Kamayurá were practicing witchcraft on her. Similarly, anyone seeing the *le*, a bird with a red forehead, would die. And finally there were sirens inhabiting the woods to the northeast of the Trumaí village. Their call exerted an attraction, and anyone seeing them or cohabiting with them would surely die. These women had long hair, wore bark cloth pubic coverings, and did not depilate. Significantly, the direction of their abode and their appearance correspond to those of Suyá women. Omens, such as cloud formations and canine howls, indicate the imminence of an enemy attack.

The Origin of Things

Most of the Trumaí mythology is devoted to explaining the origin of the natural world, people, and culture. The chief creator deities are Sun and Wamutsini.

In the beginning there was only Wamutsini. His origin is not explained, and he is probably thought to have always existed. He made daughters out of wood. One of them married Panther, who lived in the

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The eclipse lasted for more than an hour, and during this time the Indians refused to proceed further. It was necessary to frighten away whatever was eating the moon. To right the disturbance of the natural harmony, Maibu drew himself up to his full stature and addressed the moon at great length. All the tribes in the area, Quain was told, were taking similar measures.

The eclipse was thought to be a harbinger of evil. One man decided to return home in the belief that now the white men would kill him. Yati, who had an infected hand, was sad because Matiwana, his father, would think by this sign that he, Yati, had been "killed" by Mehinaku witchcraft. As Yati's hand grew worse, the rest of the party began to believe that the eclipse was caused by old Matiwana's tears. [787]

Seasons were recognized as "sunny times" and "rainy times," and the number of moons and their phases were used as time-markers. Long periods were reckoned as "when my father was small" or "when I was a boy;" short periods by adding up the passing nights. This latter method was ineffectual for anything after ten days, as ten marked the upper limit of Trumaí counting. 805 [802]

Enumeration of objects was shown by holding up the appropriate combination of fingers. There were words for the numbers one through ten, but ten also signified "a great many." Large quantities could be expressed by gesture as well. When Maibu wanted to indicate many *beiɟá*, he held up his hand to their height when stacked. 802

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Each man planted his garden without male assistance. However, when planting vegetables other than manioc, he was often aided by his wife or wives. During the whole Trumaí planting season Quain observed only one instance of cooperative labor in manioc planting. This occurred in the garden of Uluku, a Kamayurá, who had cleared a plot in the Trumaí gardens but had not returned in time to plant it. The work was initiated by the Trumaí chief, as this was an obligation of the village to an outsider. However, the men largely ignored his call and, of those who responded, most were co-residents of the chief.

Fishing Techniques

A variety of fish were caught and eaten by the Trumaí. The exact species were not recorded by Quain, but those in Oberg's partial list are also found in other tributaries of the Amazon.[2] A small fish called *kate* by the Trumaí was caught in great quantities during Quain's visit. Fish figured importantly in the diet throughout the year, but they were not as easily caught during the rainy season when the rivers overflowed into the adjacent forest. Fish were taken by hook and line, bow and arrow, poisoning, traps, nets and weirs.

Shooting with the bow and arrow was the most important single method. The fisherman stood in the bow of his bark canoe with bow and arrow poised while his helper paddled slowly in the stern. When a fish was sighted the arrow usually found its mark with surprising accuracy. Insofar as is known, only hooks and lines obtained from the whites by trade or gift were used. Quain found a great demand for them, and he gave many to the Trumaí and other groups.

Two kinds of poison were used to drug fish in the lagoons. The more important was made from the shredded bark of the *tawasi* tree and was effective only upon the small *kate* fish. The other was made from the ripe fruit of the *fi/t'a* tree, the bark of which was used in the washing of the body after ceremonial scarification.[3]

Fish traps were baited and set out in the lagoon. These were basket containers, long and rounded in shape. An open-ended basket cone, through which the fish swam, was set in the mouth. Once inside, the fish could not find their way out through the small end of the cone, which was pointed towards the inside of the trap. According to one informant, the Mehinaku could make fish traps, but not the Trumaí. Quain, however, found that at least three Trumaí men made traps,

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 25–26.

[3] The exact species of these trees are not known. Oberg (1953, pp. 26–27) refers to the use of *timbó* in a general sense only. *Timbó* commonly refers to the root of a small shrub and not to the above-mentioned drugs. Von den Steinen (1897) makes no reference to fish drugs.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Older boys and men went into the forest to cut down the trees and bring the boughs back to the village. The men then took turns in pounding the boughs into coarse fiber with the blunt end of an axe. Even men who did not participate in the gathering of the boughs helped in their reduction into fiber.

The group nature of the work is understandable in view of the communal labor and benefits involved in fish poisoning. Once the boughs were reduced, the fibers were cut into sheaves of about two and one-half feet in length. These sheaves were used to poison the water. Interestingly, both bark and wood were pounded up together, although, according to Quain, only the bark is poisonous.

The *buriti* palm supplied two raw materials, *isinke* and *isinke hut'*. *Isinke* was obtained from the heart of the young spike of the growing tip of the palm. The top was separated to give access to the heart, and long fibers were pulled out, which were then hung in the interior of the house to dry. When dry they resembled a heavy hemp, and were used to make cord. *Isinke hut'* is the leaf of the *buriti*, which was used in basketry.

Hunting

Hunting was not important at any time during Quain's stay. Tapir, peccary, deer, monkey, jaguar, squirrel and paca, a large rodent, are among the animals mentioned by Quain as being found in the vicinity, but only the monkey and paca were eaten. Birds were also eaten, and their feathers were used for ornamentation. Terrapin were caught by hand, either by creeping up on them or by swimming close to them under water and grabbing them by the shell. All other game was shot with the bow and arrow, except for the capybara, called *tsimo* by the Trumaí. Canoeists speared the swimming animals. The spear was used at no other time in hunting or fishing, although the Yaulapití speared fish.

Quain saw no organized hunting parties. One or two men sometimes set out with the express intention of hunting, but most animals were shot while on fishing or gathering expeditions. The Trumaí did not rely on meat, nor did they show a craving for it. Hunting seemed to be more a pastime and sport than a subsistence activity. When Quain hunted with the Trumaí he noticed that they wanted him to kill birds more for their feathers than for their meat. They also wanted him to kill several entirely worthless birds because, as two of the men expressed it, they wanted "to see it."

Foods

The horticulture, fishing and gathering economy of the Trumaí gave them a fair variety and adequate quantity of food during most of the year, barring crop failure. The Trumaí, however, had a considerably

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clouds of tobacco smoke were first blown over the affected area by the curer who then, with noisy inhalations, sucked that part of the body in which the ailment appeared to be localized. Insofar as Quain was able to determine, no foreign objects were "extracted," and he was not given any explanation as to why the treatment worked.

Knowledge of curing was widespread among the men. All the men knew how to use botanicals, and over half, all said to have been taught by Matiwana, knew the art of *jau'kath*. Men cured their wives, children, or other close blood relatives. When Aloari was treating his son's ringworm he was asked by Quain whether he would also treat a young boy who was only indirectly related. Aloari refused because the boy had closer kinsmen who could perform this act. Kayaru developed a swollen breast, and it was Yanahi, her sister's son, who performed *jau'kath* on it. All men treated the members of their biological families with medicines, but those who did not know the shamanistic cure relied on a practitioner from outside the immediate family.

Matiwana treated his son Yati without recompense, but when his daughter's husband became ill, the latter paid him for the cure with a pot. The kinship ties by which curing was free to certain relatives probably corresponded closely to the pattern of gift-giving obligations. Payments for medical treatment were called *okei pop* (medicine gift). Quain was usually given small payments for the many cures he performed for the Trumaí. In no case could it be said that any curer derived a significant income from his services.

Group Curing Ceremony

The only time that Quain witnessed the group curing ceremony (*kevere*) was on an occasion two weeks after his arrival. He noted the formal aspects carefully, but he was unable to ascertain their meanings, since his command of the language at that time was so meagre.

Maibu's wife, Matavitsa, was sick and wasted when Quain arrived in the village. Her husband had been treating her for some time by the shamanistic means of tobacco smoke and sucking, but with little success. It was decided to hold a ceremonial cure, although shamanistic techniques were not ruled out. Nearly all the adult men of the village gathered in Maibu's house for the ritual, which lasted for three hours. No women were admitted, and the door was kept closed. The *kevere* was strictly prohibited to females, and the men would not even talk of it in their presence. The women seemed to regard Quain's status as doubtful, for Maibu's sister told him that he would die if he entered. He refused to be dissuaded, and upon entering was motioned to a seat.

The men were ranged in a broad semi-circle along the side of the house opposite the sick woman's hammock. Matiwana, who was in charge of

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773 gather some vegetable dye in a tree in which he had put a snake. The wily nephew made designs on his leg with the dye which caused the snake to fall out of the tree. He returned home and resumed his relations with his uncle's wife.

Jemenary then ordered Kelenewary to cross a river in which there was a fish that would surely eat him. The nephew suffered some bites, but these he cured by smearing with another vegetable dye. The infuriated uncle then sent him to the village of Rain, Kelenewary's cross-cousin, to get a highly prized wood which Rain guarded closely. Kelenewary arrived at Rain's village and repeatedly urged Rain to have sexual intercourse with his wife. After many wakeful nights, the couple, exhausted, fell into deep sleep. Kelenewary stole the wood, and returned to his uncle's house, where he continued to sleep with his uncle's wife.

Later, when the two men were building an eagle cage, Kelenewary, who was sitting on top of it, angered his uncle by saying that the eagle was no larger than one of his wife's pubic hairs. The enraged Jemenary released the vertical poles in the framework of the structure, catapulting the insolent nephew through the air and into the branches of a tree. Kelenewary was hurt, and Nane, a creature having a human form but capable of flying, carried him to his village. Under Nane's care, he drank medicines that restored him to health and caused him to grow to a tremendous size. The uncle, in despair, created the deer with the intention of having it kill his nephew. Kelenewary, however, lassoed the animal with his armband, and it killed the uncle instead. The opposition thus removed, the nephew returned to the embraces of his dead uncle's wife.

Lore and Learning

821 [775] The cosmology of the Trumaí was not very elaborate. Many stars and constellations were known and named. As noted above, the Milky Way entered into their beliefs of an after-life. Special attention was also given to the Hesperides, which may be the constellation that dates their ceremonial season at the end of the rains. Quain was told by Thomas [241] [805] Young, the missionary, that the planting time was determined by astral phenomena. Quain was not able to confirm this, but he noted that the Trumaí knew the proper time for burning the felled brush. This knowledge was important as the rains arrive suddenly, and once the brush becomes wet it is almost impossible to fire.

805 824 825 Flora and fauna also served as markers of seasonal passage. One such sign was an insect that issued a shrill and pleasant whistle from dusk until far into the night in the weeks immediately preceding the rainy season.

B /229 cont./
*171 laterally hollowed end of the wooden support, lashing it, and
411 covering it with resin.
[239]

Sometimes a pierced, hollow tucum nut is shoved up on the arrow shaft to slightly above the middle; one or two holes are cut into the nut on the side. In flight a high-pitched whirring or whistling is heard. /230/ While the noise-making arrows are used only for bird hunting, the others are intended for all hunting and the shooting of fish; those with barbs are exclusively
B fish arrows. Arrows with sawlike notched wooden points do not
[101] occur on the Schingú except among the Yarumá, whom we regard as a southern group of the Mundurukú /Mundurucu/ of the Tapajoz /Tapajós/.

T The Suyá and Trumaí had arrows with long pointed bamboo
171 knives for war and for hunting jaguar. Spindle-shaped bamboo
411 splinters up to 35 centimeters long and up to 36 millimeters wide,
[824] knife-sharp on the edges, are mounted on the wooden stick driven deep into the reed shaft; the wooden stick is embedded in a groove
T cut below along the inner surface of the splinter. And, to be
[284] sure, the pointed spindle is only loosely fastened with a little resin and thread; when shot it remains in the body that was hit, while the shaft with the wooden stick flies off behind it.

B The most remarkable thing about the arrow is the feathering
*171 at the lower end. Two feathers, more correctly two halves of
411 feathers, for the feather is split at the shaft, are carefully fastened
237 in a spiral twist which goes around one-fourth of the circumference; each flag stands with the plane of its upper part perpendicu-
B lar on that of its lower part, so that the flying arrow spirals
[284] through the air. The feathers are set in a row of small holes, which are made with an agutí tooth and enlarged with a pointed buriti splinter, and, one may say, are sewed onto the arrow; the cotton thread is wound around the ends and is itself protected by
B being wound with waimbé bark (Philodendron). Usually the
[825] feathers come from gallinaceous birds, jakú (Penelope) and mutung (Crax), from the falcon, and from the blue arara. Where the hand grasps the arrow shaft there is a wrapping of waimbé. At the bottom a notch is cut in parallel to the upper part of the feathers.

/231 cont./

171 411 in battle. The purpose of the throwing board is /232/ to throw a stone-weighted arrow, or, if one wishes, a more graceful spear, [824] with great force. The type present on the Schingú is a thin, smooth stick of hard palm wood about 70 centimeters long, which widens at the front end into a holding plate provided with a hole and bears a small hook at the other, rear end. In other words, no board and no sign of a groove. Cf. Figures 28 /see p. 241/ and 6, p. 91.

The arrow is set in on the barb at the back, the index finger is stuck through the hole of the holding plate, while the other fingers grasp the plate and the arrow; thus, the rear part of the arrow lies securely against the throwing board, is lifted with a powerful swing, the throwing stick describes an arc forward and upward and with this lever motion sends out the arrow so "that it [824] positively whizzes." The throwing boards are made of light or [239] dark palm wood, /Fig. 28 appears here/ they are nicely smoothed, and some of them give an impression of elegance, especially if a small bunch of colored feathers hangs down from the barb cord. The plate has a width of about five centimeters in front, six centimeters in the rear, and a length of 15 centimeters; it is cut biconcave, so that the hand grasps it securely. The shaft is about four times as long. The barb on which the dart is set, a [284] bone among the Karayá, is here a little stick, two and a half centimeters long, lashed on diagonally with cotton thread. There were throwing boards in small sizes for children.

The reed thrown by our Indians is not a spear, but a real ubá arrow and is also called an arrow by them /in this work it is called arrow (Pfeil) or dart (Wurfpfeil). Only the feathering is usually more carelessly worked and not arranged spirally. Bone points and sharp wooden points do not occur. The characteristic thing about the dart is the opposite -- a possibility not provided for in the German language, it seems -- a "blunt point." /233/ In this respect, too, the characteristic of the "spear" is lacking. The dart does not spear and stab, but shatters with a heavy blow. [284] Inserted into the shaft, lashed with string, and smeared with wax were heavy stone or wood points. The stones either conical, like

/238 cont./

[171] [411] No. 2 in the accompanying figure or pear-shaped, like No. 3. Only a small part of the stone peeked out of the wax covering; cf. No. 9. The wooden points had different forms, spherical or, corresponding to the stone pear, with a long stem to be shoved into the shaft: No. 1, or (the common form) Nos. 4 and 10, a cylindrical piece that tapered at the bottom for insertion -- in No. 11 also one with a pointed projection, furthermore a knob, No. 12, and a fork, No. 8. In Figure 6 on [531] page 91, the center arrow bears a long, narrow wooden cone which is decorated with a long black linear or dot design on a white background,

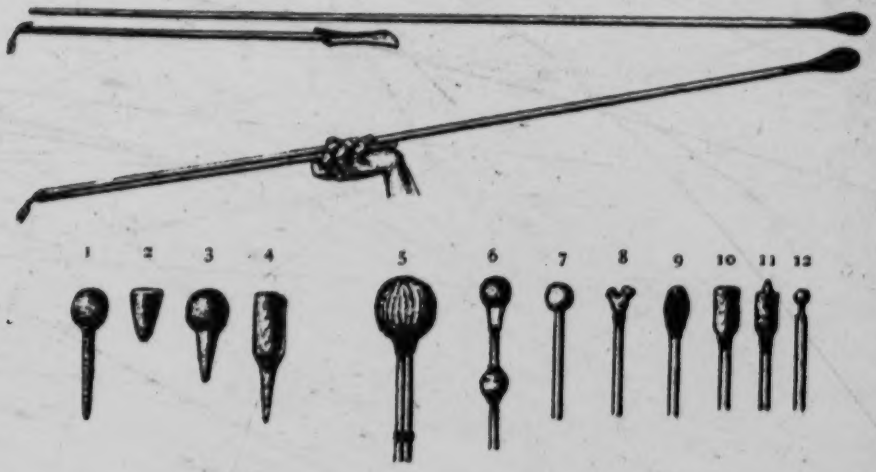

Fig. 28. Throwing board (1/13 nat. size/ as shown in the original illustration/) and the tips of the darts.

already the purely decorative weapon for the dance. Many darts bore [824] only wax knobs. Finally, we see in Nos. 6 and 7 one or two tucum nuts (Astrocaryum) set on in the manner of the noise-making arrows, and in No. 5 a fist-size tucum nut on two reed shafts lashed together.

[192] The throwing board gets its name from the tucum palm: yauarí. It is not unusual for the plant that furnishes the material to provide the name for the implement as well; the Kamayurá added a more specific identification, yauarí amomoáp, which means (amo, far; mo, causative; ap, to break apart, to wound) "tucum shattering far away." Apollo amomoáp, the one hitting far away. In a legend

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Crow appeared as a trickster and, although not a creator deity, managed to bring forth new things in the process of his machinations. Waniwani, the name of an abandoned Trumaí village site, was also a village in the heavens — the home of a mythical person of the same name. Jemenary, Kelenewary, and Nane were three other mythological characters. The second was the sister's son (*deta*) of the first, and an inveterate trickster. Although they appear in a Trumaí tale of mythological times, they had no part in the creative process.

Rain (Ka'wixu) was apparently the only Trumaí deity capable of interfering with the world in its present form. Although he appeared as a character in the mythology, he was also believed to be the active agent behind rains and storms. The Trumaí were extremely frightened of thunder and lightning, and thought storms to be the result of someone's having antagonized Rain. During a violent equinoctial thunder storm, Aloari came rushing into Quain's house, imploring him to turn out his light and stop working as he was angering Rain. Despite their fear of displeasing Rain, the Trumaí on a few occasions tried to drive away the clouds. One man blew at the clouds to push them back, while Quain was told to fire his rifle to frighten Rain away.

There was also a class of malignant beings that were important as omens. The Trumaí could not look at a snake called *lesilesi*, seemingly the rattlesnake. Aloari said that shortly after he saw one, two of his brothers died. Jakwalu saw one while she was harvesting manioc in the garden, and it was generally believed that for this reason she would not live long. Quain was uncertain whether this was the immediate result of seeing the snake, or whether the snake was an omen that the Kamayurá were practicing witchcraft on her. Similarly, anyone seeing the *le*, a bird with a red forehead, would die. And finally there were sirens inhabiting the woods to the northeast of the Trumaí village. Their call exerted an attraction, and anyone seeing them or cohabiting with them would surely die. These women had long hair, wore bark cloth pubic coverings, and did not depilate. Significantly, the direction of their abode and their appearance correspond to those of Suyá women. Omens, such as cloud formations and canine howls, indicate the imminence of an enemy attack.

The Origin of Things

Most of the Trumaí mythology is devoted to explaining the origin of the natural world, people, and culture. The chief creator deities are Sun and Wamutsini.

In the beginning there was only Wamutsini. His origin is not explained, and he is probably thought to have always existed. He made daughters out of wood. One of them married Panther, who lived in the

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773 gather some vegetable dye in a tree in which he had put a snake. The wily nephew made designs on his leg with the dye which caused the snake to fall out of the tree. He returned home and resumed his relations with his uncle's wife.

Jemenary then ordered Kelenewary to cross a river in which there was a fish that would surely eat him. The nephew suffered some bites, but these he cured by smearing with another vegetable dye. The infuriated uncle then sent him to the village of Rain, Kelenewary's cross-cousin, to get a highly prized wood which Rain guarded closely. Kelenewary arrived at Rain's village and repeatedly urged Rain to have sexual intercourse with his wife. After many wakeful nights, the couple, exhausted, fell into deep sleep. Kelenewary stole the wood, and returned to his uncle's house, where he continued to sleep with his uncle's wife.

Later, when the two men were building an eagle cage, Kelenewary, who was sitting on top of it, angered his uncle by saying that the eagle was no larger than one of his wife's pubic hairs. The enraged Jemenary released the vertical poles in the framework of the structure, catapulting the insolent nephew through the air and into the branches of a tree. Kelenewary was hurt, and Nane, a creature having a human form but capable of flying, carried him to his village. Under Nane's care, he drank medicines that restored him to health and caused him to grow to a tremendous size. The uncle, in despair, created the deer with the intention of having it kill his nephew. Kelenewary, however, lassoed the animal with his armband, and it killed the uncle instead. The opposition thus removed, the nephew returned to the embraces of his dead uncle's wife.

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805 824 825 Flora and fauna also served as markers of seasonal passage. One such sign was an insect that issued a shrill and pleasant whistle from dusk until far into the night in the weeks immediately preceding the rainy season.

/195 cont./
301 a head-net, above which they pointed upwards, sticking out on
237 all sides, and into which they could be bent back to protect them
415 after use. There was also a dainty little pot with a notched edge,
283 and red cotton strings which several Trumaí wore around the waist
276 or around the lower leg. There was some tobacco wrapped in
415 green leaves; on the beach there were also a few gourd vessels
272 containing insipid, pasty mingau[1] which was just as poor as the mandioca bread.

142 There was no indication that the Trumaí are on a higher level than the Bakaïrí; as far as their body structure is concerned, I did not notice anything peculiar during the brief encounter; in size they did not differ from the Bakaïrí and Kustenaú. The fact that they appeared so ugly in the face may have been due to the
291 disfigurement. They protect themselves against penetrating in-
• 825 sects in the strangest and most primitive manner -- præputium filo gossypii rubro ante glandem farciminis instar constringunt /the foreskin is bound with red cotton thread in front of the glans in such a manner as to look like farcy/. This arrangement may also be useful in the water against the prying candiru fish.

123 What now? A closer study of the Trumaí is, of course, inconceivable. War has been declared; we have no choice but to disappear from the scene of action as quickly as possible. We are forced to forego all further soundings and measurements and bid the Kulisëu farewell. We can still draw one advantage from the awkward situation, however. Since we have departed this far from the path of virtue, we need not have any scruples about transgressing still more. After all, we did not get back our fine ax (two canoes capsized and sank when the Trumaí fled to land). Why should we hesitate to exchange the most warped and defective canoes for those abandoned there, which are well built and excellently dried out?

501 /196/ Several men are sent out and return with three canoes
171 and a few oars, which do not differ from those of the Bakaïrí;
000 one of them is for Valentin and me, a second will be pulled along as a reserve, the third goes to the sergeant. Meanwhile Castro's craft has also been brought home.

[1] [i.e. a drink mixed with manioc flour--Analyst]

Trumai SP23
Waura SP18
Mehinacu
Aueto SP6
Camayura

/287 cont./

A W 352 532 825 chiefly in their beaks; that of the wood ibis is curved ibis-like. The largest and handsomest birds were preferably portrayed. Thus, among the Mehinakú, we found a magnificent king-vulture, Sarcoramphus papa, or red urubu. The red warts

Fig. 82. Tujujú stool. Kamayurá. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration.

T 352 532 825 171 which this splendid predatory bird has between its beak and its eyes were carefully carved. The Trumaí stool illustrated here (Fig. 84 /see p. 326/) is supposed to represent the white urubu; it lacks the warts. Strangely enough, it was given two necks

W 352 532

Fig. 83. Wood-ibis stool. Mehinakú. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

T 352 532 825 171 and heads, so we see here the chief's chair in the form of a double eagle; they are supposed to be male and female. By contrast,

T [386] [415] the /288/ the depression in the back-plate is somewhat prosaic; it serves as a bowl for crushing and mixing the dyeing resin. In

[Text continues on P. 327]

Trumai SP23
Yaruma SP25
Nahuqua
Waura SP18
Mehinacu

/288 cont./

T
352
532
825

Fig. 84. Double-vulture stool. Trumaí.
(1/9 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Y
352
532
825

Fig. 85. Monkey stool. Nahuquá. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

W
352
532
825

Fig. 86. Jaguar stool. Mehinakú. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Trumai SP23
Aueto SP6
Camayura
Yaruma SP25
Nahuqua
Wauja SP18
Mehinacu

A T W 352 532 825 /288 cont./ In the case of all the birds, the supporting boards /Figs. 84 and 85 appear here/ of the simple stool, provided with rails, have been retained, except that they are now spread farther apart and are set on the center line of the abdomen. The seat-plate and the supporting boards consist of one piece. The upper surface is extremely carefully smoothed. The measurements of the double vulture, which correspond to those of the others, are as follows: 61 centimeters long, 24 centimeters wide, 25 centimeters high.

V 352 532 825 We found two quadrupeds. Here, too, higher types were chosen. The support boards have been transformed into four legs. Among the Nahuquá we acquired a not very handsome monkey, 46 centimeters long, characterized by the ears, nose, and the long horizontal tail. The back had its natural roundness. The animal was /Fig. 86 appears here/ always immediately identified correctly among the other tribes. The most splendid specimen of our collection, however, is the jaguar of the Mehinakú, a chunky creature, 90 centimeters long and 18 centimeters wide, /Plates XXIII and XXIV appear here/ /289/ with a clumsy head and a well worked-out neck, a long plate-like back and a long, slightly raised tail. The cat's ears are excellently reproduced, the nose is limited to a vague elevation, the mouth is a wide cross-furrow, and the eyes are a pair of round Unio-shell pieces with a mother-of-pearl sheen.

W 352 532 825

B * 171 323 Pots. The basic form of the clay bowls (cf. pages 254, 255) with which we are exclusively concerned here is, like that of the gourd bowls, hemispherical to almost the shape of half an egg. The pots drawn on the two plates 23 and 24 /see pp. 328-329/ are all in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde. They come from no particular village, but were made exclusively by Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ women. With the exception of Numbers 25, 26, and 27 of the second plate, all forms are animal motifs. We obtained pot No. 26 among the Mehinakú; it was attributed to the Waurá women, the chief artists of the Nu-Aruak group. It consists of reddish clay, which heightens the similarity to a real gourd bowl, is covered with an attractive mereschu design, and has a string fastened to it. We acquired No. 25, the spiny shell of a forest fruit, from the family of the Yanumakapü-Nahuquá whose

[Text Continues on P. 330]

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always used to treat the wounds made by scraping. Jawaku walked away in a hurt and angry mood, his body covered with blood.

A few days later, in recognition of his advancement, Jawaku made the afternoon serving of food to the assembled men, a custom associated with the *ole* (manioc) ceremony. A further sign of his new position was the drinking of an herbaceous emetic before eating the first *piquí* fruit. Only boys who had not yet had their stomachs scraped could eat *piquí* without first taking the medicine.

One important purpose of body-scraping, the Trumaí thought, was to make the boy grow and give him strength. For this reason even the adult males occasionally scraped their arms. The scars themselves were very much admired. Of still greater value was the size of the muscles of the arms, chest, shoulder, and back of the neck, which the Trumaí believed to be the result of the scraping.

Another method of inducing growth was by drinking medicines made from herbs. All of the upper Xingú peoples were said to know of these preparations. The Suyá were said to have learned to make them also, but not the Yuruna. Adults drank these medicines, but they were especially important during the final phase of the puberty rites.

The perforation of the ear lobes was a distinct and separate part of the cycle of puberty rites, and the only one in which the boys went through a prescribed phase as a group. This observance took place during the equinoctial festive period which follows the rainy season and involved intertribal participation. At the next dry season festival, Quain was told, all the boys would have their ears pierced. Jawaku's ears, however, had been pierced before, whereas Autsuki, who was older and had entered the puberty cycle earlier, had not yet had his ears perforated. Manifestly, the time of the first perforation varied.

At the first piercing the young boy added the name of his mother's father to the name of his paternal grandfather, which he had been given previously. This was also an occasion for scarifying the arms.

Quain was informed that ear-piercing was done by all the upper Xingú area tribes. The Suyá, in common with other Gê-speaking peoples, made very large, and to the Trumaí, very unsightly, perforations in the lobes. Two Trumaí men who had been Suyá captives had such perforations and also pierced lower lips. The latter condition explained satisfactorily to the Trumaí why the Suyá "cannot speak properly."

The puberty ceremonies were climaxed by a final series of tests of strength and courage: wrestling with a small anaconda, a subsequent intensive drinking of *okeis*, and further body-scraping. After this the boy was kept in seclusion until his ears were again pierced.

Both Jawaku and Autsuki were at this stage. One day a snake was located in the lagoon, and Jawaku was urged to go after it. He and Makurawa ran through the brush to the lagoon and searched for it along

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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compartment in the house for six months, at the end of which time she is accepted as a young woman.[3]

Menstruation caused no special distress to the Trumaí women. They maintained personal cleanliness with the aid of leaves, going out into the brush behind the house to care for themselves. Although the relevant taboos were observed, the women talked frankly to Quain about menstruation, and were interested in learning what white women did during the period. The men, although expressing a fear of menstrual blood, did not shun the subject either. Most of them knew when women in the village were having their menses.

Everyone was extremely shocked when Quain told them that white people often had intercourse during the menstrual period, for such contact would make a Trumaí man fall ill and die. Aloari said that he would surely die of a cough if he copulated with his wife then. The blood itself was considered malignant, infecting whatever it touched. The whole village became very disturbed when Kuyafi dropped some menstrual blood on the path to the gardens. Aloari averred that he would not go for manioc until the rain washed it away.

Fear of polluting forced a menstruating woman to make frequent trips to the weeds, where nobody walked. The danger also extended to her person. During this time she was not allowed to cook, although she could sit around the fire when food was being prepared. (Quain's departure from the Trumaí village was delayed for a day as both the wife and sister-in-law of Aloari, who was to accompany him, were menstruating, and there was only one woman left in the household to make his *beijú* supply.) Nor could the menstruating woman carry water or take a bath. However, a prohibition on eating fish was the only food taboo that she had to observe.

Marriage

A man was ready to seek a mate within one or two years after his initiation, or at the corresponding age level. Women were suitable prospects soon after their puberty rites. It was common for marriages to be arranged by parents while their children were still infants. These infant betrothals were usually between cross-cousins. It is doubtful, however, whether many such arranged marriages were consummated, both because of the high mortality and the fact that most of the Trumaí women were ultimately fought for and won by verbal battles in the men's circle.

Courtships were neither long nor formalized. When a man developed an interest in a woman, he usually expressed it by attempting to seduce her. In most instances, amorous advances were made without any in-

[3] Rodrigues Ferreira 1946, p. 92.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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577 831 833 156 123 Yanahi was less inhibited than any of the other men, but his behavior was not considered shocking or immoral. Quain had apparently arrived at the village just at the time that Yanahi was on the threshold of sexual experience. He appeared in Quain's house one night to show that he had an erection and announced that he would soon be having coitus. Thereafter, he rarely failed to tell Quain of his exploits. One night quite a crowd, including Yanahi and one of his paramours, Vatsiat, was gathered in Quain's house. The young man suddenly developed a longing for her and, as soon as all the visitors had left, satisfied his craving noisily amidst Quain's pots and pans. He was proud of his virility, as were most of the Trumaí men.

577 831 562 837 No discredit attached to the male involved in a love affair and very little to the woman. Oirupa merely scolded his sister for having copulated with Yanahi. Only where adultery was involved did promiscuity lower the status of a woman. Chastity before marriage was not expected, and there was not a single virgin in the village over the age of puberty. Older women without husbands or close relatives to protect them were often used for sexual purposes against their will. This was especially the case with unmarried foreign women. Some of them complained that they had to dispense their favors to too many men too often.

831 152 583 [123] This aggressiveness and the danger of bride-capture made the women extremely fearful of being raped, and, as noted above, they were uneasy even when the threats were made in fun. One morning Quain decided to get rid of his numerous female visitors by employing this device. They all fled except one, who, despite her seeming courage, looked worried. Without doubt, the women enjoyed visiting Quain, but a man told him that if he were to have intercourse with any one of them, they would all fear him. Over and above this fear of rape, there [578] was a definite hostility between the sexes, which was usually well controlled, but which on occasion might explode in open quarrels between the men and the women.

576 514 827 No cumbersome taboos surrounded physiological functions. Belching and the release of flatus were common in company, but generally disregarded. However, if an unusually unpleasant odor followed, those nearby spat on the ground as a mark of disgust. The men urinated near their houses or at the edge of the village plaza. The women went to the edge of the village clearing or behind the houses. Both sexes went a short distance into the brush to defecate, but at night elimination was permitted in the village plaza if a hole was first dug for this purpose and covered over.

There was no salacious attitude toward body processes. The Trumaí were puzzled by Quain's desire for privacy in his personal habits and his curiosity about other people's. One woman seriously asked if she could watch him eliminate.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The main motivation for going into the brush to defecate was not modesty, but a feeling of revulsion for body products. One did not eliminate in places frequented by people. Yanahi was disgusted when Quain defecated in his garden and claimed that the garden was ruined. Similarly, it was considered repulsive to defecate in the water. When Quain described the great ship that had brought him to Brazil, the only thing that the Trumaí found hard to believe was that the people aboard would have to eliminate in the water.

The rules of etiquette required a person entering or leaving company to make an appropriate statement. The salutation usually consisted of a phrase stating what the person being greeted was doing at the moment. Thus, typical greetings were, "You are eating," "You have returned from fishing," "You are sitting," and so on. When leaving a person or group it was proper to announce, "I am leaving," followed generally by a statement of what one was going to do. If this last was not observed, the departing person was usually asked where he was going. These formalities were not as regularly invoked in the larger gatherings as in house-visiting.

The rules of etiquette also required the emission of conventionalized cries on particular occasions, such as the bringing of food into the village or the offering of tobacco to guests. In the latter case the person making the presentation cried "*aha*," the recipient "*ha-a-a ha ha ha*." These amenities, which were observed between the Trumaí, were always louder when an outsider was involved.

Hospitality was extended to all upper Xingú Indians and white men who visited the village. In part this was inspired by a fear of their neighbors, in part by etiquette. The Trumaí had little reason to fear Quain; yet he was treated with the greatest kindness and consideration, and everyone was eager to converse with him. Indeed, their attentions were so constant that at times he wanted nothing more than to be left alone.

While the men were far more self-assertive than the women, they were also extremely sensitive. They were insulted at the refusal of a request, or at the denial of what they considered to be the recognition due them as individuals. They did not like to be treated as faceless members of a group. During the argument that followed Quain's complaint that some article of his had been stolen, Maibu criticized him for addressing them collectively as "Trumaí," while they always called him "*capitão*" or by his name.

The Trumaí were greatly interested in Western goods and their behavior toward whites was unrestrained. The following quotation from Quain's field notes describes this succinctly:

> The reason why it is so difficult to live with these people is that they are so "impolite." At least in their dealings with me, an outsider, and with the mission-

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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626 On these occasions the men usually unburdened themselves in the
828 village center. Malice was expressed either by a verbal interchange with
154 the opponent or an angry speech. The substance of the latter type of demonstration often was not related to the cause of the dispute or to the speaker's discontent. Manifestly, the function of the harangue was to provide an emotional outlet rather than a forum. Maibu's suggestion that Quain should make a speech in his own language underlines the fact that the externalization of anger was the paramount purpose.

154 Emotional release could also be found in contrived performances.
626 Quain, feeling depressed one evening, refused to sing when the Trumaí
123 asked him to. However, when Maibu proposed a mock argument, Quain, being a good ethnologist, complied. Facing each other in the village center, the two men hurled epithets and insults at each other at the top of their voices. When Quain was at a loss for something to say, Maibu suggested that he repeat a speech he had made about the theft of his supplies. At the conclusion Quain reported, "I felt very good when I shouted at him for a while, and I was quite willing to sing."

683 In cases of physical harm, settlement could be obtained by paying
692 the injured person. Quain was told that after the spear-throwing contest, the Kamayurá and the Trumaí each paid indemnities for bruises inflicted.[9] No case of physical violence was observed by Quain, but when
[123] he slapped the flour from the boy's hand, and again when he stepped on a child's foot, the Trumaí suggested that he pay something. The latter case was an obvious attempt at petty extortion, for a week later the same child had his foot stepped on by a Trumaí, but this time the only result was an admonition from his father to be quiet.

626 Still another alternative to violence was found in witchcraft. Only one
754 or two Trumaí knew the practice of sorcery, and these men were said to
[186] have learned it from the Nahukwa, who were much feared because of their dangerous skill. Sorcery was usually invoked covertly, but at least once in an argument its use was openly threatened. This, however, was regarded as a most reprehensible action.

578 The chief source of conflict in the village was sex. Quarrels over who
154 was to marry the three available women raged throughout Quain's stay. Bride-capture, the large percentage of older women, and polygamy combined to make the allotment of women an extremely sore point. The story of the battle over one woman is worth reporting, as it illustrates both patterned interpersonal relationships and the ways in which anger could be expressed and channeled.

578 Three men wanted to marry Kuyafi, a widow with a child. They were
584 Oirupa the sorcerer, Mayuva, her sister's husband, and Nitvary. Kuyafi,
154 it was said, had once had a child by Nitvary, so his claim was a strong one. So also was Mayuva's, as he had recognized sexual rights over her

[9] Cf. Galvão 1950, p. 363.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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CHAPTER FOUR

Religious Beliefs and Practices

182 771 829 The lapse of many religious practices and the lessening of interest in those aspects of culture that we classify as religion were striking features of this dying society. Older informants remembered the time when there were ceremonial masks, the flute house, and other traits that are still found among certain tribes of the upper Xingú. Indeed, if it were not for Matiwana's unusual age, the Trumaí would be even more lacking in ceremonial knowledge. Yet there seems to have been little regret on the part of either the older or younger generations for this culture loss. They shrugged it off, saying that their grandfathers had had such [177] practices, but that they did not. This indifference is not too surprising, since much of their religion was borrowed from their upper Xingú neighbors not too long ago.[1]

771 105 Despite the decline in interest in the ceremonial cycle and the disappearance of certain religious traits, the main outlines of Trumaí religion were still observable in Quain's time. Shamanism was still practiced extensively, but it was simple both in form and supporting ideology. Ceremonialism was related to subsistence and curing. The shaman's individualized power resulted in a specialization of religious functions as did the individual ownership of ceremonial songs and dances. Some Trumaí, like old Matiwana, were better versed in the [193] religious rites than others, but they did not constitute a priestly class. While no one person interceded with the supernatural on behalf of the [182] whole village, the group ceremonials provided a focal point for social participation and village cooperation, and many of them were undertaken by the community for the benefit of all.

Shamanism

756 [184] The shamanistic art of curing was known and employed by nearly all the adult males of the village, and in this sense parallels the practices recorded among the Kamayurá by Oberg.[2] There is, however, a type

[1] Kamayurá ceremonial and religious life, much of which was once shared by the Trumaí, is discussed by Oberg (1953) and Galvão (1949, 1950). The extent of Trumaí culture loss can be roughly inferred from these sources and from the work of the earlier ethnologists.

[2] Oberg 1953, p. 60.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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796 He then started a song about the post in which he was joined by Nitvary
243 and the women. After two repetitions, the women poured a bowl of the
522 soup on Matiwana's head and shoulders, making a dripping mess of him. He retired amid general laughter. The second bowl of soup was then poured over the pole. A full explanation of the beliefs surrounding the *ole* posts was not obtained.

796 Due to the fact that Quain had only recently arrived in the village
243 when the ceremony was held, there is also a lack of clarity in the system
608 of relationships known as *ole aton*. The word "*aton*" means "pet" in Trumaí, but in the present context it applies to a temporary ceremonial identification between people, and between people and the *ole* posts. The
[571] interpersonal ties set up were only between persons of opposite sex. However, a man could have more than one woman for *aton*, and vice versa.

Kinship may be the determinant of these ties, but the data are inconclusive. Interestingly, the greatest number of *ole aton* relationships existed between people of the previously mentioned pairs of houses, suggesting a ceremonial reinforcement of this moiety-like arrangement.

Except for reciprocal gift-giving obligations, nothing is known of the behavioral roles called for by these connections. The owners of the *ole* posts were said to have their particular posts *for atons*. Their chief
[782] ceremonial duties were to peel and paint the pole, and supply it with
[778] food offerings. It may be hypothesized that the posts represent certain spirits with which individuals are identified, perhaps as the result of shamanistic experiences, as described by Oberg for the Kamayurá.[6]

796 During the *ole* ceremony, as during the cure described above, Quain
829 was impressed by the lack of interest in the proceedings. Those who
181 were not part of the immediate activity sat and smoked, indulging in the usual topics of conversation. The loose patterning and secularity which characterized the ritual bespoke the general lassitude that permeated all aspects of the culture.

The Piquí Ceremony

796 The *piquí (tsinon)* ceremony occurred at the end of the harvest of that fruit, during the first half of the rainy season. It was similar to the *ole* celebration, but not as lengthy nor as important. Quain's information on the festival, obtained from Aloari, is very limited. Jakwanari, the main functionary, occupied a position similar to that of Matiwana and Nitvary in the *ole* ceremony. As Aloari phrased it, "Jakwanari had *tsinon* as *aton*." There was house-to-house dancing by the women, accompanied by singing of a certain series of songs. At the end of the dancing Jak-
[262] wanari's wife made a large quantity of *t'ak*, the *piquí* flour cake, which

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Quain was told that the Kamayurá were "bad," because they permitted marriage with a sister's daughter.[8]

Cross-cousin marriage is correlated with sororal polygyny among the Trumaí and with the sexual privileges that a man may take with his wife's sister. No indication was found of the sororate, despite its probable acceptability. There was only one case of the levirate, and that was the marriage of the chief to his dead brother's wife. That the levirate is expected but not compulsory is apparent in the case of Yati and his brother's widow Vatsiat. She resided in Yati's house, and they performed many necessary, sexually specialized functions for each other. Although their hammocks were some distance apart, Vatsiat called him *ece* (husband) and became quite incensed at one of his paramours. However, Yati called her *apizi* (sibling), and apparently felt that there were no marital obligations between them. He had his love-life, which did not include her, and he showed no sign of annoyance at her escapades. It was a standing joke that every man in the village had sexual relations with Vatsiat, except where an incest taboo prohibited it.

Marriage between people of different generations, especially between older women and younger men, was frequent; but the rules governing such unions are obscure. It was specifically frowned upon for a man to marry his mother's brother's widow. However, when one young man did so, he was only mildly ridiculed and censured, and his status in the village was little affected.

Joking Relations

Cross-cousins were not the only acceptable marriage partners, but they were the only ones with whom marriage was expected and especially approved. Also, patterned and expected joking existed only between these kin. Cross-cousins of the same sex, especially males, bantered with each other, but most sexual joking occurred between men and women. Thus, Aloari enjoyed making suggestive remarks to the rather old and ugly Vatsiat and frequently accused her of improprieties with various men. On one occasion, partly for Quain's benefit, he threw her on her back and went through the motions of coitus.

Cross-cousins of the same sex confined their joking to pranks and good-natured raillery, *ami tarajau*, which Quain translates as "cross-cousin talk." Mayuva teased Yati, who had a phobia of frogs, by chasing after him with a frog hanging from a stick. Both men and women made great sport of urging Quain to throw their cross-cousins out of his house. On one occasion, Quain, experimentally, made sexual suggestions to several women who had congregated in his house. They all ran out laughing shrilly, but one came back later to be reassured that it was

[8] Cf. Oberg 1953, p. 44.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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only *ami tarajau*. *Ami tarajau* also took the form of mock name-calling contests between men.

The Trumaí found great amusement in minor accidents that befell others and in humorous gossip, without regard to kinship. Jokes played by one person on another, however, usually occurred between cross-cousins.

Avoidance and Respect

Taboos on the names or persons of affinal relatives were observed by the Trumaí, because, as they said, they felt *wily* (ashamed) toward them. The strongest prohibited a man from speaking the name of his parents-in-law or being in their presence. Thus, a man would not enter a house in which his father-in-law was visiting or join the men's circle if he were there. Parents-in-law were the only affinals whose persons were avoided, and this was most strictly observed between a man and his father-in-law. Due to the short life span, social intercourse was little interrupted by this practice; only one father-in-law and two mothers-in-law lived in the Trumaí village. However, they figured importantly in marital troubles, since parents always took the part of their own offspring in a conflict between mates. Aloari felt bitter about his dead mother-in-law, because she had helped his wife to kill their first two children at birth. The avoidance of a father-in-law's name was so strict that a Trumaí man could not mention his own son's second name, because it was inherited from his wife's father.

Name avoidance was also invoked to some degree with respect to the second ascending generation of affinals. A wife's grandparents could be referred to by name, but only in a whisper, while no such inhibitions were observed when addressing the wife herself by the name.[1]

The Trumaí were ashamed toward the wife's brother and the sister's husband. This was expressed by name avoidance and a respect relation. If there were children, a man could avoid the use of his brother-in-law's name by calling him *deta a'o* (sister's son's father) in the case of a sister's husband, or *apat'awe* (child's mother's brother), if he was the wife's brother. Respect was shown by offering the affinal a chair or by other small courtesies or gift-giving. Since an affinal of the same generation was often a cross-cousin, the joking and respect relationships overlapped rather curiously. While Yati and his cross-cousin and brother-in-law Mayuva played pranks on or feigned anger at one another, they showed great mutual deference at other times. Immediately after Yati told Quain to throw Mayuva out of his house, Mayuva rolled a cigarette for Yati and lit it for him. Manifestly, the two prescribed patterns caused no conflict.

[1] This probably illustrates some overlapping between name avoidance and the taboo on speaking the name of a dead person.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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with prestige. Aloari, who later became chief, was classified as a *camara* at the time of Quain's visit.

At the top of the Trumaí prestige scale was the chief. His authority was limited, but he was more respected than any other man. The two sub-chiefs enjoyed some, but not much, prestige. Matiwana was an old man, and old age decreases status among the Trumaí. He took the lead in group curing ceremonies, however, and was the repository of much Trumaí lore and learning. Nor was Katauka, the other sub-chief, very influential. And neither official had the privilege of "talking" to the people as Maibu did. That Katauka was a shaman and Matiwana the chief curer of the village contributed more to their prestige than did their position as sub-chiefs or their membership in the *aek* class. Tun, the shaman, and Oirupa, the sorcerer, ranked just below the chief in importance. The former enjoyed some standing as his prognostications of enemy movements were relied upon and respected by everybody. Oirupa had added power only because he was feared.

The only other criteria of status were youth and aggressiveness. Property was not a point of prestige, but those whose assertive attitudes gave them some status and influence were also those who manifested an accumulative attitude toward property. Youth and sexual prowess were highly regarded. Boasting about sexual exploits was usually done privately, but great pride was taken in them. This was related to the general esteem in which youth, size and vigor were held. To be a successful wrestler, therefore, enhanced a man's position. The Trumaí were also impressed by Quain's height and wanted to know what kind of medicines white men used to make them so tall. There was no warrior class and no special status for success in combat, except insofar as it was an indication of strength and courage.

As noted above, the status of old men was very low, except when they had special knowledge or office. Yet these attributes did not protect Matiwana from being contemptuously referred to as an old man. Moreover, Quain was severely criticized for giving presents to old Yahu, most of whose property had already been claimed by others, since the Trumaí did not think it proper that one so old should have any possessions beyond fishing and hunting equipment and other necessities. A favorite insult among the Trumaí was to tell someone he was old, and by implication that he no longer bathed or was able to fornicate.

Prestige variations, on the whole, were not great in the Trumaí village. The community had no clearly defined social groupings based on status, nor were there social mechanisms for human exploitation. Variations in wealth were slight, and their only significance was that one man might have more tools and trinkets than another. It is possible, however, that before the Trumaí had declined to their present low estate, prestige and authority were more clearly patterned, as they still were in the Kamayurá village.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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tention of marriage. But an intention of marriage did not insure exclusive sexual rights. The man usually continued to get gratification wherever he could find it. The knowledge of his other liaisons did not particularly disturb his bride-to-be, as she herself may well have been receiving attentions from other lovers. After marriage, such transgressions were not so readily tolerated.

The chief obstacles in the way of the marriage-bent Trumaí swain were the necessity to shout down his rivals and gain the approval and consent of the girl's kinsmen. The woman's consent was not necessary in making the marriage, and she usually remained aloof, waiting to see who won. If, however, she was not pleased with the mate to whom she was awarded, she was free to leave him. And this she often did. While Quain was in the village, there were marriages that lasted only a day or two due to the bride's dissatisfaction.

In addition to the arguments that precede most marriages, the man was expected to go through certain formalities. He went to the girl's mother and stated his intentions. If the girl had no mother, he approached the nearest male relative. In order to gain the favor of her kinsmen, he distributed gifts, the most important to the girl's mother, others to her father, siblings, and her mother's brother. The gift to the latter was especially important, as he was the one who formally gave the woman, or as the Trumaí phrase it, "spreads her legs." Gifts were also given the girl, culminating with a present of fish. In the meantime the girl made an especially fine hammock which she gave to the groom.

If everything was accepted, the man was free to take the girl to his house. The wedding was preceded by a fishing expedition in which nearly all the men participated, and by a wrestling match for which the groom was beautifully painted. The women held a trade game. The actual ceremony consisted of nothing more than the woman's moving into the house of her mate. A male relative carried her hammock to his home.

This was the way weddings should have been conducted in the Trumaí village. Actually, they were even less formal, especially in the case of second wives in polygamous unions. Marriage and sex preoccupied the Trumaí, for there were not enough women to go around; but even the few formal acts involved interested the Trumaí little. If the marriage was durable, the couple settled down and had children. After marriage and the birth of children no great change occurred in their positions in the community until they reached old age.

Old Age

Everyone in the village was classified as "younger" or "older." The men were either *axosek* (younger) or *idakek* (older), while the terms for the women were, respectively, *axosekisa* and *idakits*. These were not age

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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master at this dead-pan type of humor. When the women attempted to talk to him and Quain, he remained entirely disinterested, occasionally breaking in on them to address himself solely to the ethnographer. Although the women affected exasperation, they really enjoyed this negative attention.

The women were easy to frighten. Aloari teased his wife and sister-in-law by chasing them with a live snake in his hands. The women were also sensitive to touch (few men could resist brushing a hand lightly over an ever-exposed buttock when a crowd was present), and they became nervous when they saw that such teasing was impending. On a day when all the women had crowded into Quain's house, he pulled on the perineal cord of one of them. She immediately loosed a scream and ran out the door followed by the others, who laughed hilariously. Thereafter all the women expected to be teased by Quain, and they identified him somewhat more with the other men than they had before. The men often threatened rape in jest, but even when the women recognized the humorous intent, their basic anxiety was never completely allayed.

Pranks were frequent among the men. It was particularly amusing for a man to inform the others that Quain had given him a gift. Yati went to the trouble of filling a cartridge box with dirt and soberly telling all the men that the box was full of rifle shells. He was among the more popular jokers of the village. And pranks were played on him also. One night, in jest, Aloari shot at Yati's chicken with Quain's rifle on the pretext that it had been crowing. (The noise of the rifle report was also calculated to terrify the village.) Tun and Jakwanari occasionally tried to be funny by sitting alone and talking to themselves rapidly and incoherently. This was considered forced humor, and no one so much as chuckled.

A major source of diversion was gossip about who was cohabiting with whom. While this sometimes led to shouting arguments, it was more often merely playful talk, and it was treated as such. Accusations of sexual intercourse, sometimes true and sometimes false, were tossed back and forth between the men, usually with accompanying leers.

Manners and Morals

The Trumaí gossiped about sex, not because it was held to be morally wrong to do so, but because they had a frank and honest interest in it. Sex was considered a part of the "good life," but it was also thought to be a distraction from work. Thus, the chief made lengthy speeches castigating the men for being interested in nothing but sex when they should have been out planting. Similarly, Yanahi should have finished his puberty rites, but, as one of his kinsmen bluntly put it, all he wanted to do was "*tsidi*" (copulate). In reality the men took vicarious enjoyment in watching Yanahi exert his newly found sex prowess.

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592 friendly terms tended to join in forming a household, and third, it was
578 probably considered desirable to suppress ill feeling within the house.

The unfriendliness between Maibu and the men of Aloari's family
571 existed side by side with close gift-giving obligations between their two
578 houses. According to Aloari's brother Oirupa, he *pans* (gives) to all the
592 people of his own house and also to all the people of Maibu's house. Residence was the crucial factor, for when Yanahi and Mayuva moved from his house, Oirupa no longer gave to them. Similarly, the two other houses had close gift-giving ties. The women united according to this house division when an attack was thought imminent.

Insofar as can be ascertained from Quain's genealogical data, there
114 were no special kin bonds between the households of Maibu and Aloari,
592 on one hand, and Jakwanari and Nitvary, on the other, to explain this
602 moiety-like division. But it is of interest that the houses of both Maibu and Aloari were the large type of domicile, like those of the Kamayurá, whereas the other pair of houses were the smaller "true" Trumaí type. It is possible that the residents of one pair of houses, perhaps the smaller, were the descendants of inhabitants of the southern village.

The Nuclear Family

594 Despite the importance of the household and the bilateral consanguineal group, the nuclear family, consisting of man, wife, and children, was still the basic unit of Trumaí society and economy. The biological family could provide nearly all the necessities of life within the previously outlined framework of individualized production and division of labor between the sexes.

The responsibilities of child-rearing fell largely on the nuclear family. The Trumaí showed a fondness for children, and it was not unusual for other adults in the house to play with them and watch over them; but the chief attention came from the parents, and the dependence of the young upon the father and mother was stronger than upon the rest of the household.

The conjugal group had its own hearth near which its hammocks were
[513] strung. Very young children slept with the mother or, if motherless, with the father. Couples were companionable and spent much of their
593 leisure time with each other. It was common for a man and wife to sit in the shade of their house in the afternoon while he made arrows and she worked on a hammock. At other times the couple would go on a short
[832] gathering trip, or just idle around the house. Embraces or mild sex play often occurred in public between younger mates.

Some unions were closer than others. Aloari and his wife Yumunuwa
593 spent more time together and showed more affection than did other
156 couples. They were both young; he was virile and aggressive, and she

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CHAPTER FIVE

THE LIFE CYCLE

Birth

843 The Trumai were well aware of the facts of conception, paternity, and [842] pregnancy. That menstruation ceased after conception was, of course, perfectly obvious to them, but it is uncertain whether this was considered a diagnostic of pregnancy. Maibu related some female gossip to Quain to the effect that Aloari's wife, Yumununwa, was pregnant. When Quain objected on the grounds that she had only recently menstruated, Maibu pointed out as indisputable evidence that her navel was protruding.

847 One of the Trumai women, the clubfooted, childless, and unmarried [732] Yawala, was pregnant during Quain's stay. She spent most of her time [848] in her hammock and received little attention, except from other women who kept insisting that they perform an abortion upon her. Abortion was usually induced by manipulating the abdomen, but also, it seems, by drinking certain "waters" of which the women had knowledge. Yawala resisted all urgings and maintained that she wanted a child "to hold in my arms."

Abortion was undoubtedly frequent, and infanticide too, and at times without the agreement of the husband. It is not known what, 843 if any, observances and precautions were taken during pregnancy 833 except that sexual intercourse ceased when a woman became very large because "it hurts her."

844 Parturition was accompanied by observances led by old Matiwana, 846 during which the men sat and smoked. The women held the laboring woman in a sitting position, in which she gave birth. The role of the husband before and after delivery was not recorded. After Aloari's son was born, however, his wife bled for three moons. During this time he had to drink a certain medicine. Quain's notes suggest that a form of couvade was observed.

[431] After birth, the only economic exchange that took place was a gift which the husband gave to the wife in payment for the child.

Early Childhood

162 The youngest child in the Trumai village was a girl between one and two years of age. The other girl was about six. Of the boys, one was about

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four, three between five and seven, two between seven and ten, and the other two between ten and twelve. The little girl could not as yet walk alone. The two youngest boys could, although occasionally they still suckled at their mother's breasts.

The Trumaí infant was subjected to very little training. Rarely was the very young child told not to do anything. However, all the children except for Katsits, the infant girl, knew that they should defecate in the bush and urinate away from the village plaza. Katsits very often eliminated in the house, or while she was in her mother's arms. X'utsi, the mother, merely scraped a bit of dirt over the wet spot. She gave no indication to the child that this was an undesirable act, and the child took no note of her own activity. Exactly how a child learned to exert self-control is not clear, but it was probably by emulating older children and adults, whose toilet habits were hardly a secret.

The child suckled until it was five or six years of age, although it began to partake of the ordinary diet by the end of the first year. Yumunuwa said that she suckled Tsirikoan three times a day: morning, noon, and evening. This was not a strict regimen, for the boy often crawled into her lap or straddled her waist and suckled at odd hours. Until about five years old, the child slept in the mother's hammock, or if motherless, with the father. Often it slept with the mother's breast in its mouth, and if it awoke during the night, it suckled until it fell asleep again.

The nursing of older children is a perpetuation of the infantile pattern, and it is indicative of the lack of stress on weaning. Also, because of infanticide and the low birth rate, there is little cause for sibling rivalry among the Trumaí.

Help was given the child in learning to walk and talk. The men appeared to devote more attention to this phase of upbringing than the women. Katsits was often walked about by her father, and sometimes by Maibu or other men who lived in the same house. Her father was eager to have her walk by herself so that he would not need to coach her, but nevertheless he and the other adults showed the greatest indulgence and patience in this task.

Part of the father's anxiety was doubtless due to the taboos which restricted his activity until his child had learned to walk. The most important of these was a ban on sexual intercourse. When Katsits developed colic, it was generally thought to be the outcome of coitus between the parents. Certain foods were also forbidden the father, one being seasoned fish hash, which was a great favorite. It is not known whether the mother was also required to observe food taboos.

More emphasis was placed on teaching the child to speak. The adults and older children made repeated attempts to put words into the mouths of the very young, saying the same phrases over and over again. In this

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taboos and permissible marriages were a part of kinship-determined behavior and will be treated below.

Kinship Terminology

Everyone within the Trumaí village classified everyone else by a term of relationship. Since the community was small, most of these designations expressed a demonstrable bond of consanguinity or affinity, although even outsiders were placed within the kinship system. This was done by establishing a kin tie with one Trumaí, whereupon the rest of the village could automatically place the outsider in the proper context.

Much of the data on the kinship system is uncertain for a number of reasons. The high death rate of the Trumaí, their lack of interest in tracing genealogies, and, most important, a taboo on the names of the dead made the recounting of family lines difficult. Moreover, there is some indication that the Trumaí system was changing rapidly. Many descriptive categories for classifying collateral kinsmen were falling into disuse and being replaced by classificatory terms. The result is an extreme looseness of nomenclature, as can be seen from the accompanying list of terms collected by three ethnologists.[3]

Term	Quain	Oberg[4]	Wagley[5]
Ego's generation			
sibling	apizi[6]		
younger brother	takwai (v) opat (r)	aheát[6] (m. sp.) takwai (w. sp.)	ha-heát[6] (m. sp.) ha-pisí (w. sp.)
older brother		apisí (m. or w.sp.)	ha-pisí (m. or w. sp.)
sister	hatdifle		ha-dufle (m. sp.)
younger sister	ta'yj	tain (m. sp.) takwai (w. sp.)	ha-takwai (w.sp.)
older sister		apisí (m. or w.sp.)	ha-pisí (w. sp.)

[3] The three lists of Trumaí kinship terms are listed below, since they, in a sense, complete and correct one another. Quain's list is admittedly incomplete and contains several errors. Wagley's terms likewise are incomplete and based on short interviews with informants during his brief stay among the Trumaí. Oberg says nothing about his Trumaí informants, and neither Oberg nor Wagley collected referential terms. The divergencies, then, may reflect misunderstandings on the part of the ethnologists or informants, or they may actually reflect changes that are taking place in Trumaí society.

[4] Oberg 1953, p. 119.

[5] Wagley, personal communication.

[6] The prefix "ha" (Wagley and Quain) or "a" (Oberg and Quain) is the Trumaí first person possessive.

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582 [186] Quain was told that the Kamayurá were "bad," because they permitted marriage with a sister's daughter.[6]

582 575 837 Cross-cousin marriage is correlated with sororal polygyny among the Trumaí and with the sexual privileges that a man may take with his wife's sister. No indication was found of the sororate, despite its probable acceptability. There was only one case of the levirate, and that was the 587 marriage of the chief to his dead brother's wife. That the levirate is expected but not compulsory is apparent in the case of Yati and his brother's widow Vatsiat. She resided in Yati's house, and they performed [462] many necessary, sexually specialized functions for each other. Although their hammocks were some distance apart, Vatsiat called him *ece* (husband) and became quite incensed at one of his paramours. However, Yati called her *apizi* (sibling), and apparently felt that there were no [83] marital obligations between them. He had his love-life, which did not include her, and he showed no sign of annoyance at her escapades. It was a standing joke that every man in the village had sexual relations with Vatsiat, except where an incest taboo prohibited it.

582 684 •835 Marriage between people of different generations, especially between older women and younger men, was frequent: but the rules governing such unions are obscure. It was specifically frowned upon for a man to marry his mother's brother's widow. However, when one young man did so, he was only mildly ridiculed and censured, and his status in the village was little affected.

Joking Relations

582 684 831 Cross-cousins were not the only acceptable marriage partners, but they were the only ones with whom marriage was expected and especially approved. Also, patterned and expected joking existed only between these kin. Cross-cousins of the same sex, especially males, bantered with each other, but most sexual joking occurred between men and women. Thus, Aloarí enjoyed making suggestive remarks to the rather old and ugly Vatsiat and frequently accused her of improprieties with various men. On one occasion, partly for Quain's benefit, he threw her on her back and went through the motions of coitus.

602 605 831 Cross-cousins of the same sex confined their joking to pranks and good-natured raillery, *ami tarajau*, which Quain translates as "cross-cousin talk." Mayuva teased Yati, who had a phobia of frogs, by chasing after him with a frog hanging from a stick. Both men and women made great sport of urging Quain to throw their cross-cousins out of his house.

123 602 834 On one occasion, Quain, experimentally, made sexual suggestions to several women who had congregated in his house. They all ran out laughing shrilly, but one came back later to be reassured that it was

[6] Cf. Oberg 1953, p. 44.

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551 605 607 Only when he was also the brother-in-law was respect given to a cross-cousin or his name avoided. Female cross-cousins, despite affinal connections, were never so treated by the men.

Avunculate

604 522 [861] [431] The maternal uncle in Trumaí society was in no sense a disciplinarian. Only the father and the father's brother were allowed to strike a child. On the other hand, the gift-giving claims of the sister's son (*deta*) upon the mother's brother (*wawe*) were strong, and particularly so when they were reinforced by co-residence. A man was expected to be benevolent and tolerant toward his *deta*. This frequently took the form of teasing and jollying the boy, and contrasted with the more serious attitude of the father and his brothers. For instance, Yati told his *deta* that he and Quain were going to eat him, and, as if to carry out the threat, he began to drag him toward the fire. The child cried lustily, and Yati immediately stopped and cajoled him. Also, Katauka said to his *deta*, "When you die, I will not cry." Katauka was greatly amused when this caused tears.

Such teasing ceased by the time a boy reached the age of puberty. Moreover, the *wawe* became a defender of the *deta's* interests in the absence of the boy's father or father's brother, and, in some cases, he supervised his initiation ceremonies. Common to both the Trumaí and [437] Kamayurá was the traveling partnership of a man and his sister's son. [171] It was quite usual for a *wawe* to take his *deta* along when he visited another village. Quain noted that on such trips the wife of the older man was rarely included. This is consistent with the sexual taboo [835] between the nephew and the maternal uncle's wife.

The Chieftaincy

622 624 [888] The Trumaí had one chieftain (*aek*), Maibu, and two sub-chiefs, Katauka and Matiwana. At the outset it should be understood that Katauka and Matiwana at no time during Quain's stay exerted any chiefly prerogative or function. They were not men of especially high status — indeed, Matiwana was looked down upon as an old man. Their main function, Quain was told, was to take over the office of chief when Maibu was away from the village. Due to Matiwana's advanced age, this duty ordinarily fell to Katauka. Otherwise, neither man was particularly influential; nor did they talk more in the men's circle than others.

622 537 The chief's main function was to urge his fellow Trumaí to carry out those projects or tasks which were the responsibility of the community as a whole or in its interest, but he frequently exhorted the villagers to

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Divorce and Adultery

The polygynous unions were extremely brittle. In two cases observed by Quain, they lasted only a few days. In both instances the first wife was responsible for the break-up. The bonds of the second marriage of a plural mating were loose, for Jakwanari's second wife had sexual relations with several Trumaí men with apparent impunity. Such behavior would have been dealt with severely by a husband had his first wife been involved. Divorces also occurred in monogamous marriages; they entailed little more than telling the wife to leave. After the birth of their son, Oirupa sent his Mehinaku wife back to her village and kept the child. The right of the father's village over the children seems to have been general in the area, for Autu had a son by a Waurá husband, whom the Waurá refused to give to the Trumaí.

There is no recorded instance of adultery precipitating a divorce, although this probably occurred. However, the usual procedure was for the injured husband to beat his wife and make a lengthy and heated speech against the offending suitor. The wife of an adulterous husband showed anger toward his paramour and did not speak to her. Hair pulling resulted in some cases. The husband's behavior was viewed as reprehensible by the wife, but she took no action against him. One wife even chuckled a bit over her husband's adventures, although jealousy is the more usual response.

Due to the threat of punishment, the married women engaged far less in extra-marital relations than did their husbands. Both married and unmarried men sought out unattached women, but instances of married men in such liaisons were less numerous. The younger married men and Maibu, the chief, seemed to have been the chief offenders. The latter complained to Quain that all the women in the village were prohibited to him, as they were his wife's cross-cousins. Neither his genealogy nor his activities bore him out, and he often approached the single women and Jakwanari's second wife when the other men were out of the village. Everyone conceded that, although Maibu's wife had not reached menopause, she was "too old." Thus they rationalized his escapades.

The instability of the nuclear family and the vicissitudes to which it was exposed were alleviated by household and kin distribution and by the interdependence of co-resident relatives of the opposite sex for sexually specialized goods and services. These arrangements made possible the economic workability of Trumaí culture. The conjugal family was basic to the culture, however, and marriage was highly desirable to the Trumaí. Despite the shortage of available women and the conflicts which stemmed from it, sex relations between unmarried persons were free and easy and subject to little or no public censure, except insofar as they encroached on the interests of others. Incest

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compartment in the house for six months, at the end of which time she is accepted as a young woman.[3]

Menstruation caused no special distress to the Trumaí women. They maintained personal cleanliness with the aid of leaves, going out into the brush behind the house to care for themselves. Although the relevant taboos were observed, the women talked frankly to Quain about menstruation, and were interested in learning what white women did during the period. The men, although expressing a fear of menstrual blood, did not shun the subject either. Most of them knew when women in the village were having their menses.

Everyone was extremely shocked when Quain told them that white people often had intercourse during the menstrual period, for such contact would make a Trumaí man fall ill and die. Aloarí said that he would surely die of a cough if he copulated with his wife then. The blood itself was considered malignant, infecting whatever it touched. The whole village became very disturbed when Kuyafi dropped some menstrual blood on the path to the gardens. Aloarí averred that he would not go for manioc until the rain washed it away.

Fear of polluting forced a menstruating woman to make frequent trips to the weeds, where nobody walked. The danger also extended to her person. During this time she was not allowed to cook, although she could sit around the fire when food was being prepared. (Quain's departure from the Trumaí village was delayed for a day as both the wife and sister-in-law of Aloarí, who was to accompany him, were menstruating, and there was only one woman left in the household to make his *beijú* supply.) Nor could the menstruating woman carry water or take a bath. However, a prohibition on eating fish was the only food taboo that she had to observe.

Marriage

A man was ready to seek a mate within one or two years after his initiation, or at the corresponding age level. Women were suitable prospects soon after their puberty rites. It was common for marriages to be arranged by parents while their children were still infants. These infant betrothals were usually between cross-cousins. It is doubtful, however, whether many such arranged marriages were consummated, both because of the high mortality and the fact that most of the Trumaí women were ultimately fought for and won by verbal battles in the men's circle.

Courtships were neither long nor formalized. When a man developed an interest in a woman, he usually expressed it by attempting to seduce her. In most instances, amorous advances were made without any in-

[3] Rodrigues Ferreira 1946, p. 92.

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tention of marriage. But an intention of marriage did not insure exclusive sexual rights. The man usually continued to get gratification wherever he could find it. The knowledge of his other liaisons did not particularly disturb his bride-to-be, as she herself may well have been receiving attentions from other lovers. After marriage, such transgressions were not so readily tolerated.

The chief obstacles in the way of the marriage-bent Trumaí swain were the necessity to shout down his rivals and gain the approval and consent of the girl's kinsmen. The woman's consent was not necessary in making the marriage, and she usually remained aloof, waiting to see who won. If, however, she was not pleased with the mate to whom she was awarded, she was free to leave him. And this she often did. While Quain was in the village, there were marriages that lasted only a day or two due to the bride's dissatisfaction.

In addition to the arguments that precede most marriages, the man was expected to go through certain formalities. He went to the girl's mother and stated his intentions. If the girl had no mother, he approached the nearest male relative. In order to gain the favor of her kinsmen, he distributed gifts, the most important to the girl's mother, others to her father, siblings, and her mother's brother. The gift to the latter was especially important, as he was the one who formally gave the woman, or as the Trumaí phrase it, "spreads her legs." Gifts were also given the girl, culminating with a present of fish. In the meantime the girl made an especially fine hammock which she gave to the groom.

If everything was accepted, the man was free to take the girl to his house. The wedding was preceded by a fishing expedition in which nearly all the men participated, and by a wrestling match for which the groom was beautifully painted. The women held a trade game. The actual ceremony consisted of nothing more than the woman's moving into the house of her mate. A male relative carried her hammock to his home.

This was the way weddings should have been conducted in the Trumaí village. Actually, they were even less formal, especially in the case of second wives in polygamous unions. Marriage and sex preoccupied the Trumaí, for there were not enough women to go around; but even the few formal acts involved interested the Trumaí little. If the marriage was durable, the couple settled down and had children. After marriage and the birth of children no great change occurred in their positions in the community until they reached old age.

Old Age

Everyone in the village was classified as "younger" or "older." The men were either *axosek* (younger) or *tdakek* (older), while the terms for the women were, respectively, *axosekisa* and *tdakits*. These were not age

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mitigated by intra-household sharing and the performance of services, normally done by mates, by co-resident relatives of the opposite sex. In this way unmarried persons could be integrated within the Trumaí economy.

Among the twenty-eight persons of marriage age in the Trumaí village, there were only eight unions involving seventeen persons. The eleven unmarried included one widower with a young child, one divorced man with a child, three widows with children, four unmarried men, and two unmarried women.

One of the widows was married during Quain's sojourn, but the other two were considered too old. One of the unmarried women subsequently took a mate, but the other, who had a clubfoot, was thought to be too old and ugly for marriage, although several men had sexual relations with her. Two of the unmarried men were probably also considered too old for marriage, a third was seeking a wife, and the fourth showed little interest in obtaining one. Neither the widower nor the divorced man were seeking wives at the time.

All these persons had made some sort of adjustment through their relatives. The incorporation of two of the unmarried men and of one of the widows into Nitvary's household shows how a functional interdependence within the household was achieved, despite the lack of a lineage in residence. Living at one end of the house were two old unmarried men, Yahu and Yakuma. At the other end were Nitvary, his wife Kaiti, his widowed mother Fayeru, and his young sister Kayaya. Gift-giving and food-sharing went on between all of the people in the house, but the two single men depended most on Fayeru, whom they called "sister," while Nitvary's needs were provided for by his wife. The members of the household were all dependent on each other, as Kaiti alone would have been hard pressed to do woman's work for two more men. Their presence, however, meant more food for the house.

In Aloari's house his unmarried brother Tun provided food for the cooking pots of Aloari's wife Yumunuwa, while her brother Oirupa exchanged services with his classificatory sister Yawala, the club-footed woman. By this free flow of food and service, which was especially marked between the sexes, each individual was economically fully functional, and everyone in the household was adequately cared for.

Most of the arguments in the village occurred between members of different houses. Aloari, his brother, and his brother-in-law showed considerable personal antipathy toward Maibu and jealousy of his status as chief. When a serious conflict broke out in the village over a marriage, it took the form of verbal quarrels between members of different houses.

The greater amity between co-residents was due to a number of factors. First, closer kinship ties usually prevailed, second, people on

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156
was one of the most attractive women in the village. Their marital 593
life, however, was not always smooth. She was unusually possessive, [837]
and he was said to have thrashed her severely once for infidelity. Also, [847]
he felt some resentment for the infanticides she had committed at the
birth of two of their children.

Aloari, his wife, and his brother Tun were not typical of the Trumaí. In addition to the closeness of Aloari's marriage there was a strong attachment between the two brothers. None of the three participated fully in the community social life. The small in-group formed by the family probably had much to do with the strength of the marriage.

The usual cause of quarrels was adultery. Wives generally obeyed 593
their husbands, but since each had his or her own clearly understood [837]
duties to perform, it was seldom necessary for a husband to exert authority. The women, however, did influence their husbands to some extent. Quain was told by a few men that they would not be able to go to the Indian post with him because their wives wanted them to stay at home.

All but one Trumaí marriage was monogamous. The plural union 595
consisted of Jakwanari and two sisters. A number of men wanted second [583]
wives, and Aloari told Quain of a plan to go to the Suyá to capture women. Judging from the Trumaí's fear of the Suyá, this was probably sheer bravado. Several attempts were made by some of the men, however, to take one of the two eligible village women as a second wife. These efforts were all balked by the first wife, who ultimately decided whether her husband might have a second wife and, if so, who it would be. Yumunuwa flatly refused to allow Aloari to take her own sister as a wife. Kuyafi had been Nitvary's second bride for only two days, when his first wife drove her from the house in a fit of temper. Wives were obviously jealous of their monogamous position, but if a second wife was suitable, she might be allowed to stay.

Jakwanari's two wives got along well, but the second, Kamiha, accepted a decidedly subordinate role. Jakwanari's closest relationship was with Tsuku, the first wife, who also owned all the family utensils. On one occasion Kamiha had a quarrel with one of the men. She quickly retired from the fray when he called her a "second Tsuku." Jakwanari's hammock hung across those of his wives, but nothing is known of their sexual relations.

Quain was told that in polygamous marriages it was preferable to 595
take two sisters. However, even a sister might not be accepted by the 837
first wife, as Aloari's situation shows, although a man had sexual rights over his wife's sister as long as she remained unmarried. One man beat his wife's sister for refusing him sexual favors, and his action was approved by the other men. Women, however, were jealous of their husbands, and did not approve of these or any other extra-marital connections.

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582 [186] Quain was told that the Kamayurá were "bad," because they permitted marriage with a sister's daughter.[6]

582 595 837 Cross-cousin marriage is correlated with sororal polygyny among the Trumaí and with the sexual privileges that a man may take with his wife's sister. No indication was found of the sororate, despite its probable acceptability. There was only one case of the levirate, and that was the 587 marriage of the chief to his dead brother's wife. That the levirate is expected but not compulsory is apparent in the case of Yati and his brother's widow Vatsiat. She resided in Yati's house, and they performed [462] many necessary, sexually specialized functions for each other. Although their hammocks were some distance apart, Vatsiat called him *ee* (husband) and became quite incensed at one of his paramours. However, Yati called her *apisi* (sibling), and apparently felt that there were no marital obligations between them. He had his love-life, which did not [831] include her, and he showed no sign of annoyance at her escapades. It was a standing joke that every man in the village had sexual relations with Vatsiat, except where an incest taboo prohibited it.

582 684 835 Marriage between people of different generations, especially between older women and younger men, was frequent; but the rules governing such unions are obscure. It was specifically frowned upon for a man to marry his mother's brother's widow. However, when one young man did so, he was only mildly ridiculed and censured, and his status in the village was little affected.

Joking Relations

582 602 831 Cross-cousins were not the only acceptable marriage partners, but they were the only ones with whom marriage was expected and especially approved. Also, patterned and expected joking existed only between these kin. Cross-cousins of the same sex, especially males, bantered with each other, but most sexual joking occurred between men and women. Thus, Aloari enjoyed making suggestive remarks to the rather old and ugly Vatsiat and frequently accused her of improprieties with various men. On one occasion, partly for Quain's benefit, he threw her on her back and went through the motions of coitus.

602 605 831 Cross-cousins of the same sex confined their joking to pranks and good-natured raillery, *ami tarajau*, which Quain translates as "cross-cousin talk." Mayuva teased Yati, who had a phobia of frogs, by chasing after him with a frog hanging from a stick. Both men and women made great sport of urging Quain to throw their cross-cousins out of his house. 123 On one occasion, Quain, experimentally, made sexual suggestions to 602 several women who had congregated in his house. They all ran out 831 laughing shrilly, but one came back later to be reassured that it was

[6] Cf. Oberg 1953, p. 44.

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tention of marriage. But an intention of marriage did not insure exclusive sexual rights. The man usually continued to get gratification wherever he could find it. The knowledge of his other liaisons did not particularly disturb his bride-to-be, as she herself may well have been receiving attentions from other lovers. After marriage, such transgressions were not so readily tolerated.

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577 831 833 156 123 Yanahi was less inhibited than any of the other men, but his behavior was not considered shocking or immoral. Quain had apparently arrived at the village just at the time that Yanahi was on the threshold of sexual experience. He appeared in Quain's house one night to show that he had an erection and announced that he would soon be having coitus. Thereafter, he rarely failed to tell Quain of his exploits. One night quite a crowd, including Yanahi and one of his paramours, Vatsiat, was gathered in Quain's house. The young man suddenly developed a longing for her and, as soon as all the visitors had left, satisfied his craving noisily amidst Quain's pots and pans. He was proud of his virility, as were most of the Trumaí men.

577 831 562 837 No discredit attached to the male involved in a love affair and very little to the woman. Oirupa merely scolded his sister for having copulated with Yanahi. Only where adultery was involved did promiscuity lower the status of a woman. Chastity before marriage was not expected, and there was not a single virgin in the village over the age of puberty. Older women without husbands or close relatives to protect them were often used for sexual purposes against their will. This was especially the case with unmarried foreign women. Some of them complained that they had to dispense their favors to too many men too often.

831 152 583 [123] This aggressiveness and the danger of bride-capture made the women extremely fearful of being raped, and, as noted above, they were uneasy even when the threats were made in fun. One morning Quain decided to get rid of his numerous female visitors by employing this device. They all fled except one, who, despite her seeming courage, looked worried. Without doubt, the women enjoyed visiting Quain, but a man told him that if he were to have intercourse with any one of them, they would all fear him. Over and above this fear of rape, there [578] was a definite hostility between the sexes, which was usually well controlled, but which on occasion might explode in open quarrels between the men and the women.

576 514 827 No cumbersome taboos surrounded physiological functions. Belching and the release of flatus were common in company, but generally disregarded. However, if an unusually unpleasant odor followed, those nearby spat on the ground as a mark of disgust. The men urinated near their houses or at the edge of the village plaza. The women went to the edge of the village clearing or behind the houses. Both sexes went a short distance into the brush to defecate, but at night elimination was permitted in the village plaza if a hole was first dug for this purpose and covered over.

There was no salacious attitude toward body processes. The Trumaí were puzzled by Quain's desire for privacy in his personal habits and his curiosity about other people's. One woman seriously asked if she could watch him eliminate.

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857 Among the eight boys below the ages of Autsuki and Javaku there were no clearly organized groups. When outdoors they usually played in small groups of three or four, although nearly all would gather together occasionally for some special activity. The small groups were usually composed of age mates. Tsirikoan, the youngest, spent most of his time in the house, while the oldest boy, Muruta, was already drifting away from the others and spending more time with the men. Tay, an orphan boy of between ten and twelve years of age, was decidedly a misfit and did not join the others often. Of the remaining five, the three oldest were steady companions, while the two youngest either trailed them or stayed near their houses.

[572] Despite the fact that the children were together frequently, there were no fast friendships or strong ties of loyalty and dependence. In this respect they were much like the men. Their play together was sporadic, and participation was fluid and shifting.

857 The only organized play in which the children indulged was wrestling. 526 Matches were infrequent and usually broke up within fifteen minutes. 1169 All the boys turned out on such occasions except Tay, whose interests 838 were abnormally directed toward homosexual play. The wrestling 858 matches were a complete replica of the adult contests, the boys even sitting on the log in the men's circle (this was one of the few times they were permitted to do so). The adults never interfered. Usually they stood near the houses and watched the grappling with great amusement. When the wrestling involved boys of the village only, it was very informal and few pains were taken with their ornamentation. Each bout consisted of trying out some holds and grunting loudly in imitation of the men. The contests generally ended in a draw by mutual consent without any hostility being shown.

Most of the matches were between the older boys. But they also wrestled with the younger children. Even little Tsirikoan wrestled once. As he did not know what he was expected to do, he merely grunted and fell down. The bigger boys were very gentle with the little ones and tried only to teach them.

648 Just as the men were excited by the intertribal wrestling matches, the 857 boys welcomed the chance to wrestle with boys from other tribes. This 526 occurred regularly, since it was customary in the upper Xingú for a boy [484] to travel with his maternal uncle. At one such time, a Kamayurá boy [604] came to the Trumaí village and was invited to wrestle. The boys gathered [17] in the men's circle after having carefully painted themselves and put on new arm and leg bands. The older boys wrestled the Kamayurá youngster in turn, but since he was bigger, he threw them easily. The [576] Trumaí men watched from a distance, silently rooting for their own boys, but laughing loudly as each landed on his back, out of politeness to the visitors.

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All other play was more spontaneous and uncoordinated. Amusement and education were derived from using small bows and arrows which all boys possessed and the older ones knew how to make. Much of their time was spent shooting at insects and other targets in the village, but three or four children might occasionally go together to the lagoon and shoot fish from the banks. Sometimes they would wander off to the clearings when planting was in progress, or travel through the woods to gather guava. Few restraints were placed on their movements.

Nor was the sex play of children greatly inhibited by their elders. Actually there was no heterosexual activity between children, for there were no girls of appropriate age in the village. Thus, pre-pubescent sexual relations occurred between boys or between boys and men, and almost always it was the boys who were the instigators. Quain felt certain that Tay was the only member of the village who might be considered a homosexual. He was an orphan, and although he was fed and housed, he was identified with no family, and no one took any special interest in him. Tay, more than any boy, remained aloof from other children. His sexual advances were directed to a large extent toward the older males, who often cooperated with him. For example, he often wrapped his legs around Jakuma's hips, going through sexual motions. The older man would giggle when he did this and show signs of being mildly stimulated. Mayuva, among others, was less receptive, but his only mode of resistance was to arch his body away from the boy.

The sexual play of a young child might even include his father. Quain observed little Tsirikoan tugging at his father's penis. The father showed some annoyance, but only because he did not want to be bothered. Although children were rarely manipulated in this way by the men, Quain saw Yanahi, a young married man, amusing himself and some boys by pulling Tsirikoan's penis until the child had an erection. The boys whispered to Yanahi that Quain was watching, but this apparently made no difference to him, for he continued his activity.

The minor homosexual engagements that took place between the boys themselves were likewise in the nature of play. Quain saw no homosexuality between adults, and, contrary to Levi-Strauss' inference from Quain's notes, there was no kinship tie that implied permissible homosexual relations.[1]

The facts of sex were certainly no secret to the children. Living in undivided houses and sleeping with or adjacent to their parents, they were aware at an early age of the sexual activities of their elders. No effort was made to keep sexual knowledge from them, and they derived considerable amusement from the sexual affairs of the adults. Tsirikoan and some other boys raised a great hue and cry when they happened

[1] Levi-Strauss 1948, p. 337.

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post-natal sexual taboos is a serious social problem. A large group of not very pretty bachelors must use the woman with ringworm or the Suyá captive, whose present marriage is considered dishonorable. These women have no brothers or fathers. In contrast with Karajá, there is no stylized homosexuality. Yet the complete freedom of sexual play results in activities which might be considered overt homosexuality. But to the Trumaí such activity has little emotional content. It does not seem to set up special personal relationships.

"Women are in constant fear of attack. Yet a wife tyrannizes her husband by withholding her favors and pulling the hair of anyone whom she suspects her husband has used sexually. Between married people, sex occurs at night — preferably when everyone else is asleep — or while going to the forest on various gathering tasks. A man and his wife engage in many things together, such as afternoon relaxation, fishing, and gardening. There is companionship even between those spouses among whom the wife is much older and no longer of interest to the man sexually.

"Between themselves, the men are extremely individualistic. Cooperation rarely exceeds kin limits even at the explicit order of the chief. Only when outsiders are present do men band together in a mock display of solid cooperation.... There is only one old man, who is about seventy — all others are under 45 ..... All death is murder. Nobody expects to live longer than the next rainy season. Men always carry bows and arrows for protection. Shamans keep the village in constant fear of attack from the Suyá or Kamayurá.... There are imaginary attacks quite often. Men gather in terror at the center of the village — the most exposed spot — and wait to be shot at from the dark bushes at the margin of the village....

"Authority is lax. The patrilineally hereditary chief does no work and is a parasite on his household. He is self-conscious of the rank of his wife whose marriage has elevated her. He lounges in his hammock, but it is his duty to orate from the center of the village at night and sometimes in the morning, urging the men to undertake group projects. He is the only man who has the courage to be an executive. This contrasts with the Kamayurá where there are several chiefs who, uniquely in their culture, are shy and ashamed to speak and whose orders must be referred through special talkers. It also contrasts with the Karajá where the chief is the best worker .... When the season changes, the Trumaí chief urges the people to engage in the new work, which they would do anyway. An example of the complete independence of spirit is illustrated by the two brothers who would not help the brother-in-law of one build the house in which they all were living, because they thought the mosquitoes would be bad in that location during the rainy season. The brother-in-law built the tremendous house all by himself — the two brothers lived comfortably in it.

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the greatest time and effort into its building. Quain was reprimanded for speaking of the house in which Maibu lived as "Maibu's," for his brother-in-law, Mata'wai, had built it. This point of property was confirmed by others, despite the fact that Maibu was the head of the household and acted as host when guests entered.

To the Trumaí, the only important property was in the personal possession of transportable, material artifacts. These ranged from tools and weapons to ceremonial objects and trinkets obtained from Quain. The second class of property was probably cherished more than the first, which was viewed as consisting of everyday necessities. The combs, feathers, beads, European novelties, papers, and other such items that all men and women possessed were carefully kept in baskets and gourds near their hammocks. A man and wife would often keep some of their personal belongings in the same containers, but beyond this there was a special category of personal possessions called *wacta*. This highly valued personal property was kept by each individual in separate gourds, where it was safe from the gift claims of kinsmen and reasonably free from the danger of theft.

The privacy of this property was especially observed by opposite sexes, although not as strictly by mates. Quain was told by one man that it was "bad" for a man to look at a woman's *wacta*, although he rummaged at will through the personal belongings of the men. The taboo on male contact with women's *wacta* was due in part to inclusion within it of articles used during menstruation.

Accompanying the stress on personal and private ownership of certain material objects was a strong sense of acquisitiveness. Quain expressed this as follows: "There can be no doubt that property ownership is a paramount drive in this culture. Children are not content to see, as they are in Fiji, but things must be theirs. The possessive pronoun has an importance here which is striking. Once articles are received, they seem to disappear. They are probably carefully guarded among personal belongings." Significantly, the word for "gift-giving," literally translated, also means "to yield to a demand."

The Trumaí were tremendously interested in Quain's belongings and made continual attempts to acquire them. Adults as well as children whined in order to obtain objects from him. This attitude was manifested towards useful objects such as knives and axes, but they also pleaded and begged for articles having only curiosity value to them. As Quain said, to be curious about an object was to want it. Possession was desired for its own sake, for only slight prestige was gained by accumulating material objects, and utilitarian articles, such as knives, axes, and pots, were easily borrowed.

Despite the possessiveness described by Quain, the Trumaí were restricted by strong gift-giving ties. A true brother or a son had a claim

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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compartment in the house for six months, at the end of which time she is accepted as a young woman.[3]

Menstruation caused no special distress to the Trumaí women. They maintained personal cleanliness with the aid of leaves, going out into the brush behind the house to care for themselves. Although the relevant taboos were observed, the women talked frankly to Quain about menstruation, and were interested in learning what white women did during the period. The men, although expressing a fear of menstrual blood, did not shun the subject either. Most of them knew when women in the village were having their menses.

Everyone was extremely shocked when Quain told them that white people often had intercourse during the menstrual period, for such contact would make a Trumaí man fall ill and die. Aloari said that he would surely die of a cough if he copulated with his wife then. The blood itself was considered malignant, infecting whatever it touched. The whole village became very disturbed when Kuyafi dropped some menstrual blood on the path to the gardens. Aloari averred that he would not go for manioc until the rain washed it away.

Fear of polluting forced a menstruating woman to make frequent trips to the weeds, where nobody walked. The danger also extended to her person. During this time she was not allowed to cook, although she could sit around the fire when food was being prepared. (Quain's departure from the Trumaí village was delayed for a day as both the wife and sister-in-law of Aloari, who was to accompany him, were menstruating, and there was only one woman left in the household to make his *beijú* supply.) Nor could the menstruating woman carry water or take a bath. However, a prohibition on eating fish was the only food taboo that she had to observe.

Marriage

A man was ready to seek a mate within one or two years after his initiation, or at the corresponding age level. Women were suitable prospects soon after their puberty rites. It was common for marriages to be arranged by parents while their children were still infants. These infant betrothals were usually between cross-cousins. It is doubtful, however, whether many such arranged marriages were consummated, both because of the high mortality and the fact that most of the Trumaí women were ultimately fought for and won by verbal battles in the men's circle.

Courtships were neither long nor formalized. When a man developed an interest in a woman, he usually expressed it by attempting to seduce her. In most instances, amorous advances were made without any in-

[3] Rodrigues Ferreira 1946, p. 92.

B ./196 cont./ their domestic tasks
*191 have made them less accustomed to squatting than the men,
136 and they are therefore less protected. In the illustration on the
516 next page /see p. 192/ a group of Bakaïrí from the second village
751 shows very well the characteristic positions of both sexes in sitting or squatting.

B
*191 In the case of the women, too, if protection of the mucous
291 membrane was to be effected by their devices, this purpose would
136 probably be achieved and certainly be achieved better than, say,
751 the purpose of concealment. Furthermore, it should be realized that, assuming the purpose to be protection of the mucous membrane, a need for this was at least increased through sexual life, since in the case of the young /197/ woman the mucosa became more accessible, in the pregnant state more turgescent, and as a result of childbirth more slack.

Thus it would indeed be improper, on the basis of local conditions, to doubt that the methods described could offer the adults of both sexes protection against external assaults and that there was no lack of occasions when they were bound to be useful in this sense. It would also be natural for young people to be duly furnished with them as early as the onset of puberty when they began to work with the older ones. The explanation, however,

B
*191 cannot possibly be exhaustive. For the importance and indis-
291 pensableness of the devices are out of proportion to the idea /Fig.
83 19 appears here/ of protective apparatus. Why should they not
[751] have been removed more often, especially at night in the hammock? Why should the young men have been so intent on training the praeputium. Why should particular fuss have been made one day about wearing the uluris or the cuffs? The connections with sexual life must be direct and not merely indirect.

B
*191 In the case of the female sex one encounters no difficulty.
291 Suddenly bleeding appears; there is illness here. That the Indian
84 thought this originally is clearly proved by the utterly superfluous
T medical treatment of the menstruating girl customary among
191 most tribes, /198/ with isolation, fumigation, diet, incisions,
291 and other remedies against the unknown foes. One neatly re-
84 moved the pubic hair and donned a bandage, the bast loop, or a cushion, the uluri. The bast loop among the Trumaí women --

B /198 cont./
*171 a combination of bandage and cushion -- is twisted like a rope, in
291 the case of the uluri wearers the narrow bark strip makes possible
841 the stretching over the perineum; in both bases there is provided a
T support pressing against the pubic symphysis, in the former case by
171 means of the little roll, in the latter case by means of the springy
291 triangle. One realizes that it was not cleanliness which prompted
841 the procedure, but the medical attempt to counteract the loss of
blood. These are truly not inventions of modesty, such as aprons or
similar loose hangings.

B
142
291
302
516

Fig. 19. Squatting Bakaïrí.

000 similar loose hangings.

B In the case of the men, the explanation is not so obvious. Here,
*171 too, an attempt has been made to preserve the connection with a
291 causative, primary sense of modesty. The view has been expressed
834 that shame was felt only when the glans of the penis was exposed to
the gaze of others and therefore it alone was covered. Unfortunately,
I did not observe anything that might settle the question directly. I
saw that the people were not ashamed when they gave us their devices

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CHAPTER FIVE

THE LIFE CYCLE

Birth

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847 [732] [848] One of the Trumaí women, the clubfooted, childless, and unmarried Yawala, was pregnant during Quain's stay. She spent most of her time in her hammock and received little attention, except from other women who kept insisting that they perform an abortion upon her. Abortion was usually induced by manipulating the abdomen, but also, it seems, by drinking certain "waters" of which the women had knowledge. Yawala resisted all urgings and maintained that she wanted a child "to hold in my arms."

Abortion was undoubtedly frequent, and infanticide too, and at times without the agreement of the husband. It is not known what, 843 if any, observances and precautions were taken during pregnancy 833 except that sexual intercourse ceased when a woman became very large because "it hurts her."

844 846 Parturition was accompanied by observances led by old Matiwana, during which the men sat and smoked. The women held the laboring woman in a sitting position, in which she gave birth. The role of the husband before and after delivery was not recorded. After Aloari's son was born, however, his wife bled for three moons. During this time he had to drink a certain medicine. Quain's notes suggest that a form of couvade was observed.

[431] After birth, the only economic exchange that took place was a gift which the husband gave to the wife in payment for the child.

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105 182 648 in the Trumaí community, for, as Oberg notes, no adult male would choose to live with a people of such low status.[1]

105 162 It might be expected that the Trumaí could have compensated for this drain by raising their birth rate. However, in this population of 43 persons, there were only ten children, an extremely small number when the low average life span is considered. Furthermore, only two of the children were females. Of the approximately twelve women who 105 were capable of bearing children, only one was pregnant, and the others 163 were urging her to abort her child. Thus, infanticide and abortion were 161 taking a heavy toll in the Trumaí village.

847 845 The custom of killing twins and of spacing births three or four years apart are reported by Oberg for the Kamayurá,[2] and these factors may well have been present in the Trumaí situation. The long post-natal [171] taboo on sexual intercourse had the same effect. Wagley, who studied the dying but equally unacculturated Tapirapé, found that traditional practices were contributing to the complete depopulation of that group also.[3]

105 161 178 154 But among the Trumaí there is still another and less tangible dimension. Abortion may have been urged on a pregnant woman because she had no husband, but how is one to explain the killing of two of Aloari's children without his consent, or the fact that there were eight male and only two female children in the community? The limited information available suggests that the Trumaí were purposely restricting their number and committing suicide, perhaps unintentionally, in the process. Two reasons for this extreme behavior may be hypothesized: first, the impasse in which the Trumaí found themselves because of the steady depopulation made them so personally insecure and apathetic regarding both the present and the future that they were no longer willing to rear sizable families, despite their evident devotion to children; and second, they may not have thought it possible to produce the surplus necessary to support such families. Actually, however, even with their diminished numbers the Trumaí could have increased their food supply.

105 511 433 226 Their lowered standard of living was due to more than attitudes. Loss of population no doubt also decreased the yield of Trumaí fishing and therefore limited their chief source of protein. To be sure, bow and arrow fishing was little affected, but fish poisoning, the only communal subsistence technique practiced by them, was much less effective when employed by a small group, for a few people can adequately poison only smaller watercourses and branches of lagoons, while a greater number can cover larger streams and whole lagoons. In the latter circumstance, both the take would be larger and larger species would be available. Moreover, when the waters are heavily poisoned and enough people are present to reap the "harvest," there is less chance of fish escaping. Thus, up to

[1] Oberg 1953, p. 15. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 62. [3] Wagley 1940.

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culture as the other women, but their everyday existence was much the same.

Men were also taken as captives, although not to the same extent as were women. Tun and Aloari, two Trumaí men, had lived in captivity among the Yuruna. They had feared their captors at first, but once they had learned the language, they said, they were no longer afraid. Apparently both men had been well treated by the Yuruna, for they were kindly disposed towards that tribe. The elder of the two men had a Yuruna wife, whom he left when he returned to his people. How this was accomplished is not known, but escape could not have been very difficult.

Another factor promoting the incorporation of both women and men into other tribes was the depopulation and extinction of their own groups. When the southern Trumaí village was disbanded many of the survivors joined the northern Trumaí, but some moved in with other tribes. Similarly, de Lima reported that the Yaulapití, who disbanded sometime between 1938 and 1945, were to be found among the Kamayurá, Trumaí, and Aueti.[17]

It is possible that more Yaulapití settled with Arawakan speaking groups, but the three above-named tribes were their closest neighbors. The remnants of a disbanded group might also join villages in which they had close kin or personal relationships. A later report by the Srs. Villas Boas, who maintained the recently established airstrip of the Fundação Brasil Central, stated that, as in the case of the Trumaí, the Yaulapití have reconstituted themselves as a group by the establishment of a one-house village.[18] Clearly, except for the peace that has reigned since the airfield was built, a village of some twenty-five people would not be secure from attack. But while the chances of survival are still far from good, the initiation of such a project shows the eagerness of the participants to preserve their social identity.

The main purposes of warfare in the region are to capture women, take loot, and exact revenge. Captive-taking has a clear economic basis in the sporadic warfare between the Suyá and Waurá, as the Suyá capture Waurá women for their knowledge of pottery-making. Among the tribes of the *alurí* area proper, however, this is not done. Arawakan women are married, but Quain's notes indicate that they do not practice pottery-making in their new villages.

It is possible that male and female captives are taken by upper Xingú groups from tribes outside the region to bolster their waning numerical strength, but infanticide and abortion are also present in the area. However, captives do not have to be reared from infancy, and do not constitute the same strain on the economy that children do. It is also

[17] De Lima 1949, p. 28.

[18] This information was obtained verbally from Dr. Eduardo Galvão. Cf. Oberg 1953, p. 4.

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CHAPTER TWO

TRUMAÍ SUBSISTENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Vital Statistics

The population of the Trumaí village in 1938 was 43. This figure includes the 3 foreign women in residence and excludes those few Trumaí who were living with other groups. There were 17 men, 16 women, and 10 pre-pubescent children, of whom 8 were male and only 2 were female. Due to the previously mentioned capture and forced marriage of Trumaí women, the average age of females seems to have been considerably greater than that of males. Two men were considered by the Trumaí as old, while four women were placed in that category. This disparity of age undoubtedly had an influence on the Trumaí birth rate.

Infant mortality seems to have been high, and Quain was of the opinion that it was further aggravated by abortion and infanticide. The fact that there were eight male children and but two girls suggests that infanticide must have been practiced only upon females. Quain's notes, however, give no indication that this was the fact. Pulmonary diseases have devastated all the groups of the upper Xingú, but the drop in the Trumaí population from 43 in 1938 to 25 in 1948 is probably not paralleled in the other villages during that time.

Village and Gardens

The Trumaí settlement was located a scant half-mile from a lagoon that opened directly upon the east shore of the Kuluene just a few miles away. The mouth of the lagoon was narrow, but it broadened out into a lake of moderate size with many small bays and was ringed with swamps. Proximity to the river made insects a continual nuisance during the rainy season. The Kamayurá village, located near the sandy beaches of a lagoon lined with *buriti* palms, was relatively free of insects.

The village consisted of four houses and another under construction. Between the houses and the surrounding forest lay an area of weeds and low underbrush into which refuse was thrown. The ground within the ring of houses was kept comparatively free of weeds and litter. The village "plaza" was about 200 feet wide. In the center were the log bench and fireplace of the men's gathering place. Nearby was a conical wicker cage in which the village harpy eagle was kept for its feathers, which were used in ceremonies.

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156
was one of the most attractive women in the village. Their marital 593
life, however, was not always smooth. She was unusually possessive, [837]
and he was said to have thrashed her severely once for infidelity. Also, [847]
he felt some resentment for the infanticides she had committed at the
birth of two of their children.

Aloarí, his wife, and his brother Tun were not typical of the Trumaí. In addition to the closeness of Aloarí's marriage there was a strong attachment between the two brothers. None of the three participated fully in the community social life. The small in-group formed by the family probably had much to do with the strength of the marriage.

593
The usual cause of quarrels was adultery. Wives generally obeyed their husbands, but since each had his or her own clearly understood [837]
duties to perform, it was seldom necessary for a husband to exert authority. The women, however, did influence their husbands to some extent. Quain was told by a few men that they would not be able to go to the Indian post with him because their wives wanted them to stay at home.

595
All but one Trumaí marriage was monogamous. The plural union consisted of Jakwanari and two sisters. A number of men wanted second [583]
wives, and Aloarí told Quain of a plan to go to the Suyá to capture women. Judging from the Trumaí's fear of the Suyá, this was probably sheer bravado. Several attempts were made by some of the men, however, to take one of the two eligible village women as a second wife. These efforts were all balked by the first wife, who ultimately decided whether her husband might have a second wife and, if so, who it would be. Yumunuwa flatly refused to allow Aloarí to take her own sister as a wife. Kuyafi had been Nitvary's second bride for only two days, when his first wife drove her from the house in a fit of temper. Wives were obviously jealous of their monogamous position, but if a second wife was suitable, she might be allowed to stay.

Jakwanari's two wives got along well, but the second, Kamiha, accepted a decidedly subordinate role. Jakwanari's closest relationship was with Tsuku, the first wife, who also owned all the family utensils. On one occasion Kamiha had a quarrel with one of the men. She quickly retired from the fray when he called her a "second Tsuku." Jakwanari's hammock hung across those of his wives, but nothing is known of their sexual relations.

595
Quain was told that in polygamous marriages it was preferable to take two sisters. However, even a sister might not be accepted by the 837
first wife, as Aloarí's situation shows, although a man had sexual rights over his wife's sister as long as she remained unmarried. One man beat his wife's sister for refusing him sexual favors, and his action was approved by the other men. Women, however, were jealous of their husbands, and did not approve of these or any other extra-marital connections.

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only *ami tarajau*. *Ami tarajau* also took the form of mock name-calling contests between men.

The Trumaí found great amusement in minor accidents that befell others and in humorous gossip, without regard to kinship. Jokes played by one person on another, however, usually occurred between cross-cousins.

Avoidance and Respect

Taboos on the names or persons of affinal relatives were observed by the Trumaí, because, as they said, they felt *vaity* (ashamed) toward them. The strongest prohibited a man from speaking the name of his parents-in-law or being in their presence. Thus, a man would not enter a house in which his father-in-law was visiting or join the men's circle if he were there. Parents-in-law were the only affinals whose persons were avoided, and this was most strictly observed between a man and his father-in-law. Due to the short life span, social intercourse was little interrupted by this practice; only one father-in-law and two mothers-in-law lived in the Trumaí village. However, they figured importantly in marital troubles, since parents always took the part of their own offspring in a conflict between mates. Aloari felt bitter about his dead mother-in-law, because she had helped his wife to kill their first two children at birth. The avoidance of a father-in-law's name was so strict that a Trumaí man could not mention his own son's second name, because it was inherited from his wife's father.

Name avoidance was also invoked to some degree with respect to the second ascending generation of affinals. A wife's grandparents could be referred to by name, but only in a whisper, while no such inhibitions were observed when addressing the wife herself by the name.[7]

The Trumaí were ashamed toward the wife's brother and the sister's husband. This was expressed by name avoidance and a respect relation. If there were children, a man could avoid the use of his brother-in-law's name by calling him *deta a'o* (sister's son's father) in the case of a sister's husband, or *apat'awe* (child's mother's brother), if he was the wife's brother. Respect was shown by offering the affinal a chair or by other small courtesies or gift-giving. Since an affinal of the same generation was often a cross-cousin, the joking and respect relationships overlapped rather curiously. While Yati and his cross-cousin and brother-in-law Mayuva played pranks on or feigned anger at one another, they showed great mutual deference at other times. Immediately after Yati told Quain to throw Mayuva out of his house, Mayuva rolled a cigarette for Yati and lit it for him. Manifestly, the two prescribed patterns caused no conflict.

[7] This probably illustrates some overlapping between name avoidance and the taboo on speaking the name of a dead person.

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105 182 648 in the Trumaí community, for, as Oberg notes, no adult male would choose to live with a people of such low status.[1]

105 162 It might be expected that the Trumaí could have compensated for this drain by raising their birth rate. However, in this population of 43 persons, there were only ten children, an extremely small number when the low average life span is considered. Furthermore, only two of the children were females. Of the approximately twelve women who 105 were capable of bearing children, only one was pregnant, and the others 163 were urging her to abort her child. Thus, infanticide and abortion were 161 taking a heavy toll in the Trumaí village.

847 845 [171] The custom of killing twins and of spacing births three or four years apart are reported by Oberg for the Kamayurá,[2] and these factors may well have been present in the Trumaí situation. The long post-natal taboo on sexual intercourse had the same effect. Wagley, who studied the dying but equally unacculturated Tapirapé, found that traditional practices were contributing to the complete depopulation of that group also.[3]

105 161 178 154 But among the Trumaí there is still another and less tangible dimension. Abortion may have been urged on a pregnant woman because she had no husband, but how is one to explain the killing of two of Aloari's children without his consent, or the fact that there were eight male and only two female children in the community? The limited information available suggests that the Trumaí were purposely restricting their number and committing suicide, perhaps unintentionally, in the process. Two reasons for this extreme behavior may be hypothesized: first, the impasse in which the Trumaí found themselves because of the steady depopulation made them so personally insecure and apathetic regarding both the present and the future that they were no longer willing to rear sizable families, despite their evident devotion to children; and second, they may not have thought it possible to produce the surplus necessary to support such families. Actually, however, even with their diminished numbers the Trumaí could have increased their food supply.

105 511 433 226 Their lowered standard of living was due to more than attitudes. Loss of population no doubt also decreased the yield of Trumaí fishing and therefore limited their chief source of protein. To be sure, bow and arrow fishing was little affected, but fish poisoning, the only communal subsistence technique practiced by them, was much less effective when employed by a small group, for a few people can adequately poison only smaller watercourses and branches of lagoons, while a greater number can cover larger streams and whole lagoons. In the latter circumstance, both the take would be larger and larger species would be available. Moreover, when the waters are heavily poisoned and enough people are present to reap the "harvest," there is less chance of fish escaping. Thus, up to

[1] Oberg 1953, p. 15. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 62. [3] Wagley 1940.

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CHAPTER FIVE

THE LIFE CYCLE

Birth

843 [842] The Trumaí were well aware of the facts of conception, paternity, and pregnancy. That menstruation ceased after conception was, of course, perfectly obvious to them, but it is uncertain whether this was considered a diagnostic of pregnancy. Maibu related some female gossip to Quain to the effect that Aloarí's wife, Yumunuwa, was pregnant. When Quain objected on the grounds that she had only recently menstruated, Maibu pointed out as indisputable evidence that her navel was protruding.

847 [732] [848] One of the Trumaí women, the clubfooted, childless, and unmarried Yawala, was pregnant during Quain's stay. She spent most of her time in her hammock and received little attention, except from other women who kept insisting that they perform an abortion upon her. Abortion was usually induced by manipulating the abdomen, but also, it seems, by drinking certain "waters" of which the women had knowledge. Yawala resisted all urgings and maintained that she wanted a child "to hold in my arms."

Abortion was undoubtedly frequent, and infanticide too, and at times without the agreement of the husband. It is not known what, 843 if any, observances and precautions were taken during pregnancy 833 except that sexual intercourse ceased when a woman became very large because "it hurts her."

844 846 Parturition was accompanied by observances led by old Matiwana, during which the men sat and smoked. The women held the laboring woman in a sitting position, in which she gave birth. The role of the husband before and after delivery was not recorded. After Aloarí's son was born, however, his wife bled for three moons. During this time he had to drink a certain medicine. Quain's notes suggest that a form of couvade was observed.

[431] After birth, the only economic exchange that took place was a gift which the husband gave to the wife in payment for the child.

Early Childhood

162 The youngest child in the Trumaí village was a girl between one and two years of age. The other girl was about six. Of the boys, one was about

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105 181 421 [578] [43] [855]

"Tremendous interest in property, together with a simple and declining culture, results in my being a seriously disturbing element in their lives. Casual conversation always degenerates into a squabble about gift-giving .... There is intense pleasure in possession. Children get no sympathy when they are hurt, but objects are usually given to them. Every child has the right at least 'to see' anything he desires. In this respect children are pampered. Adults whine for things; withholding a desired object makes them intensely unhappy. Aggressive possession is admired.. Trade games make the exchange of property very fluid. Yet values in trade are well defined, and there is no prestige in giving more than one gets. Within the kinship circle, however, the old lavish property on the young. A father's garden is spoken of as that of his five year old son. There is a deliberate attempt to instill aggressive ownership attitudes in the young. A three year old girl is taught to claim objects in a loud voice. This is done by shouting the possessive pronoun....

[437] [524] [858] [431] [865] 105 [361]

"These are a settled people who live within the strict limits of their village. Their small number has advantage in the study of individuals. They have no knowledge of the world beyond the Kuluene-Kuliseu. It has no more real existence than the various inhabited regions of the heavens. The half dozen expeditions which have passed down the river have communicated with the natives only with signs. The one important result of such contact was division from peripheral tribes and the rise of metal tools. The disappearance of the stone industry, on which a defunct Trumaí moiety had a monopoly, has occurred within the last generation.[1] The increased leisure which probably resulted is not utilized economically.

[924] [182]

105 123 15

"The complete lack of self-consciousness among these people makes behavior observation remarkably easy. Before I knew any of the language, I could sit by the hour in various households and time the actions of people while they paid no attention to me. For instance, one man during twenty minutes of leisure lay down to rest in his hammock fifteen different times, but each time disturbed himself with the remembrance of some petty chore undone....

[847] 105 [504] [833]

"The only restriction of behavior that I have seen in casual intravillage personal relations is that the children are told not to litter the floor. The only positive rule is that the head of a household must sit with a guest and converse while the guest is inside his house .... Furthermore, extra-marital sexual intercourse has occurred in a shadowy corner of my house.. This lack of self-consciousness contrasts strongly with the Karajá, who are more prudish than the Fijians....

105 162 831

"Shortage of women, because of theft of young women, polygamy, lack of sexual interest in old wives (of which there are several), and

[618]

[1] Quain refers here to the moiety-like division of the Trumaí which has been discussed in Chapter Three. This appears to be rather a result of the merger of the northern and southern Trumaí villages. The latter specialized in axe-making.

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always used to treat the wounds made by scraping. Jawaku walked away in a hurt and angry mood, his body covered with blood.

A few days later, in recognition of his advancement, Jawaku made the afternoon serving of food to the assembled men, a custom associated with the *ole* (manioc) ceremony. A further sign of his new position was the drinking of an herbaceous emetic before eating the first *piquí* fruit. Only boys who had not yet had their stomachs scraped could eat *piquí* without first taking the medicine.

One important purpose of body-scraping, the Trumaí thought, was to make the boy grow and give him strength. For this reason even the adult males occasionally scraped their arms. The scars themselves were very much admired. Of still greater value was the size of the muscles of the arms, chest, shoulder, and back of the neck, which the Trumaí believed to be the result of the scraping.

Another method of inducing growth was by drinking medicines made from herbs. All of the upper Xingú peoples were said to know of these preparations. The Suyá were said to have learned to make them also, but not the Yuruna. Adults drank these medicines, but they were especially important during the final phase of the puberty rites.

The perforation of the ear lobes was a distinct and separate part of the cycle of puberty rites, and the only one in which the boys went through a prescribed phase as a group. This observance took place during the equinoctial festive period which follows the rainy season and involved intertribal participation. At the next dry season festival, Quain was told, all the boys would have their ears pierced. Jawaku's ears, however, had been pierced before, whereas Autsuki, who was older and had entered the puberty cycle earlier, had not yet had his ears perforated. Manifestly, the time of the first perforation varied.

At the first piercing the young boy added the name of his mother's father to the name of his paternal grandfather, which he had been given previously. This was also an occasion for scarifying the arms.

Quain was informed that ear-piercing was done by all the upper Xingú area tribes. The Suyá, in common with other Gê-speaking peoples, made very large, and to the Trumaí, very unsightly, perforations in the lobes. Two Trumaí men who had been Suyá captives had such perforations and also pierced lower lips. The latter condition explained satisfactorily to the Trumaí why the Suyá "cannot speak properly."

The puberty ceremonies were climaxed by a final series of tests of strength and courage: wrestling with a small anaconda, a subsequent intensive drinking of *okeie*, and further body-scraping. After this the boy was kept in seclusion until his ears were again pierced.

Both Jawaku and Autsuki were at this stage. One day a snake was located in the lagoon, and Jawaku was urged to go after it. He and Makurawa ran through the brush to the lagoon and searched for it along

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often gathered together, and at times all of the women of a house would work together in *piqui* collecting. Parties of boys and men sometimes picked up the fruit, and a man often went gathering with his wife to protect her from possible enemies, especially if there had been recent threats or omens. He took his bow and arrows, and frequently did not help in carrying the fruit back to the village. The *piqui* was brought to the village in basket containers, and then made into a variety of dishes.

Guava (*waruwaru*) grows wild in the forest, ripening a short time before *piqui* does, but extending into the season of the latter. Quain believed it to be a valuable vitamin C supplement to the diet, but it was a far less important food than *piqui*. Men participated little in guava collecting, although they accompanied their wives for sociability and protection. Quain described these connubial gathering expeditions as being largely pleasant jaunts through the wood. Children often went out for the fruit, which they brought back to the village strung on straws.

The water lily from which salt was made was another important item gathered during the period of Quain's residence among the Trumaí. The water lilies were collected in the Trumaí lagoon, and the complete salt-making process was carried on there. Each Trumaí built a rack over the waters of the lagoon. The lilies were pulled up, spread out on the rack to dry, and later burned. The ashes were sifted to obtain the salt. Quain did not mention any women's salt racks, but the women prepared their own supply of salt, too. Quain saw salt-making only in the early part of September, although it is possible that it occurred prior to this time as well. However, salt was not made after the middle of September, due to the rains and the exigencies of planting.

Ants were eaten by the Trumaí, and, according to an informant, by all groups in the area. A little boy demonstrated the correct way to consume them when he joyously brought in a fat one, plucked off its abdomen and swallowed it. Quain was told that later in the season the women and children would go out and collect them in large quantities. Other insects were in heavy demand for feeding the harpy eagle and other pet birds. Crickets were considered especially good for this purpose, and the boys made great sport of shooting these insects with their miniature bows and arrows.

A few other wild foods were eaten, but these were relatively insignificant. Among them was the fruit of the *awa'o* palm. Another fruit called *lamux*, resembling the crabapple in taste and superficial appearance, had a gelatinous interior. An unnamed plant is described by Quain as resembling grass, but having a quality like algae. It was eaten only in times of a manioc shortage. *Kamu'u* is a parasitic plant that looks and tastes like the date. The *atch* is a berry that tastes like the chokecherry.

Fift'a and *tawasi*, the fish poisons, were gathered in the locale. The gathering and preparation of *tawasi* boughs was a cooperative venture.

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796 but continued at the same pace for about three weeks, and then slowly died
243 down. It would be impossible to say on what day the *ole* ceremony ended.

When the *ole* cycle began it consisted of little except songs and dances. These were usually held shortly before daybreak and at night. About a week afterwards decorated posts were erected in the village center. These "*ole* posts" served as "shrines" to which food offerings were made. In the meantime, dancing and singing went on almost every day. On some days two or three *ole* songs and dances were performed; on others there was little activity.

The intensity of the ritual varied with the number of people in the village and according to whim. The participants changed from day to day, and some took part more often than others. Only certain men knew the songs and dances, and they served as leaders. Other men occasionally joined in and performed an accompanying role, while the women followed the dancers and served as a chorus. The usual procedure was for the men to sing and dance their way from the nearby forest into the plaza, where they were joined by the female chorus. They then made the rounds of all the houses, pausing to sing at each.

[424] [523] Only Matiwana and Nitvary served as leaders of the dance processions, as they had inherited the necessary songs. Makurawa also knew *ole* songs, but his role was always secondary. Nitvary, due to his youth and vigor, was the principal dance leader. Most of the other adult men did not participate in the dances and seemed bored by the activity at times. There was no rule governing female participation in the dance. One of the men initiated the performance without consulting the other men, and the women flocked from their houses of their own will to join the procession, falling in behind the older boys. Quain thought this reflected well the respective roles of the men and women in Trumaí culture. Children always followed in the rear and cried out at the beginning and end of each major sequence in the performance.

[857] [424] [533] There were also *ole* songs for solo performance without choral accompaniment, which were not considered to be the special property of any one man. The soloist made the rounds of all the houses, stopping at each to perform a song and a simple dance. Even the women sang
796 certain *ole* songs, and on one occasion Quain observed two women
243 making the customary rounds together without male accompaniment.
533 Quain mentioned one song as being quite melodious, and stated that there was greater variation of pitch in songs which were distributed throughout the upper Xingú area. The Trumaí had borrowed songs
[179] heavily from their neighbors, and, in fact, had probably borrowed the whole ceremony. Kamayurá verses were most frequently heard, but there was also a significant sprinkling of Cariban words.

The chorus that followed Matiwana and Nitvary gave only the sketchiest accompaniment. The women did not seem to know the songs,

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Most of the matches were between the older boys. But they also wrestled with the younger children. Even little Tsirikoan wrestled once. As he did not know what he was expected to do, he merely grunted and fell down. The bigger boys were very gentle with the little ones and tried only to teach them.

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The sexual play of a young child might even include his father. Quain observed little Tsirikoan tugging at his father's penis. The father showed some annoyance, but only because he did not want to be bothered. Although children were rarely manipulated in this way by the men, Quain saw Yanahi, a young married man, amusing himself and some boys by pulling Tsirikoan's penis until the child had an erection. The boys whispered to Yanahi that Quain was watching, but this apparently made no difference to him, for he continued his activity.

The minor homosexual engagements that took place between the boys themselves were likewise in the nature of play. Quain saw no homosexuality between adults, and, contrary to Levi-Strauss' inference from Quain's notes, there was no kinship tie that implied permissible homosexual relations.[1]

The facts of sex were certainly no secret to the children. Living in undivided houses and sleeping with or adjacent to their parents, they were aware at an early age of the sexual activities of their elders. No effort was made to keep sexual knowledge from them, and they derived considerable amusement from the sexual affairs of the adults. Tsirikoan and some other boys raised a great hue and cry when they happened

[1] Levi-Strauss 1948, p. 337.

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cumbent upon the males was a prohibition against wearing body paint for several months after the death. This ban extended to women, also. In addition, the female mourner could not sing in any of the ceremonies, and she cut her hair immediately after the death. Marriage was also forbidden her during the mourning period. (Autu came under censure as she had married her dead husband's sister's son — which at any time was reprehensible — even though her hair, cut when he died, had not yet grown back.) The woman was also required to wail occasionally for the dead person during the time of mourning, and she made flat mud discs, about one inch high, in the village center. Quain never found out the reason for this, although Kayaru made several of these markers for her dead brother. No special reverence or respect was given to the markers as they were usually demolished during the wrestling matches.

Recreation and Amusement

Trading sessions have been referred to as "games" because they are a form of amusement, but this appellation is in a way misleading, as the economic aspect of the "trade game" is very important. Actually, except for the intertribal spear-throwing contest, the only organized recreation is wrestling, and this is immensely popular throughout the whole upper Xingú area.[4] Wrestling matches were especially frequent during intertribal visits and ceremonials. These occasions aroused keen interest, and competitive spirits ran high, but the onlookers made it a point of etiquette to show no partisanship, and the contestants made every effort to conceal latent intertribal hostility. They were always friendly to each other, and at the end of the match they exchanged a friendly embrace. This was not necessary between fellow Trumaí or close kinsmen of different villages. The most effusive behavior was always shown toward those who were most disliked and mistrusted.

Wrestling matches always took place in the afternoon. All that was needed to start a match was a quorum of four or five men. These small bouts were usually informal and more in the nature of practice than competitive contests. When most of the men were in the village the contests attracted more attention and required more preparation. Bodies were painted and arm and leg bands were worn. The hair was usually combed and plastered down.

The men lined up on the log in the men's circle or brought stools. The women and young boys watched from the periphery. Uninitiated boys were not allowed to take part in the men's wrestling, but the older ones were generally permitted to sit with the men.

Each wrestler tried for a grip by grabbing at the body of the other. A variant of the half-Nelson was frequently attempted. The match

[4] Cf. Galvão 1949, p. 44.

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"Tremendous interest in property, together with a simple and declining culture, results in my being a seriously disturbing element in their lives. Casual conversation always degenerates into a squabble about gift-giving .... There is intense pleasure in possession. Children get no sympathy when they are hurt, but objects are usually given to them. Every child has the right at least 'to see' anything he desires. In this respect children are pampered. Adults whine for things; withholding a desired object makes them intensely unhappy. Aggressive possession is admired.. Trade games make the exchange of property very fluid. Yet values in trade are well defined, and there is no prestige in giving more than one gets. Within the kinship circle, however, the old lavish property on the young. A father's garden is spoken of as that of his five year old son. There is a deliberate attempt to instill aggressive ownership attitudes in the young. A three year old girl is taught to claim objects in a loud voice. This is done by shouting the possessive pronoun....

"These are a settled people who live within the strict limits of their village. Their small number has advantage in the study of individuals. They have no knowledge of the world beyond the Kuluene-Kuliseu. It has no more real existence than the various inhabited regions of the heavens. The half dozen expeditions which have passed down the river have communicated with the natives only with signs. The one important result of such contact was division from peripheral tribes and the rise of metal tools. The disappearance of the stone industry, on which a defunct Trumaí moiety had a monopoly, has occurred within the last generation.[1] The increased leisure which probably resulted is not utilized economically.

"The complete lack of self-consciousness among these people makes behavior observation remarkably easy. Before I knew any of the language, I could sit by the hour in various households and time the actions of people while they paid no attention to me. For instance, one man during twenty minutes of leisure lay down to rest in his hammock fifteen different times, but each time disturbed himself with the remembrance of some petty chore undone....

"The only restriction of behavior that I have seen in casual intra-village personal relations is that the children are told not to litter the floor. The only positive rule is that the head of a household must sit with a guest and converse while the guest is inside his house .... Furthermore, extra-marital sexual intercourse has occurred in a shadowy corner of my house.. This lack of self-consciousness contrasts strongly with the Karajá, who are more prudish than the Fijians....

"Shortage of women, because of theft of young women, polygamy, lack of sexual interest in old wives (of which there are several), and

[1] Quain refers here to the moiety-like division of the Trumaí which has been discussed in Chapter Three. This appears to be rather a result of the merger of the northern and southern Trumaí villages. The latter specialised in axe-making.

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551 605 607 Only when he was also the brother-in-law was respect given to a cross-cousin or his name avoided. Female cross-cousins, despite affinal connections, were never so treated by the men.

Avunculate

604 522 [861] [431] The maternal uncle in Trumaí society was in no sense a disciplinarian. Only the father and the father's brother were allowed to strike a child. On the other hand, the gift-giving claims of the sister's son (*deta*) upon the mother's brother (*wawe*) were strong, and particularly so when they were reinforced by co-residence. A man was expected to be benevolent and tolerant toward his *deta*. This frequently took the form of teasing and jollying the boy, and contrasted with the more serious attitude of the father and his brothers. For instance, Yati told his *deta* that he and Quain were going to eat him, and, as if to carry out the threat, he began to drag him toward the fire. The child cried lustily, and Yati immediately stopped and cajoled him. Also, Katauka said to his *deta*, "When you die, I will not cry." Katauka was greatly amused when this caused tears.

Such teasing ceased by the time a boy reached the age of puberty. Moreover, the *wawe* became a defender of the *deta's* interests in the absence of the boy's father or father's brother, and, in some cases, he supervised his initiation ceremonies. Common to both the Trumaí and [437] Kamayurá was the traveling partnership of a man and his sister's son. [171] It was quite usual for a *wawe* to take his *deta* along when he visited another village. Quain noted that on such trips the wife of the older man was rarely included. This is consistent with the sexual taboo [835] between the nephew and the maternal uncle's wife.

The Chieftaincy

622 624 The Trumaí had one chieftain (*aek*), Maibu, and two sub-chiefs, Katauka and Matiwana. At the outset it should be understood that Katauka and Matiwana at no time during Quain's stay exerted any [938] chiefly prerogative or function. They were not men of especially high status — indeed, Matiwana was looked down upon as an old man. Their main function, Quain was told, was to take over the office of chief when Maibu was away from the village. Due to Matiwana's advanced age, this duty ordinarily fell to Katauka. Otherwise, neither man was particularly influential; nor did they talk more in the men's circle than others.

622 537 The chief's main function was to urge his fellow Trumaí to carry out those projects or tasks which were the responsibility of the community as a whole or in its interest, but he frequently exhorted the villagers to

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four, three between five and seven, two between seven and ten, and the other two between ten and twelve. The little girl could not as yet walk alone. The two youngest boys could, although occasionally they still suckled at their mother's breasts.

The Trumaí infant was subjected to very little training. Rarely was the very young child told not to do anything. However, all the children except for Katsits, the infant girl, knew that they should defecate in the bush and urinate away from the village plaza. Katsits very often eliminated in the house, or while she was in her mother's arms. X'utsi, the mother, merely scraped a bit of dirt over the wet spot. She gave no indication to the child that this was an undesirable act, and the child took no note of her own activity. Exactly how a child learned to exert self-control is not clear, but it was probably by emulating older children and adults, whose toilet habits were hardly a secret.

The child suckled until it was five or six years of age, although it began to partake of the ordinary diet by the end of the first year. Yumunuwa said that she suckled Tsirikoan three times a day: morning, noon, and evening. This was not a strict regimen, for the boy often crawled into her lap or straddled her waist and suckled at odd hours. Until about five years old, the child slept in the mother's hammock, or if motherless, with the father. Often it slept with the mother's breast in its mouth, and if it awoke during the night, it suckled until it fell asleep again.

The nursing of older children is a perpetuation of the infantile pattern, and it is indicative of the lack of stress on weaning. Also, because of infanticide and the low birth rate, there is little cause for sibling rivalry among the Trumaí.

Help was given the child in learning to walk and talk. The men appeared to devote more attention to this phase of upbringing than the women. Katsits was often walked about by her father, and sometimes by Maibu or other men who lived in the same house. Her father was eager to have her walk by herself so that he would not need to coach her, but nevertheless he and the other adults showed the greatest indulgence and patience in this task.

Part of the father's anxiety was doubtless due to the taboos which restricted his activity until his child had learned to walk. The most important of these was a ban on sexual intercourse. When Katsits developed colic, it was generally thought to be the outcome of coitus between the parents. Certain foods were also forbidden the father, one being seasoned fish hash, which was a great favorite. It is not known whether the mother was also required to observe food taboos.

More emphasis was placed on teaching the child to speak. The adults and older children made repeated attempts to put words into the mouths of the very young, saying the same phrases over and over again. In this

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The sexual play of a young child might even include his father. Quain observed little Tsirikoan tugging at his father's penis. The father showed some annoyance, but only because he did not want to be bothered. Although children were rarely manipulated in this way by the men, Quain saw Yanahi, a young married man, amusing himself and some boys by pulling Tsirikoan's penis until the child had an erection. The boys whispered to Yanahi that Quain was watching, but this apparently made no difference to him, for he continued his activity.

The minor homosexual engagements that took place between the boys themselves were likewise in the nature of play. Quain saw no homosexuality between adults, and, contrary to Levi-Strauss' inference from Quain's notes, there was no kinship tie that implied permissible homosexual relations.[1]

The facts of sex were certainly no secret to the children. Living in undivided houses and sleeping with or adjacent to their parents, they were aware at an early age of the sexual activities of their elders. No effort was made to keep sexual knowledge from them, and they derived considerable amusement from the sexual affairs of the adults. Tsirikoan and some other boys raised a great hue and cry when they happened

[1] Levi-Strauss 1948, p. 337.

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upon his parents cohabiting; and they immediately told everyone in the village.

Puberty Rites

Male puberty rites were divided into two periods. The first, which was preparatory, covered about three or four years and consisted of the administration of certain medicines (*okeis*) and body-scraping. The second covered a much shorter period and constituted the actual initiation of the boy into the men's group. The observances, starting when a boy was between ten and twelve years of age, increased in frequency and intensity until his final initiation. The purposes, as expressed by the Trumaí, were to make him grow big and strong, give him courage and fortitude, and mark certain achievements on the road to manhood.

Body-scraping was one of the most important means used to accomplish these ends. Two different types of scarification instruments were in use. One was a sort of comb made of fish teeth imbedded in wood; the other was a polished armadillo claw. The former was used during the early phases of scarification, the latter, during the late phases when the whole body was scraped.

The first scraping was limited to the arms or legs. Kamkuti received his initial scarification on the biceps as an aftermath of shooting his first fish. The scraping, painful though it was, was a reward and a recognition of manly achievement. It was also a test of endurance and resistance to pain, and the boy was admonished against flinching or weeping. Such occasions were the first on which the child was exhorted to be manly and courageous.

When the boy reached biological puberty, the scraping became more severe. Arms, legs, flanks, chest, back, and stomach were all scraped, and the operation must have been most painful. Each boy could expect to have this happen to him a few times during the course of his initiation. Jawaku, Maibu's foster-son, had his first overall scarification while Quain was in residence. This was a prelude to the full initiation rites, through which he was soon to pass. Jawaku was a very timid boy, and significantly lacked the assertiveness that was so much a part of Trumaí personality. Katauka, who was officiating, scraped his legs first, then his back, flanks and arms, ending with a light treatment on his chest and stomach. Jawaku looked extremely unhappy, but he did not cry until Katauka began scraping his back. Maibu held him firmly and told him not to cry, while others scolded him for being a baby.

Before the scarification started Jawaku's body was moistened with water from a nearby pot. After it was finished, Katauka rubbed him completely with the bark of the *aruparukatem* tree. This or the bark of the *fit'a* tree (the source of the fish poison previously referred to) were always used to treat the wounds made by scraping.

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always used to treat the wounds made by scraping. Jawaku walked away in a hurt and angry mood, his body covered with blood.

A few days later, in recognition of his advancement, Jawaku made the afternoon serving of food to the assembled men, a custom associated with the *ole* (manioc) ceremony. A further sign of his new position was the drinking of an herbaceous emetic before eating the first *piquí* fruit. Only boys who had not yet had their stomachs scraped could eat *piquí* without first taking the medicine.

One important purpose of body-scraping, the Trumaí thought, was to make the boy grow and give him strength. For this reason even the adult males occasionally scraped their arms. The scars themselves were very much admired. Of still greater value was the size of the muscles of the arms, chest, shoulder, and back of the neck, which the Trumaí believed to be the result of the scraping.

Another method of inducing growth was by drinking medicines made from herbs. All of the upper Xingú peoples were said to know of these preparations. The Suyá were said to have learned to make them also, but not the Yuruna. Adults drank these medicines, but they were especially important during the final phase of the puberty rites.

The perforation of the ear lobes was a distinct and separate part of the cycle of puberty rites, and the only one in which the boys went through a prescribed phase as a group. This observance took place during the equinoctial festive period which follows the rainy season and involved intertribal participation. At the next dry season festival, Quain was told, all the boys would have their ears pierced. Jawaku's ears, however, had been pierced before, whereas Autsuki, who was older and had entered the puberty cycle earlier, had not yet had his ears perforated. Manifestly, the time of the first perforation varied.

At the first piercing the young boy added the name of his mother's father to the name of his paternal grandfather, which he had been given previously. This was also an occasion for scarifying the arms.

Quain was informed that ear-piercing was done by all the upper Xingú area tribes. The Suyá, in common with other Gê-speaking peoples, made very large, and to the Trumaí, very unsightly, perforations in the lobes. Two Trumaí men who had been Suyá captives had such perforations and also pierced lower lips. The latter condition explained satisfactorily to the Trumaí why the Suyá "cannot speak properly."

The puberty ceremonies were climaxed by a final series of tests of strength and courage: wrestling with a small anaconda, a subsequent intensive drinking of *okeis*, and further body-scraping. After this the boy was kept in seclusion until his ears were again pierced.

Both Jawaku and Autsuki were at this stage. One day a snake was located in the lagoon, and Jawaku was urged to go after it. He and Makurawa ran through the brush to the lagoon and searched for it along

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the banks, while men crowded into a canoe. The reptile was located, but instead of the one-foot diameter that it was at first said to have, it turned out to be only three inches thick. But, as Quain laconically observed, it was hungry. The men shouted at Jawaku to jump in the water and grab it.

The boy approached the reptile cautiously and with obvious fear. The anaconda, aroused, slithered through the water to the other side of the lagoon. Jawaku's unwillingness to fight was now apparent. There were shouts that he was frightened. These goads temporarily overcame his reluctance, and he waded through the water and grabbed the snake around the middle, lifting it out of the water. The anaconda began throwing its coils, while striking at the boy. In a panic, Jawaku stumbled blindly for the shore, tripped over a log, and released his hold on the snake. All the men shouted, "He's afraid!" as the crestfallen boy dragged himself out of the water and silently walked home.

That night, Maibu made a lengthy speech in which he absolved himself from any responsibility for Jawaku's cowardice. The next day another reptile was sighted, but Jawaku did not even bother to look at it.

On the other hand, Autsuki measured up to what was expected of him, and thus was able to continue the ritual that marked his maturation. Immediately upon the successful outcome of his struggle with an anaconda, he went to his house. He had now entered the seclusion phase of his puberty rites. Tun, his mother's brother, who was acting as next of kin, built a partition screening him off from the rest of the house. He was allowed nothing to eat but a medicinal preparation called *wyryx*, and he could leave his confinement to defecate only when everyone was asleep.

The seclusion period was to last until the ear-piercing festival which was to be held several months later, but Autsuki was cheerful about it. In accordance with normal practice, he had his arms scraped shortly after he entered confinement, and he was also given the adult tonsure.

There remained only one more step in the cycle of initiation rites: initiation into the shamanistic art of curing. Completion of this final phase was necessary for full participation in the men's circle and for the privilege of smoking tobacco.[3] All of the uninitiated Trumaí youths knew how to smoke and occasionally did so, but the adults referred to this as "lying smoking." In order to "really" smoke it was necessary to have a ceremony performed by Matiwana. Exactly when this occurred is open to question, but ideally it was supposed to follow the final seclusion and ear-piercing. Aloari had not yet had the ceremony performed, although he was married and had a child. In his own words, he was still "too young." Aloari was evidently equating maturation with the puberty rites.

[3] Oberg (1953, p. 60) reports that uninitiated men may not smoke among the Kamayurá, either.

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four, three between five and seven, two between seven and ten, and the other two between ten and twelve. The little girl could not as yet walk alone. The two youngest boys could, although occasionally they still suckled at their mother's breasts.

The Trumaí infant was subjected to very little training. Rarely was the very young child told not to do anything. However, all the children except for Katsits, the infant girl, knew that they should defecate in the bush and urinate away from the village plaza. Katsits very often eliminated in the house, or while she was in her mother's arms. X'utsi, the mother, merely scraped a bit of dirt over the wet spot. She gave no indication to the child that this was an undesirable act, and the child took no note of her own activity. Exactly how a child learned to exert self-control is not clear, but it was probably by emulating older children and adults, whose toilet habits were hardly a secret.

The child suckled until it was five or six years of age, although it began to partake of the ordinary diet by the end of the first year. Yumunuwa said that she suckled Tsirikoan three times a day: morning, noon, and evening. This was not a strict regimen, for the boy often crawled into her lap or straddled her waist and suckled at odd hours. Until about five years old, the child slept in the mother's hammock, or if motherless, with the father. Often it slept with the mother's breast in its mouth, and if it awoke during the night, it suckled until it fell asleep again.

The nursing of older children is a perpetuation of the infantile pattern, and it is indicative of the lack of stress on weaning. Also, because of infanticide and the low birth rate, there is little cause for sibling rivalry among the Trumaí.

Help was given the child in learning to walk and talk. The men appeared to devote more attention to this phase of upbringing than the women. Katsits was often walked about by her father, and sometimes by Maibu or other men who lived in the same house. Her father was eager to have her walk by herself so that he would not need to coach her, but nevertheless he and the other adults showed the greatest indulgence and patience in this task.

Part of the father's anxiety was doubtless due to the taboos which restricted his activity until his child had learned to walk. The most important of these was a ban on sexual intercourse. When Katsits developed colic, it was generally thought to be the outcome of coitus between the parents. Certain foods were also forbidden the father, one being seasoned fish hash, which was a great favorite. It is not known whether the mother was also required to observe food taboos.

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Children were in a somewhat privileged category. With respect to gift-giving, the claims of the young were particularly strong, although, as noted above, they were not unlimited. When a child wanted something, it would either be given it or a good excuse would be offered. Parents backed up such demands, and were hurt and aggrieved if the request was refused.

Children had almost as strong control over their property as did the older Trumai. Quain dealt directly with the children to secure specimens of children's playthings. The children manifested the same possessiveness as their parents in these dealings and in their general concepts of property. Even little Katsita cried when her father wanted to put up her necklace in the trade game. Her father let her keep the necklace and sought other objects to exchange.

Children cried frequently, and their tears rarely went unheeded. Teasing by adults was common, but when a child broke into full and lusty howls, he was soothed and comforted. There were no admonitions against crying itself. The only time a child was reprimanded for crying was when it was absolutely unwarranted and annoying to the adults. In such cases, a stern voice was all that was required. By the time a boy reached the age of ten he rarely wept, for he was then going through the initial phases of the puberty rites, and courage and fortitude were expected.

Little work was demanded of children. The boys often accompanied the women on gathering expeditions, but this was the only help they gave them. On the other hand, they were frequently called on to perform errands for the men or lend them some small aid. These tasks were done willingly.

The older boys occasionally accompanied the men on hunting and fishing trips, thus learning the necessary subsistence techniques. They participated actively in fish poisoning, helped in the preparation and application of the *tawasi* bark, and in the gathering of the drugged fish. Of all the subsistence techniques, horticulture was the last to be learned. The youngest Trumai to have a garden was Autsuki, who was going through the final stages of the puberty ceremonies. Maibu's foster son, Jawaku, was still considered too young to cultivate his own plot, although he was no more than two years younger than Autsuki. Most of the boys were well acquainted with the work, however, through trailing the men to the gardens and watching them.

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Children cried frequently, and their tears rarely went unheeded. Teasing by adults was common, but when a child broke into full and lusty howls, he was soothed and comforted. There were no admonitions against crying itself. The only time a child was reprimanded for crying was when it was absolutely unwarranted and annoying to the adults. In such cases, a stern voice was all that was required. By the time a boy reached the age of ten he rarely wept, for he was then going through the initial phases of the puberty rites, and courage and fortitude were expected.

Little work was demanded of children. The boys often accompanied the women on gathering expeditions, but this was the only help they gave them. On the other hand, they were frequently called on to perform errands for the men or lend them some small aid. These tasks were done willingly.

The older boys occasionally accompanied the men on hunting and fishing trips, thus learning the necessary subsistence techniques. They participated actively in fish poisoning, helped in the preparation and application of the *tawasi* bark, and in the gathering of the drugged fish. Of all the subsistence techniques, horticulture was the last to be learned. The youngest Trumaí to have a garden was Autsuki, who was going through the final stages of the puberty ceremonies. Maibu's foster son, Jawaku, was still considered too young to cultivate his own plot, although he was no more than two years younger than Autsuki. Most of the boys were well acquainted with the work, however, through trailing the men to the gardens and watching them.

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The seclusion period was to last until the ear-piercing festival which was to be held several months later, but Autsuki was cheerful about it. In accordance with normal practice, he had his arms scraped shortly after he entered confinement, and he was also given the adult tonsure.

There remained only one more step in the cycle of initiation rites: initiation into the shamanistic art of curing. Completion of this final phase was necessary for full participation in the men's circle and for the privilege of smoking tobacco.[3] All of the uninitiated Trumai youths knew how to smoke and occasionally did so, but the adults referred to this as "lying smoking." In order to "really" smoke it was necessary to have a ceremony performed by Matiwana. Exactly when this occurred is open to question, but ideally it was supposed to follow the final seclusion and ear-piercing. Aloari had not yet had the ceremony performed, although he was married and had a child. In his own words, he was still "too young." Aloari was evidently equating maturation with the puberty rites.

[3] Oberg (1953, p. 60) reports that uninitiated men may not smoke among the Kamayurá, either.

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Specialization and Trade

439 Among the more distinctive features of upper Xingú culture are community craft specialization and a widespread system of trade re-
[438] lationships. The Trumaí traded among themselves, but the most important exchanges took place on the intertribal level, and it is here that the products of tribal specialization become significant to the economy.
[182] At the time of Quain's investigations, the Arawakans maintained a
[323] monopoly on pottery, but the once active Trumaí stone axe manu-
[317] facture had fallen into disuse. In its place, the Trumaí were specializing in the preparation of salt, obtained by burning a species of water-lily and sifting the ashes. The Trumaí depended on the Kamayurá for a
[411] highly prized type of bow, as the proper wood was not found in their territory. According to Oberg, this black, rectangular bow was eagerly sought by other tribes, also.[20]

While the Kamayurá monopoly on these bows can be explained by the local availability of the raw materials, craft specialization cannot be looked upon simply as a function of the exclusive possession of certain skills. Other arts diffused rapidly among the tribes, and it is evident that the specialties remained such for non-economic reasons. For example, the three Arawakan tribes, the Mehinaku, Kustenaú and Waurá, all made pottery, but each traded their wares only with certain tribes. The Bacairí obtained their pottery from the Kustenaú, who were, in von den Steinen's time, their neighbors on the Batoví River. On the Kuliseu, the Nahukwa traded for ceramics with the nearby Mehinaku, while the Tupian-speaking tribes and the Trumaí relied on the Waurá. Despite the fact that each Arawakan tribe dealt with its nearest neighbors, the exclusiveness of these relationships is not a physical necessity.
[602] The Trumaí could have obtained Mehinaku pottery. They had many
[881] kinship ties with the Mehinaku, and even conducted joint puberty rites. The distance between them was not great. Manifestly some standardized channeling of trade relationships existed.

This is further confirmed by the confinement of pottery manufacture to the Arawakans. It is probable that when the various groups first settled in the area, the Arawakans were the only ceramicists. With the development of close intertribal relationships, however, there was every opportunity for the craft to diffuse. It could have been learned by outsiders in trips to Arawakan villages and then practiced at home, as the clay is easily gotten from the river bottoms. Obvious means for its diffusion were marriage or capture of Arawakan women. But the manufacture of pottery was not observed by Quain in any non-Arawakan
village of the area, despite the fact that Arawakan women were living
[303] in many such communities. In the Trumaí village no pottery was made,

[20] Oberg 1953, p. 30.

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occasionally someone, who was occupied or in bad temper, would chase the child away or slap him lightly. The only time that Quain ever saw a child given physical punishment was after some petty pilfering. In this case the father whipped him angrily across the legs. Usually, however, only a verbal reprimand followed misconduct.

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864 upon his parents cohabiting; and they immediately told everyone in the village.

Puberty Rites

881 304 Male puberty rites were divided into two periods. The first, which was preparatory, covered about three or four years and consisted of the administration of certain medicines (*okeis*) and body-scraping. The second covered a much shorter period and constituted the actual initiation of the boy into the men's group. The observances, starting when a boy was between ten and twelve years of age, increased in frequency and intensity until his final initiation. The purposes, as expressed by the Trumaí, were to make him grow big and strong, give him courage and fortitude, and mark certain achievements on the road to manhood.

Body-scraping was one of the most important means used to accomplish these ends. Two different types of scarification instruments [412] [237] were in use. One was a sort of comb made of fish teeth imbedded in wood; the other was a polished armadillo claw. The former was used during the early phases of scarification, the latter, during the late phases when the whole body was scraped.

The first scraping was limited to the arms or legs. Kamkuti received his initial scarification on the biceps as an aftermath of shooting his first fish. The scraping, painful though it was, was a reward and a recognition of manly achievement. It was also a test of endurance and resistance to pain, and the boy was admonished against flinching or weeping. Such occasions were the first on which the child was exhorted to be manly and courageous.

When the boy reached biological puberty, the scraping became more severe. Arms, legs, flanks, chest, back, and stomach were all scraped, and the operation must have been most painful. Each boy could expect to have this happen to him a few times during the course of his initiation. Jawaku, Maibu's foster-son, had his first overall scarification while Quain was in residence. This was a prelude to the full initiation rites, through which he was soon to pass. Jawaku was a very timid boy, and significantly lacked the assertiveness that was so much a part of Trumaí personality. Katauka, who was officiating, scraped his legs first, then his back, flanks and arms, ending with a light treatment on his chest and stomach. Jawaku looked extremely unhappy, but he did not cry until Katauka began scraping his back. Maibu held him firmly and told him not to cry, while others scolded him for being a baby.

Before the scarification started Jawaku's body was moistened with water from a nearby pot. After it was finished, Katauka rubbed him [752] [278] completely with the bark of the *aruperukatem* tree. This or the bark of the *fift'a* tree (the source of the fish poison previously referred to) were always used to treat the wounds made by scraping.

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always used to treat the wounds made by scraping. Jawaku walked away in a hurt and angry mood, his body covered with blood.

A few days later, in recognition of his advancement, Jawaku made the afternoon serving of food to the assembled men, a custom associated with the *ole* (manioc) ceremony. A further sign of his new position was the drinking of an herbaceous emetic before eating the first *piquí* fruit. Only boys who had not yet had their stomachs scraped could eat *piquí* without first taking the medicine.

One important purpose of body-scraping, the Trumaí thought, was to make the boy grow and give him strength. For this reason even the adult males occasionally scraped their arms. The scars themselves were very much admired. Of still greater value was the size of the muscles of the arms, chest, shoulder, and back of the neck, which the Trumaí believed to be the result of the scraping.

Another method of inducing growth was by drinking medicines made from herbs. All of the upper Xingú peoples were said to know of these preparations. The Suyá were said to have learned to make them also, but not the Yuruna. Adults drank these medicines, but they were especially important during the final phase of the puberty rites.

The perforation of the ear lobes was a distinct and separate part of the cycle of puberty rites, and the only one in which the boys went through a prescribed phase as a group. This observance took place during the equinoctial festive period which follows the rainy season and involved intertribal participation. At the next dry season festival, Quain was told, all the boys would have their ears pierced. Jawaku's ears, however, had been pierced before, whereas Autsuki, who was older and had entered the puberty cycle earlier, had not yet had his ears perforated. Manifestly, the time of the first perforation varied.

At the first piercing the young boy added the name of his mother's father to the name of his paternal grandfather, which he had been given previously. This was also an occasion for scarifying the arms.

Quain was informed that ear-piercing was done by all the upper Xingú area tribes. The Suyá, in common with other Gê-speaking peoples, made very large, and to the Trumaí, very unsightly, perforations in the lobes. Two Trumaí men who had been Suyá captives had such perforations and also pierced lower lips. The latter condition explained satisfactorily to the Trumaí why the Suyá "cannot speak properly."

The puberty ceremonies were climaxed by a final series of tests of strength and courage: wrestling with a small anaconda, a subsequent intensive drinking of *okeis*, and further body-scraping. After this the boy was kept in seclusion until his ears were again pierced.

Both Jawaku and Autsuki were at this stage. One day a snake was located in the lagoon, and Jawaku was urged to go after it. He and Makurawa ran through the brush to the lagoon and searched for it along

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[3] Oberg (1953, p. 60) reports that uninitiated men may not smoke among the Kamayurá, either.

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Changes in status and expected behavior were connected with the transition to manhood, and new modes of participation in the culture were open to the young man. It is necessary, however, to differentiate between the transition consequent upon increased age and that which resulted specifically from passage through the life crisis rites. Ideally, such a distinction should not have existed, as the achievement of physical maturity should have been heralded by the socio — religious observances. But there were two young married men, Yanahi and Aloari, who had not completed the ritual — the former because of disinclination, the latter due to the delay caused by his captivity among the Yuruna. Aloari, although both vocal and aggressive, and having the men's haircut, was definitely not one of the men's group yet. His smoking was only of the "lying" kind. He still needed the ritual admittance to the smoking group. Yanahi, on the other hand, still had the youthful haircut, but, for unknown reasons, was already a full-fledged member of the men's group. He was frequently seen with the adolescent boys, however, and his activities were characterized by a youthful lack of gravity. His history shows that there was no sudden break with boyhood among the Trumaí. The puberty rites were spread over a long enough time to allow a slow incorporation into the adult world.

Upon reaching man's estate, the young man became an integral part of the household and village economies. To be sure, property attitudes had been developed early, but he now had a greater opportunity to express them, inasmuch as he was able to participate in the upper Xingú trade system and thus accumulate more personal possessions. His entrance into the men's circle gave him a larger voice in community affairs, but at the same time it involved him in many village squabbles, which were intensified by his search for sexual partners or a wife. Also, among his added responsibilities was the defense of the village.

In short, the status of the newly arrived man brought greater economic independence and a fuller participation in the social and ceremonial life of the community. In return for his heightened importance he was expected to act with sobriety and self-reliance, to show courage and fortitude, and to be more aggressive in asserting his new rights and prerogatives. This last was largely a matter of degree, for Quain had been impressed at the extent to which children asserted themselves and shared the mannerisms and attitudes of adults.

Female Puberty

The only data available on female puberty observances concern the first menses (*wasipanes*), when the girl is confined for a period during which she wears her hair over her face. Rodrigues Ferreira, in commenting on a Trumaí girl in seclusion, states that she must remain in her

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compartment in the house for six months, at the end of which time she is accepted as a young woman.[3]

Menstruation caused no special distress to the Trumaí women. They maintained personal cleanliness with the aid of leaves, going out into the brush behind the house to care for themselves. Although the relevant taboos were observed, the women talked frankly to Quain about menstruation, and were interested in learning what white women did during the period. The men, although expressing a fear of menstrual blood, did not shun the subject either. Most of them knew when women in the village were having their menses.

Everyone was extremely shocked when Quain told them that white people often had intercourse during the menstrual period, for such contact would make a Trumaí man fall ill and die. Aloari said that he would surely die of a cough if he copulated with his wife then. The blood itself was considered malignant, infecting whatever it touched. The whole village became very disturbed when Kuyafi dropped some menstrual blood on the path to the gardens. Aloari averred that he would not go for manioc until the rain washed it away.

Fear of polluting forced a menstruating woman to make frequent trips to the weeds, where nobody walked. The danger also extended to her person. During this time she was not allowed to cook, although she could sit around the fire when food was being prepared. (Quain's departure from the Trumaí village was delayed for a day as both the wife and sister-in-law of Aloari, who was to accompany him, were menstruating, and there was only one woman left in the household to make his *beijú* supply.) Nor could the menstruating woman carry water or take a bath. However, a prohibition on eating fish was the only food taboo that she had to observe.

Marriage

A man was ready to seek a mate within one or two years after his initiation, or at the corresponding age level. Women were suitable prospects soon after their puberty rites. It was common for marriages to be arranged by parents while their children were still infants. These infant betrothals were usually between cross-cousins. It is doubtful, however, whether many such arranged marriages were consummated, both because of the high mortality and the fact that most of the Trumaí women were ultimately fought for and won by verbal battles in the men's circle.

Courtships were neither long nor formalized. When a man developed an interest in a woman, he usually expressed it by attempting to seduce her. In most instances, amorous advances were made without any in-

[3] Rodrigues Ferreira 1946, p. 92.

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551 605 607 Only when he was also the brother-in-law was respect given to a cross-cousin or his name avoided. Female cross-cousins, despite affinal connections, were never so treated by the men.

Avunculate

604 522 [861] [431] The maternal uncle in Trumaí society was in no sense a disciplinarian. Only the father and the father's brother were allowed to strike a child. On the other hand, the gift-giving claims of the sister's son (*deta*) upon the mother's brother (*wawe*) were strong, and particularly so when they were reinforced by co-residence. A man was expected to be benevolent and tolerant toward his *deta*. This frequently took the form of teasing and jollying the boy, and contrasted with the more serious attitude of the father and his brothers. For instance, Yati told his *deta* that he and Quain were going to eat him, and, as if to carry out the threat, he began to drag him toward the fire. The child cried lustily, and Yati immediately stopped and cajoled him. Also, Katauka said to his *deta*, "When you die, I will not cry." Katauka was greatly amused when this caused tears.

Such teasing ceased by the time a boy reached the age of puberty. Moreover, the *wawe* became a defender of the *deta's* interests in the absence of the boy's father or father's brother, and, in some cases, he supervised his initiation ceremonies. Common to both the Trumaí and [437] [171] Kamayurá was the traveling partnership of a man and his sister's son. It was quite usual for a *wawe* to take his *deta* along when he visited another village. Quain noted that on such trips the wife of the older man was rarely included. This is consistent with the sexual taboo [835] between the nephew and the maternal uncle's wife.

The Chieftaincy

622 624 The Trumaí had one chieftain (*ack*), Maibu, and two sub-chiefs, Katauka and Matiwana. At the outset it should be understood that Katauka and Matiwana at no time during Quain's stay exerted any [388] chiefly prerogative or function. They were not men of especially high status — indeed, Matiwana was looked down upon as an old man. Their main function, Quain was told, was to take over the office of chief when Maibu was away from the village. Due to Matiwana's advanced age, this duty ordinarily fell to Katauka. Otherwise, neither man was particularly influential; nor did they talk more in the men's circle than others.

622 537 The chief's main function was to urge his fellow Trumaí to carry out those projects or tasks which were the responsibility of the community as a whole or in its interest, but he frequently exhorted the villagers to

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with prestige. Aloari, who later became chief, was classified as a *camara* at the time of Quain's visit.

At the top of the Trumaí prestige scale was the chief. His authority was limited, but he was more respected than any other man. The two sub-chiefs enjoyed some, but not much, prestige. Matiwana was an old man, and old age decreases status among the Trumaí. He took the lead in group curing ceremonies, however, and was the repository of much Trumaí lore and learning. Nor was Katauka, the other sub-chief, very influential. And neither official had the privilege of "talking" to the people as Maibu did. That Katauka was a shaman and Matiwana the chief curer of the village contributed more to their prestige than did their position as sub-chiefs or their membership in the *aek* class. Tun, the shaman, and Oirupa, the sorcerer, ranked just below the chief in importance. The former enjoyed some standing as his prognostications of enemy movements were relied upon and respected by everybody. Oirupa had added power only because he was feared.

The only other criteria of status were youth and aggressiveness. Property was not a point of prestige, but those whose assertive attitudes gave them some status and influence were also those who manifested an accumulative attitude toward property. Youth and sexual prowess were highly regarded. Boasting about sexual exploits was usually done privately, but great pride was taken in them. This was related to the general esteem in which youth, size and vigor were held. To be a successful wrestler, therefore, enhanced a man's position. The Trumaí were also impressed by Quain's height and wanted to know what kind of medicines white men used to make them so tall. There was no warrior class and no special status for success in combat, except insofar as it was an indication of strength and courage.

As noted above, the status of old men was very low, except when they had special knowledge or office. Yet these attributes did not protect Matiwana from being contemptuously referred to as an old man. Moreover, Quain was severely criticized for giving presents to old Yahu, most of whose property had already been claimed by others, since the Trumaí did not think it proper that one so old should have any possessions beyond fishing and hunting equipment and other necessities. A favorite insult among the Trumaí was to tell someone he was old, and by implication that he no longer bathed or was able to fornicate.

Prestige variations, on the whole, were not great in the Trumaí village. The community had no clearly defined social groupings based on status, nor were there social mechanisms for human exploitation. Variations in wealth were slight, and their only significance was that one man might have more tools and trinkets than another. It is possible, however, that before the Trumaí had declined to their present low estate, prestige and authority were more clearly patterned, as they still were in the Kamayurá village.

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tention of marriage. But an intention of marriage did not insure exclusive sexual rights. The man usually continued to get gratification wherever he could find it. The knowledge of his other liaisons did not particularly disturb his bride-to-be, as she herself may well have been receiving attentions from other lovers. After marriage, such transgressions were not so readily tolerated.

The chief obstacles in the way of the marriage-bent Trumaí swain were the necessity to shout down his rivals and gain the approval and consent of the girl's kinsmen. The woman's consent was not necessary in making the marriage, and she usually remained aloof, waiting to see who won. If, however, she was not pleased with the mate to whom she was awarded, she was free to leave him. And this she often did. While Quain was in the village, there were marriages that lasted only a day or two due to the bride's dissatisfaction.

In addition to the arguments that precede most marriages, the man was expected to go through certain formalities. He went to the girl's mother and stated his intentions. If the girl had no mother, he approached the nearest male relative. In order to gain the favor of her kinsmen, he distributed gifts, the most important to the girl's mother, others to her father, siblings, and her mother's brother. The gift to the latter was especially important, as he was the one who formally gave the woman, or as the Trumaí phrase it, "spreads her legs." Gifts were also given the girl, culminating with a present of fish. In the meantime the girl made an especially fine hammock which she gave to the groom.

If everything was accepted, the man was free to take the girl to his house. The wedding was preceded by a fishing expedition in which nearly all the men participated, and by a wrestling match for which the groom was beautifully painted. The women held a trade game. The actual ceremony consisted of nothing more than the woman's moving into the house of her mate. A male relative carried her hammock to his home.

This was the way weddings should have been conducted in the Trumaí village. Actually, they were even less formal, especially in the case of second wives in polygamous unions. Marriage and sex preoccupied the Trumaí, for there were not enough women to go around; but even the few formal acts involved interested the Trumaí little. If the marriage was durable, the couple settled down and had children. After marriage and the birth of children no great change occurred in their positions in the community until they reached old age.

Old Age

Everyone in the village was classified as "younger" or "older." The men were either *axoeek* (younger) or *tdakek* (older), while the terms for the women were, respectively, *axoeektas* and *tdakits*. These were not age

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888 [561] [181] grades except in the broadest sense, as the term for "younger" covered everyone from infants to people in the prime of life. The terms, however, indicate a keen consciousness that those who have passed their prime are distinct from those who are still developing or are at the height of their physical powers.

The Trumaí believed that it was good to be young, vigorous, and strong, while advancing years were a stigma. Quain always met with a stout denial whenever he suggested to someone that he was older than someone else. An old person, they said with contempt, was one who did not bathe or shave the crown of his head any more. Mayuva did not [626] bother to bathe one morning and was derided by Kerami, who accused him of being old. A short time later he reappeared freshly bathed.

[162] While several individuals were considered "older," the only ones who fell into the Trumaí category of true old age were Matiwana and Yahu. The latter's status was further lowered by the fact that he was con- [563] sidered to be a Kamayurá; his father was a member of that tribe and he had a son living with them. However, Yahu was still sexually potent and a full participant in the economy.

[195] A person of truly advanced old age was called *dewan*. This term, which has uncomplimentary connotations, was applied only to men "whose penis is dead" or to women past menopause. Matiwana was the only person of either sex who fitted the *dewan* category. The only tasks for which he was suited were light craft work, gathering firewood, and an occasional fishing trip. He was, however, the fount of nearly all Trumaí ceremonial knowledge. Matiwana was well cared for by his son and by his household. The son's affection and loyalty to his father were deep, and he was the old man's constant companion. The rest of the villagers remained aloof from Matiwana.

888 554 [756] The Trumaí abhorred the thought of their own future old age, and they transferred some of this fear to the persons of the aged. Status declined with age, and Matiwana had his ceremonial lore and shamanistic skill to thank for what position he still maintained.

Death

768 764 Neither the village site nor the house of the deceased had to be abandoned following death. Burial took place in the village plaza. The corpse was interred lying on its back in an extended position, wrapped and bound in its hammock. Numerous cooking utensils, including a *ja'meo* (ceramic griddle for baking *beijú*) were buried with both male and female deceased.

765 No deaths occurred while Quain was in residence, but mourning was still going on for a man who had recently died. The burden of mourning fell on the female relatives of the deceased. The only observance in-